THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIVES, ACTIONS, || SUFFERINGS, and DEATHS,

Of the Moſt

Eminent Fathers

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH;

Who flouriſh'd in the

FIRST FOUR CENTURIES,

and Part of the FIFTH.

Collected by *S. SMITH, D. D.*

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THE PREFACE.

HAVING *finiſhed the* First Volume *of this Undertaking, containing,* The Hiſtory of the Lives, Actions, Travels, Sufferings, and Deaths of our Bleſſed SAVIOUR, and his Twelve Apoſtles, *which has been well receiv'd by the Publick, we conceive that a true Narrative of the firſt Ages of the Primitive Church, in the Lives of the moſt Eminent Fathers, who did and ſuffer'd ſo much in the ſpreading of the Goſpel in thoſe early Times, will afford no leſs agreeable Entertainment to the ſober and ingenuous Reader. This we have attempted in this* Second Volume, *the chief Materials of which, we have ſelected from a celebrated Author, who concludes his* Preface *to his Work, as we ſhall ours to this, with the following Words.*

" *I have not the Vanity to pretend that I have* " *furniſh'd my Readers with a Hiſtory of the Pri-* " *mitive Church every Way perfect; which indeed* " *ſeems a Work ſcarce poſſible in itſelf, conſidering* " *the Shortneſs and Obſcurity of the Records of* " *thoſe Times: But this I may venture to affirm,*

" *that there are few material Paſſages within my*
" *Limits which are not to be met with in ſome or*
" *other of the following Lives. I have been parti-*
" *cularly careful to note the Time when each of the*
" *Ten remarkable Perſecutions, by the* Heathen
" *Emperors, began, and to offer ſome Inſtances of*
" *the great Violence therein exerciſed on the* Chri-
" ſtian *Martyrs. I have alſo endeavour'd, on all*
" *proper Occaſions, to give the Reader an Idea of*
" *the ſeveral Hereſies that oppoſed the* Chriſtian
" *Faith, and to inform him when they ſprung up,*
" *who were the Authors, and who the principal*
" *Oppoſers of them. But as none cauſed ſo much*
" *Trouble in the Church as that of the* Arians, *I*
" *have been moſt large and diſtinct in giving an Ac-*
" *count of the Riſe and Progreſs of that Hereſy in*
" *the* Fourth Century, *notwithſtanding the two*
" *Oecumenical Councils of* Nice *and* Conſtantinople
" *againſt it, inſomuch that ſome have not unfitly*
" *ſtil'd this* Seculum Arianum, the Age of the
" *Arians.* Arianiſm (*as* Nazianzen *expreſſes it*
" *in his twenty-third Oration*) though it began as
" a ſmall Spark at *Alexandria*, yet like Wild-fire
" it ſpeedily overſpread the World; and though
" it was ſtopt for a ſhort Time by the Deciſions
" of the *Nicene* Council, yet in the next Reign it
" broke out again, as a Wound that had been
" ſlightly cur'd; and who can repreſent the tra-
" gical State of Affairs in the Church at that
" Time? *I'll add no more, but conclude with a*
" *hearty Wiſh, that thoſe who peruſe the following*
" *Work, may reap all the Advantage and Pleaſure*
" *in Reading, which was ſincerely aim'd at in*
" *Writing it.*

THE

THE LIVES OF THE APOSTLES.

The LIFE *of St.* PETER.

THE Land of *Paleſtine* was, at and before the coming of our bleſſed Saviour, diſtinguiſhed into three ſeveral Provinces, *Judea*, *Samaria* and *Galilee*. This laſt was divided into the *Upper* and the *Lower*. In the *Upper*, called alſo *Galilee of the Gentiles*, within the Diviſion antiently belonging to the Tribe of *Naphthali*, ſtood *Bethſaida*. It was formerly an obſcure and inconſiderable Village, till lately reedified and enlarged by *Philip the Tetrarch*; and being by him advanced to the Place and Title of a City, repleniſhed with Inhabitants, and fortified with Power and Strength, and in Honour of *Julia*, the Daughter of *Au-*

guſtus Cæſar, by him ſtiled *Julias*. It was ſituated upon the Banks of the *Sea of Galilee*, and had a Wilderneſs on the other Side, thence called the *Deſart of Bethſaida*, whether our Saviour uſed often to retire; the Privacies and Solitudes of the Place advantageouſly miniſtring to divine Contemplations. But *Bethſaida* was not ſo remarkable for this adjoining Wilderneſs, as itſelf was memorable for a worſe Sort of Barrenneſs, Ingratitude and Unprofitableneſs under the Influences of *Chriſt*'s Sermons and Miracles; thence ſeverely upbraided by him, and threatned with one of his deepeſt Woes, *Woe unto thee* Chorazin, *woe unto thee* Bethſaida, &c. A Woe that it ſeems ſtuck cloſe to it; for whatever it was at this Time, one who ſurveyed it in the laſt Age tells us, that it was ſhrunk again into a very mean and ſmall Villiage, conſiſting only of a few Cottages of *Moors* and wild *Arabs*; and later Travellers have ſince aſſured us, that even theſe are dwindled away into one poor Cottage at this Day. So fatally does Sin undermine the greateſt, the goodlieſt Places; ſo certainly does God's Word take place, and not one *Iota* either of his Promiſes or Threatnings fall to the Ground. Next to the Honour that was done it by our Saviour's Preſence, who living moſt in theſe Parts, frequently reſorted thither, it had nothing greater to recommend it to the Notice of Poſterity, than that (beſides ſome other of the Apoſtles) it was the Birth-place of St. *Peter*; a Perſon, how inconſiderable ſoever in his private Fortunes, yet of great Note and Eminency, as one of the prime Embaſſadors of the Son of God, to whom both ſacred and eccleſiaſtical Stories give, though not a Superiority, a Precedency in the College of Apoſtles.

The

The Particular Time of his Birth cannot be recovered, no probable Footſteps or Intimations being left of it: In the general, we may conclude him at leaſt ten Years elder than his Maſter; his married Condition, and ſettled Courſe of Life, at his firſt coming to *Chriſt*, and that Authority and Reſpect which the Gravity of his Perſon procured him amongſt the reſt of the Apoſtles, can ſpeak him no leſs; but for any Thing more particular and poſitive in this Matter, I ſee no Reaſon to affirm. Indeed, might we truſt the Account, which one (who pretends to calculate his Nativity with Oſtentation enough) has given of it, we are told that he was three Years before the bleſſed Virgin, and juſt ſeventeen before the Incarnation of our Saviour. But let us view his Account.

He was born in the Year, from the *Creation of the World* 4034; from *the Flood* 2378; in the 8th Year of *Octavius Auguſtus*, the 24th of his *Conſulſhip*, and the 12th from the *Battle of* Actium; in the 20th Year of *Herod*'s Reign; three Years before the Birth of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, and ſeventeen Years before the Birth of *Chriſt*.

When I met ſuch a pompous Train of *Epocha's*, the leaſt I expected was Truth and Certainty. This Computation he grounds upon the Date of St. *Peter*'s Death, placed (as elſewhere he tells us) by *Bellarmine* in the 86th Year of his Age; ſo that recounting from the Year of *Chriſt* the 69th, when *Peter* is commonly ſaid to have ſuffered, he runs up his Age to his Birth, and ſpreads it out into ſo many ſeveral Dates: But alas all is built upon a ſandy Bottom. For, beſides his Miſtake about the Year of the World, few of his Dates hold due Correſpondence. But the worſt of it is, that after all this, *Bellarmine* (upon whoſe

ſingle Teſtimony all this fine Fabrick is erected) ſays no ſuch Thing, but only ſuppoſes, merely for Argument-ſake, that St. *Peter* might very well be 86 ('tis erroneouſly printed 76) Years old at the Time of his Martyrdom. So far will Confidence, or Ignorance, or both carry Men aſide, if it could be a Miſtake, and not rather a bold impoſing upon the World. But of this enough, and perhaps more than it deſerves.

Being circumciſed according to the Rites of the *Moſaick* Law, the Name given him at his Circumciſion was *Simon* or *Symeon*, a Name common amonſt the *Jews*, eſpecially in the latter Times. This was afterwards, by our Saviour not aboliſhed, but additioned with the Title of *Cephas*, which in *Syriac* (the vulgar Language of the *Jews* at that Time) ſignifying a ſtone or rock, was thence derived into the *Greek* Word *Petros*, and by us *Peter*: So far was *Heſychius* out, when rendring *Petros* an *Expounder* or *Interpreter*, probably deriving it from the *Hebrew* Word which ſignifies to *explain* and *interpret*. By this new Impoſition our Lord ſeemed to denote the Firmneſs and Conſtancy of his Faith, and his vigorous Activity in building up the Church, as a *ſpiritual Houſe* upon the *true Rock*, *the living and Corner-Stone*, *choſen of God*, *and precious*, as St. *Peter* himſelf expreſſes it. Nor can our Saviour be underſtood to have hereby conferred upon him any peculiar Supremacy or Sovereignty above, much leſs over the reſt of the Apoſtles; for in Reſpect of the great Truſt committed to them, and their being ſent to plant *Chriſtianity* in the World, they are all equally ſtiled Foundations: Nor is it accountable either to Scripture or Reaſon, to ſuppoſe, that by this Name our Lord ſhould deſign the Perſon

ſon of *Peter* to be that very Rock, upon which his Church was to be built. In a fond Imitation of this Name given to St. *Peter*, thoſe who pretend to be his Succeſſors in the See of *Rome*, uſually lay by their own, and aſſume a new Name upon their Advancement to the apoſtolic Chair, it being one of the firſt Queſtions which the Cardinals put to the new-elected Pope, *By what Name he will be pleaſed to be called.* This Cuſtom firſt being about the Year 844, when *Peter di Bocca-Porco* (or *Swines-mouth*) being choſen Pope, changed his Name into *Sergius the Second*; probably not ſo much to avoid the Uncomlineſs of his own Name, as if unbefitting the Dignity of his Place (for this being but his paternal Name would after have been no Part of his pontifical ſtyle and title) as out of a mighty Reverence to St. *Peter*, accounting himſelf not worthy to bear his Name, though it was was his own baptiſmal Name. Certain it is, that none of the Biſhops of that See ever aſſumed St. *Peter*'s Name; and ſome, who have had it as their Chriſtian Name before, have laid it aſide upon their Election to the Papacy. But to return to our Apoſtle.

His Father was *Jonah*, probably a Fiſherman of *Bethſaida*; for the ſacred Story takes no farther Notice of him, than by the bare mention of his Name; and I believe there had been no great Danger of Miſtake, though *Metaphraſtes* had not told us, that it was not *Jonas* the Prophet, who came out of the Belly of the Whale. Brother he was to St. *Andrew* the Apoſtle, and ſome Queſtion there is amongſt the Antients which was the elder Brother. *Epiphanius* (probably from ſome Tradition current in his Time) clearly adjudges it to St. *Andrew*, herein univerſally followed by thoſe

thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, that the precedency given to St. *Peter* may not ſeem to be put upon Account of his Seniority. But to him we may oppoſe the Authority of St. *Chryſoſtom*, a Perſon equal both in time and credit, who expreſly ſays, though *Andrew* came later into Life than *Peter*, yet he firſt brought him to the Knowledge of the Goſpel, which *Baronius*, againſt all Pretence of Reaſon, would underſtand of his entring into eternal Life: Beſides, St. *Hierom*, *Caſſian*, *Bede*, and others, are for St. *Peter* being the elder Brother, expreſly aſcribing it to his Age, that he rather than any other, was Preſident of the College of Apoſtles. However it was, it ſounds not a little to the honour of their Father, (as of *Zebedee* alſo in the like caſe) that of but twelve Apoſtles two of his Sons were taken into the Number. In his Youth he was brought up to fiſhing, which we may gueſs to have been the ſtaple trade of *Bethſaida*, (which hence probably borrowed its Name, ſignifying an *Houſe* or *Habitation of fiſhing*, tho' others render it by *Hunting*, the *Hebrew* Word equally being either) much advantaged therein by the Neighbourhood of the *Lake of Genneſareth* (on whoſe Banks it ſtood) called alſo the *Sea of Galilee*, and the *Sea of Tiberias*, according to the Mode of the *Hebrew* Language, wherein all greater Confluences of Waters are called Seas. Of this Lake the *Jews* have a Saying, that *of all the ſeven Seas which God created, he made Choice of none but the* Sea of Genneſareth; which, however intended by them, is true only in this Reſpect, that our bleſſed Saviour made Choice of it, to honour it with the Frequency of his Preſence, and the Power of his miraculous Operations. In Length it was an hundred Furlongs, and about forty

forty over; the Water of it pure and clear, ſweet and moſt fit to drink; ſtored it was with ſeveral Sorts of Fiſh, and thoſe different both in Kind and Taſte from thoſe in other Places. Here it was that *Peter* cloſely followed the Exerciſe of his Calling; from whence it ſeems he afterwards removed to *Capernaum*, (probably upon his Marriage) at leaſt he frequently reſided there, for there we meet with his Houſe, and there we find him paying of Tribute: An Houſe, over which *Nicephorus* tells us, that *Helen*, the Mother of *Conſtantine*, erected a beautiful Church, to the Honour of St. *Peter*. This place was equally advantageous for the Managery of his Trade, ſtanding upon the Influx of *Jordan* into the *Sea of Galilee*, and where he might as well reap the Fruits of an honeſt and induſtrious Diligence. A mean, I confeſs it was, and a more ſervile Courſe of Life, as which beſides the great Pains and Labour it required, expoſed him to all Injuries of Wind and Weather, to the Storms of the Sea, the Darkneſs and Tempeſtuouſneſs of the Night, and all to make a ſmall Return. But Meanneſs is no Bar in God's Way, the Poor, if Virtuous, are as dear to Heaven, as the Wealthy and the Honourable, equally alike to him, with whom *there is no reſpect of Perſons*. Nay, our Lord ſeemed to caſt a peculiar Honour upon this Profeſſion, when afterwards calling him, and ſome others of the ſaid Trade, from catching of Fiſh, to be (as he told them) *Fiſhers of Men*.

And here we may juſtly reflect upon the wiſe and admirable Methods of the divine Proivdnce, which in planting and propagating the *Chriſtian* Religion in the World, made Choice of ſuch mean

mean and unlikely Inſtruments, that he ſhould hide theſe Things from the wiſe and prudent, and reveal them unto Babes, Men that had not been educated in the *Academy*, and the Schools of Learning, but brought up to a Trade, to catch Fiſh and mend Nets; moſt of the Apoſtles being taken from the meaneſt Trades, and all of them (St. *Paul* excepted) unfurniſhed of all Arts of Learning, and the Advantages of a liberal and ingenuous Education; and yet theſe were the Men that were deſigned to run down the World, and to overturn the Learning of the Prudent. Certainly had humane Wiſdom been to manage the Buſineſs, it would have taken quite other Meaſures, and choſe out the profoundeſt *Rabbins*, the acuteſt *Philoſophers*, the ſmootheſt Orators, ſuch as would have been moſt likely by Strength of Reaſon, and Arts of Rhetorick to have triumph'd over the Minds of Men, to grapple with the Stubbornneſs of the *Jews*, and baffle the finer Notions and Speculations of the *Greeks*. We find that thoſe Sects of Philoſophy that gained moſt Credit in the Heathen World, did it this Way, by their Eminency in ſome Arts and Sciences, whereby they recommended themſelves to the Acceptance of the wiſer and more ingenious Part of Mankind. *Julian* the Apoſtate thinks it a reaſonable Exception againſt the *Jewiſh* Prophets, that they were incompetent Meſſengers and Interpreters of the divine Will, becauſe they had not their Minds cleared and purged, by paſſing through the Circle of polite Arts and Learning. Why, now this is the Wonder of it, that the firſt Preachers of the Goſpel ſhould be ſuch rude unlearned Men, and yet ſo ſuddenly, ſo powerfully prevail

prevail over the learned World, and conquer ſo many, who had the greateſt Parts and Abilities, and the ſtrongeſt Prejudices againſt it, to the Simplicity of the Goſpel. When *Celſus* objected that the Apoſtles were but a Company of mean and illiterate Perſons, ſorry Marriners and Fiſhermen, *Origen* quickly returns upon him with this Anſwer, " That hence it was plainly evident, " that they taught *Chriſtianity* by a divine Power, " when ſuch Perſons were able, with ſuch an un- " controuled Succeſs to ſubdue Men to the Obe- " dience of his Word; for that they had no elo- " quent Tongues, no ſubtile and diſcurſive Heads, " none of the refin'd and rhetorical Arts of *Greece* " to conquer the Minds of Men. For my Part " (ſays he, in another Place) I verily believe that " the Holy *Jeſus* purpoſely made uſe of ſuch " Preachers of his Doctrine, that there might " be no Suſpicion, that they came inſtructed with " Arts of Sophiſtry; but that it might be clearly " manifeſted to all the World, that there was no " crafty Deſign in it, and that they had a divine " Power going along with them, which was " more efficacious, than the greateſt Volubility " of Expreſſion, or Ornaments of Speech, or the " Artifices which were uſed in the *Grecian* Com- " poſitions." Had it not been for this divine Power that upheld it (as he elſewere argues) the *Chriſtian* Religion muſt needs have ſunk under thoſe weighty Preſſures that lay upon it; having not only to contend with the potent Oppoſition of the Senate, Emperors, People, and the whole Power of the *Roman* Empire, but to conflict with ſome home-bred Wants and Neceſſities, wherewith its own Profeſſors were oppreſſed and burthened.

It could not but greatly vindicate the Apoſtles from all Suſpicion of Forgery and Impoſture in the Thoughts of ſober and unbiaſſed Perſons, to ſee their Doctrine readily entertained by Men of the moſt diſcerning and inquiſitive Minds. Had they dealt only with the Rude and the Simple, the Idiot and the Unlearned, there might have been ſome Pretence to ſuſpect, that they lay in wait to deceive, and deſigned to impoſe upon the World by crafty and inſinuating Arts and Methods. But, alas, they had other Perſons to deal with; Men of the acuteſt Wits, and moſt profound Abilities; the wiſeſt Philoſophers, and the moſt ſubtile Diſputants, able to weigh an Argument with the greateſt Accuracy, and to decline the Force of the ſtrongeſt Reaſonings, and who had their Parts edg'd with the keeneſt Prejudices of Education; and a mighty Veneration for the Religion of their Country, a Religion that for ſo many Ages had governed the World, and taken firm Poſſeſſion of the Minds of Men. And yet, notwithſtanding all theſe Diſadvantages, theſe plain Men conquered the Wiſe and the Learned, and brought them over to that Doctrine that was deſpiſed and ſcorned, oppoſed and perſecuted, and that had nothing but its own native Excellency to recommend it: A clear Evidence that there was ſomething in it beyond the Craft and Power of Men. *Is not this* (ſays an elegant Apologiſt, making his Addreſs to the *Heathens*) *enough to make you believe and entertain it, to conſider that in ſo ſhort a Time it has diffuſed itſelf over the whole World, civilized the moſt barbarous Nations, ſoftned the roughest and moſt intractable Tempers; that the greateſt Wits and Scholars, Orators, Grammarians,*

rians, Rhetoricians, Lawyers, Phyſicians and Philoſophers, have quitted their formerly dear and beloved Sentiments, and heartily embraced the Precepts and Doctrines of the Goſpel? Upon this Account *Theodoret* does with no leſs Truth than Elegancy, inſult and triumph over the *Heathens:* He tells them, that whoever would be at the Pains to compare the beſt Law-makers, either amongſt the *Greeks* or *Romans*, with our Fiſhermen and Publicans, would ſoon perceive, what a divine Virtue and Efficacy there was in them above all others, whereby they did not only conquer their Neighbours, not only the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but brought over the moſt barbarous Nations to a Compliance with the Laws of the Goſpel; and that not by Force of Arms, not by numerous Bands of Soldiers, not by Methods of Torture and Cruelty, but by meek Perſuaſives, and a convincing the World of the Excellency and Uſefulneſs of thoſe Laws which they propounded to them. A Thing which the wiſeſt and beſt Men of the heathen World could never do, to make their *Dogmata* and Inſtitutions univerſally obtain; nay, that *Plato* himſelf could never, by all his plauſible and inſinuative Arts, make his Laws to be entertained by his own dear *Athenians.* He farther ſhews them, rhat the Laws publiſhed by our Fiſhermen and Tent-makers, could never be aboliſhed (like thoſe made by the beſt among them) by the Policies of *Caius*, the Cruelties of *Nero*, or any of the ſucceeding Emperors, but ſtill they went on conquering and to conquer, and made Millions, both of Men and Women, willing to embrace Flames, and to encounter Death in its moſt horrid Shapes, rather than diſown and forſake them: whereof he

calls to Witneſs thoſe many Churches and Monuments every where erected to the Memory of *Chriſtian* Martyrs, no leſs to the Honour than Advantage of thoſe Cities and Countries, and in ſome Senſe to all Mankind.

The Sum of the Diſcourſe is, in the Apoſtles Words, that *God choſe the fooliſh Things of the World to confound the Wiſe, the Weak to confound thoſe that are mighty, the baſe Things of the World, Things moſt vilified and deſpiſed, yet, and Things which are not, to bring to nought Things that are.* Theſe were the Things, theſe the Perſons whom God ſent upon this Errand, to ſilence the *Wiſe, the Scribe, and the Diſputer of this World, and to make fooliſh the Wiſdom of this World.* For though *the* Jews *required a Sign, and the* Greeks *ſought after Wiſdom, though the preaching a crucified Saviour was a Scandal to the* Jews, *and Fooliſhneſs to the learned* Grecians; yet, *by this Fooliſhneſs of Preaching, God was pleaſed to ſave them that believed*; and in the Event made it appear, that *the Fooliſhneſs of God is wiſer than Men, and the Weakneſs of God ſtronger than Men.* That ſo the Honour of all might intirely redound to himſelf; ſo the Apoſtle concludes, *That no Fleſh ſhould glory in his Preſence, but that he that glorieth ſhould glory in the Lord.*

Though we find not whether *Peter*, before his coming to *Chriſt*, was engaged in any of the particular Sects at this Time in the *Jewiſh* Church, yet it is greatly probable, that he was one of the Diſciples of *John the Baptiſt*. For firſt, 'tis certain that his Brother *Andrew* was ſo; and we can hardly think, theſe two Brothers ſhould draw contrary Ways, or that he who was ſo ready to bring his

his Brother the early Tidings of the *Meſſiah*, that the *Sun of Righteouſneſs* was already riſen in thoſe Parts, ſhould not be ſolicitous to bring him under the Diſcipline and Influences of *John the Baptiſt*, the *Day-ſtar* that went before him. Secondly, *Peter's* Forwardneſs and Curioſity at the firſt News of *Chriſt's* appearing, to come to him, and converſe with him, ſhews that his Expectations had been awakened, and ſome Light in this Matter convey'd to him by the Preaching and Miniſtery of *John*, who was *the Voice of one crying in the Wilderneſs, Prepare ye the Way of the Lord, make his Paths ſtreight*, ſhewing them who it was that was coming after him.

His firſt Acquaintance with *Chriſt* commenced in this manner: The Bleſſed *Jeſus* having for thirty Years paſſed through the Solitudes of a private Life, had lately been baptized in *Jordan*, and there publickly owned to be the *Son of God* by the moſt ſolemn Atteſtations that Heaven could give him; whereupon he was immediately hurried into the Wilderneſs, to a perſonal Conteſt with the Devil, for forty Days together. So natural is it to the Enemy of Mankind to malign our Happineſs, and to ſeek to blaſt our Joys, when we are under the higheſt Inſtances of the Divine Grace and Favour. His Enemy being conquered in three ſet Battles, and fled, he returned hence, and came down to *Bethabara*, beyond *Jordan*, where *John* was baptizing his Proſelytes, and endeavouring to ſatisfy the *Jews*, who had ſent to him curiouſly to enquire concerning this new *Meſſiah* that appeared among them. Upon the great Teſtimony which the *Baptiſt* gave him, and his pointing to our Lord then paſſing by him; two of *John's* Diſciples, who were then with him, preſently followed

lowed after *Chriſt*, one of whom was *Andrew*, *Simon*'s Brother. It was towards Evening when they came, and therefore probably they ſtaid with him all Night, during which *Andrew* had Opportunity to inform himſelf, and to ſatisfy his moſt ſcrupulous Enquiries. Early the next Morning (if not that very Evening) he haſtened to acquaint his Brother *Simon* with theſe glad Tidings. 'Tis not enough to be good and happy alone; Religion is a communicative Principle, that, like the Circles in the Water, delights to multiply itſelf, and to diffuſe its Influences round about it, and eſpecially upon thoſe, whom Nature has placed neareſt to us. He tells him, they had found the long-look'd for *Meſſiah*, him whom *Moſes* and the Prophets had ſo ſignally foretold, and whom all the Devout and Pious of that Nation had ſo long expected.

Simon, one of thoſe who *looked for the Kingdom of God, and waited for the Redemption of* Iſrael, raviſhed with this joyful News, and impatient of Delay, preſently follows his Brother to the Place; whither he was no ſooner come, but our Lord, to give him an Evidence of his Divinity, ſalutes him at firſt Sight by Name, tells him what, and who he was, both as to his Name and Kindred, what Title ſhould be given him, that he ſhould be called *Cephas*, or *Peter*; a Name which he afterwards actually conferred upon him. What paſſed farther between them, and whether theſe two Brothers henceforward perſonally attended our Saviour's Motions in the Number of his Diſciples, the ſacred Story leaves us in the Dark. It ſeems probable, that they ſtaid with him for ſome Time, till they were inſtructed in the firſt Rudiments of his Doctrine, and by his Leave departed home.

For

For it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that our Lord being unwilling, at this Time eſpecially, to awaken the Jealouſies of the State, by a numerous Retinue, might diſmiſs his Diſciples for ſome Time, and *Peter* and *Andrew*, amongſt the reſt, who hereupon returned home to the Exerciſe of their Calling, where he found them afterwards.

It was now ſomewhat more than a Year, ſince our Lord enter'd upon the public Stage of Action, conſtantly *went about doing good, healing the Sick*, and *preaching the Goſpel of the Kingdom*; reſiding uſually at *Capernaum*, and the Parts about it, where, by the Conſtancy of his Preaching, and the Reputation of his Miracles, his Fame ſpread about all thoſe Countries; by Means whereof Multitudes of People from all Parts flocked to him, greedily deſirous to become his Auditors. And what Wonder if the parched and barren Earth thirſted for the Showers of Heaven? It happened that our Lord retiring out of the City, to enjoy the Privacy of Contemplation upon the Banks of the Sea of *Galilee*, it was not long before the Multitude found him out; to avoid the Crowd and Preſs whereof, he ſtept into a Ship or Fiſher-boat, that lay near to the Shore, which belonged to *Peter*, who, together with his Companions, after a tedious and unſucceſsful Night, were gone aſhore to waſh and dry their Nets. He, who might have commanded, was get pleaſed to intreat *Peter* (who by this Time was returned into his Ship) to put a little from the Shore. Here being ſat, he taught the People, who ſtood along upon the Shore to hear him. Sermon ended, he reſolved to ſeal his Doctrine with a Miracle, that the People might be the more effectually convinced, that *he was a Teacher come*

from God. To this Purpoſe, he bad *Simon* launch out farther, and caſt his Net into the Sea: *Simon* tells him, they had done it already, that they had been fiſhing all the laſt Night, but in vain; and if they could not ſucceed then (the moſt proper Seaſon for that Employment) there was leſs Hope to ſpeed now, it being probably about Noon. But becauſe where God commands, it is not for any to argue, but obey; at our Lord's Inſtance he let down the Net, which immediately incloſed ſo great a Multitude of Fiſhes, that the Net began to break, and they were forced to call to their Partners, who were in a Ship hard by them, to come in to their Aſſiſtance. A Draught ſo great, that it loaded both their Boats, and that ſo full, that it endangered their ſinking before they could get ſafe to Shore: An Inſtance, wherein our Saviour gave an ocular Demonſtration, that, as *Meſſiah*, God had *put all Things under his Feet, not only Fowls of the Air, but the Fiſh of the Sea, and whatſoever paſſed through the Paths of the Seas.*

Amazed they were all at this miraculous Draught of Fiſhes, whereupon *Simon*, in an Ecſtaſy of Admiration, and a Mixture of Humility and Fear, threw himſelf at the Feet of *Chriſt*, and prayed him to depart from him, as a vile and ſinful Perſon. So evident were the Appearances of Divinity in this Miracle, that he was over-powered and dazled with its Brightneſs and Luſtre, and reflecting upon himſelf, could not but think himſelf unworthy the Preſence of ſo great a Perſon, ſo immediately ſent from God; and conſidering his own State (Conſcience being hereby more ſenſibly awakened) was afraid that the Divine Vengeance might

might purſue and overtake him. But our Lord, to abate the Edge of his Fears, aſſures him, that this Miracle was not done to amaze and terrify him, but to ſtrengthen and confirm his Faith; that now he had nobler Work and Employment for him; inſtead of *catching Fiſh*, he ſhould, by perſuading Men to the Obedience of the Goſpel, *catch the Souls of Men*: And accordingly, commanded him and his Brother to follow him: (the ſame Command, which, preſently after, he gave to the two Sons of *Zebedee*.) The Word was no ſooner ſpoken, but they landed, and diſpoſing their Concerns in the Hands of Friends (as we may preſume prudent and reaſonable Men would) they immediately left all, and followed him; and from this Time *Peter* and the reſt became his conſtant and inſeparable Diſciples living under the Rules of his Diſcipline and Inſtitutions.

From hence they returned to *Capernaum*, where our Lord entering into *Simon*'s Houſe (the Place, in all Likelihood, where he was wont to lodge during his Reſidence in that City) found his Mother-in-Law viſited with a violent Fever. No Privileges afford an Exemption from the ordinary Laws of human Nature; *Chriſt*, under her Roof, did not protect this Woman from the Aſſaults and Invaſions of a Fever. *Lord, behold, he whom thou loveſt is ſick*, as they ſaid concerning *Lazarus*. Here a freſh Opportunity offered itſelf to *Chriſt* of exerting his divine Power. No ſooner was he told of it, but he came to her Bed-ſide, rebuked the *Paroxiſms*, commanded the Fever to be gone; and taking her by the Hand to lift her up, in a Moment reſtored her to perfect Health, and Ability to return to the Buſineſs of her Family; all Cures being equally eaſy to Omnipotence.

Our Lord being now to elect ſome peculiar Perſons, as his immediate Vicegerents upon Earth, to whoſe Care and Truſt he might commit the building up of his Church, and the planting that Religion in the World, for which he himſelf came down from Heaven; in order to it, he privately over-night withdrew himſelf into a ſolitary Mountain (commonly called *the Mount of Chriſt*, from his frequent repairing thither, though ſome of the Ancients will have it to be Mount *Tabor*) there to make his ſolemn Addreſs to Heaven for a proſperous Succeſs on ſo great a Work. Herein leaving an excellent Copy and Precedent to the Governors of his Church, how to proceed in ſetting apart Perſons to ſo weighty and difficult an Employment. Upon this Mountain we may conceive there was an *Oratory* or Place of Prayer (probably intimated by St. *Luke*'s *Proſeucha*'s, or Houſes of Prayer, for ſuch, uſually uncovered, and ſtanding in the Fields, the *Jews* had in ſeveral Places) wherein our Lord continued all Night, not in one continued and intire Act of Devotion, but probably by Intervals and repeated Returns of Duty.

Early the next Morning his Diſciples came to him, out of whom he made choice of Twelve to be his Apoſtles, that they might be the conſtant Attendants upon his Perſon, to hear his Diſcourſes and be Eye-witneſſes of his Miracles; to be always converſant with him while he was upon Earth, and afterwards to be ſent abroad up and down the World, to carry on that Work which he himſelf had begun; whom therefore he inveſted with the Power of working Miracles, which was more compleatly conferred upon them after his Aſcenſion into Heaven. Paſſing by the ſeveral Fancies and Conjectures of the Ancients, why our Saviour

viour pitched upon the juſt Number of Twelve (whereof before) it may deſerve to be conſidered, whether our Lord, being now to appoint the ſupreme Officers and Governors of his Church, which the Apoſtle ſtyles, *the Commonwealth of* Iſrael, might not herein have a more peculiar Alluſion to the twelve Patriarchs, as Founders of their ſeveral Tribes, or to the conſtant Heads and Rulers of thoſe twelve Tribes of which the Body of the *Jewiſh* Nation did conſiſt: Eſpecially ſince he himſelf ſeems elſewhere to give Countenance to it, when he tells the Apoſtles, that *when the Son of Man ſhall ſit on the Throne of his Glory*, that is, be gone back to Heaven, and have taken full Poſſeſſion of his Evangelical Kingdom, which principally commenced from his Reſurrection; that then *they alſo ſhould ſit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of* Iſrael; that is, they ſhould have great Powers and Authorities in the Church, ſuch as the Power of the Keys, and other Rights of ſpiritual Judicature and Sovereignty, anſwerable in ſome Proportion to the Power and Dignity which the Heads and Rulers of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael* did enjoy.

In the Enumeration of theſe twelve Apoſtles, all the Evangeliſts conſtantly place St. *Peter* in the Front; and St. *Matthew* expreſly tells us, that he was the firſt, that is, he was the firſt that was called to be an Apoſtle: his Age alſo, and the Gravity of his Perſon, more particularly qualifying him for a Primacy of Order amongſt the reſt of the Apoſtles, as that without which no Society of Men can be managed or maintained. Leſs than this, as none will deny him; ſo more than this, neither Scripture nor primitive Antiquity do allow

him. And now it was, that our Lord actually conferred that Name upon him, which before he had promiſed him, *Simon* he ſurnamed *Peter*. It may here be enquired, when, and by whom the Apoſtles were baptized. That they were is unqueſtionable, being themſelves appointed to confer it upon others; but when, or how, the Scripture is altogether ſilent. *Nicephorus*, from no worſe an Author, as he pretends, than *Euodius*, St. *Peter*'s immediate Succeſſor to the See of *Antioch*, tells us, That of all the Apoſtles *Chriſt* baptized none but *Peter* with his own Hands; that *Peter* baptized *Andrew*, and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, and they the reſt of the Apoſtles. This, if ſo, would greatly make for the Honour of St. *Peter*. But alas! his Authority is not only ſuſpicious, but ſuppoſititious, in a Manner deſerted by St. *Peter*'s beſt Friends, and the ſtrongeſt Champions of his Cauſe: *Baronius* himſelf, however ſometimes willing to make uſe of him, elſewhere confeſſing that this Epiſtle of *Euodius* is altogether unknown to any of the Ancients. As for the Teſtimony of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, which to the ſame Purpoſe he quotes out of *Sophronius*, (though not *Sophronius*, but *Johannes Moſchus*, as is notoriouſly known, is the Author of that Book) beſides, that it is delivered upon an uncertain Report, pretended to have been alledged in a Diſcourſe between one *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Aſcalon* and his Clergy, out of a Book of *Clemens*, not now extant, his Authors are much alike, that is, of no great Value and Authority.

Amongſt theſe Apoſtles, our Lord choſe a Triumvirate, *Peter* and the two Sons of *Zebedee* to be his more intimate Companions, whom he admitted

more

more familiarly than the reſt, unto all the more ſecret Paſſages and Tranſactions of his Life. The firſt Inſtance of which was on this Occaſion: *Jairus*, a Ruler of the Synagogue, had a Daughter deſperately ſick, whoſe Diſeaſe, having baffled all the Arts of Phyſick, was only curable by the immediate Agency of the God of Nature. He therefore in all Humility addreſſes himſelf to our Saviour; which he had no ſooner done, but Servants came Poſt to tell him, that it was in vain to trouble our Lord, for that his Daughter was dead. *Chriſt* bids him not deſpond, if his Faith held out, there was no Danger. And ſuffering none to follow him, but *Peter*, *James* and *John*, goes along with him to the Houſe; where he was derided by the ſorrowful Friends and Neighbours, for telling them, that ſhe was not perfectly dead. But our Lord entering in, with the commanding Efficacy of two Words, reſtored her at once both to Life and perfect Health.

Our Lord after this preached many Sermons, and wrought many Miracles; amongſt which, none more remarkable, than his feeding a Multitude of five thouſand Men, beſides Women and Children, but with five Loaves and two Fiſhes; of which, nevertheleſs, twelve Baskets of Fragments were taken up. Which being done, and the Multitude diſmiſſed, he commanded the Apoſtles to take Ship, it being now near Night, and to croſs over to *Capernaum*, whilſt he himſelf, as his Manner was, retired to a neighbouring Mountain, to diſpoſe himſelf to Prayer and Contemplation. The Apoſtles were ſcarce got into the middle of the Sea, when on a Sudden a violent Storm and Tempeſt began to ariſe, whereby they were brought into preſent Danger of their Lives. Our Saviour,

who knew how the Caſe ſtood with them, and how much they laboured under infinite Pains and Fears, having himſelf cauſed this Tempeſt, for the greater Trial of their Faith, a little before Morning (for ſo long they remained in this imminent Danger) immediately conveyed himſelf upon the Sea, where the Waves received him, being proud to carry their Maſter. He who refuſed to gratify the Devil, when tempting him to throw himſelf down from the Pinacle of the Temple, did here commit himſelf to a boiſterous and inſtable Element, and that in a violent Storm, walking upon the Water, as if it had been dry Ground. But that infinite Power that made and ſupports the World, as it gave Rule to all particular Beings, ſo can when it pleaſeth countermand the Laws of their Creation, and make them act contrary to their natural Inclinations. If God ſay the Word, the Sun will ſtand ſtill in the middle of the Heavens; if, Go back, it will retrocede, as upon the Dial of *Ahaz*: If he command it, the Heavens will become as Braſs, and the Earth as Iron, and that for three Years and a half together, as in the Caſe of *Elijah*'s Prayer; if he ſay to the Sea, Divide, 'twill run upon Heaps, and become on both Sides as firm as a Wall of Marble. Nothing can be more natural, than for the Fire to burn, and yet at God's Command it will forget its Nature, and become a Skreen and a Fence to the three Children in the *Babylonian* Furnace. What heavier than Iron, or more natural than for Gravity to tend downwards? and yet when God will have it, Iron ſhall float like Cork on the Top of the Water. The proud and raging Sea that naturally refuſes to bear the Bodies of Men while alive, became here as firm as Braſs, when commanded to

wait

wait upon, and do Homage to the God of Nature. Our Lord walking towards the Ship, as if he had an Intention to paſs by it, he was eſpied by them, who preſently thought it to be the Apparition of a Spirit. Hereupon they were ſeized with great terrour and Conſternation; and their Fears, in all Likelihood, heightened by the vulgar Opinion, that they are evil Spirits that chuſe rather to appear in the Night than by Day. While they were in this Agony, our Lord taking Compaſſion on them, calls to them, and bids them not be afraid, for that it was no other than he himſelf. *Peter* (the Eagerneſs of whoſe Temper carried him forward to all bold and reſolute Undertakings) entreated our Lord, that if it was he, he might have Leave to come upon the Water to him. Having received his Orders, he went out of the Ship, and walked upon the Sea to meet his Maſter. But when he found the Wind to bear hard againſt him, and the Waves to riſe round about him, whereby probably the Sight of *Chriſt* was intercepted, he began to be afraid; and the higher his Fears aroſe, the lower his Faith began to ſink, and together with that, his Body to ſink under Water; whereupon, in a paſſionate Fright, he cried out to our Lord to help him, who, reaching out his Arm, took him by the Hand, and ſet him again upon the Top of the Water, with this gentle Reproof, *O thou of little Faith, wherefore didſt thou doubt?* It being the Weakneſs of our Faith that makes the Influences of the Divine Power and Goodneſs to have no better Effect upon us. Being come to the Ship, they took them in, where our Lord no ſooner arrived, but the Winds and Waves obſerving their Duty to their Sovereign Lord, and having done

done the Errand which they came upon, mannerly departed, and vaniſhed away, and the Ship in an Inſtant was at the Shore. All that were in the Ship being ſtrangely aſtoniſhed at this Miracle, and fully convinced of the Divinity of his Perſon, came and did Homage to him, with this Confeſſion, *Of a Truth thou art the Son of God.* After which they went aſhore, and landed in the Country of *Genezareth*, and there more fully acknowledged him before all the People.

The next Day, great Multitudes flocking after him, he entered into a Synagogue at *Capernaum*, and taking Occaſion from the late Miracle of the Loaves, which he had wrought amongſt them, he began to diſcourſe concerning himſelf, as the *true Manna*, and the *Bread that came down from Heaven*; largely opening to them many of the moſt ſublime and ſpiritual Myſteries, and the neceſſary and important Duties of the Goſpel. Hereupon a great Part of his Auditory, who had hitherto followed him, finding their Underſtandings gravelled with theſe difficult and uncommon Notions, and that the Duties he required were likely to grate hard upon them, and perceiving now that he was not the *Meſſiah* they took him for, whoſe Kingdom ſhould conſiſt in an external Grandeur and Plenty, but was to be managed and tranſacted in a more inward and ſpiritual Way; hereupon fairly left him in open Field, and henceforth quite turned their Backs upon him. Whereupon our Lord, turning about to his Apoſtles, asked them, whether *they alſo would go away from him? Peter* (Spokes-man general for all the reſt) anſwered, whether ſhould they go to mend and better their Condition? ſhould they return back to *Moſes?*

H Roberts Sculp.

St Luke 13 Verse. 6. 7.

The Master of the Vineyard orders the barren Fig-tree to be cut down.

Alas! he *laid a Yoke upon them, which neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear.* Should they go to the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, they would feed them with Stones inſtead of Bread, obtrude human Traditions upon them, for divine Dictates and Commands: Should they betake themſelves to the Phiſoſophers amongſt the *Gentiles*, they were miſerably blind and ſhort-ſighted in their Notions of Things, and their Sentiments and Opinions not only different from, but contrary to one another; no, 'twas *he only that had the Words of eternal Life*, whoſe Doctrine could inſtruct them in the plain Way to Heaven; that they had fully aſſented to what both *John* and he had ſaid concerning himſelf, that they were fully perſuaded both from the Efficacy of his Sermons, which they heard, and the powerful Conviction of his Miracles which they had ſeen; that he was *the Son of the Living God*, the true *Meſſiah* and Saviour of the World. But notwithſtanding this fair and plauſible Teſtimony, he tells them, that they were not all of this Mind; that there was a *Satan* amongſt them; one that was moved by the Spirit and Impulſe, and that acted according to the Rules and Intereſt of the *Devil*: Intimating *Judas*, who ſhould betray him. So hard is it to meet with a Body of ſo juſt and pure a Conſtitution, wherein ſome rotten Member, or diſtempered Part is not to be found.

It was ſome Time ſince our Saviour had kept his third *Paſſover* at *Jeruſalem*, when he directed his Journey towards *Cæſarea Philippi*; where, by the Way, having, like a careful Maſter of his Family, firſt prayed with his Apoſtles, he began to ask them (having been more than two Years publickly converſant among them) what the

World thought concerning him. They anſwered, that the Opinions of Men, about him, were various and different; that ſome took him for *John the Baptiſt*, lately riſen from the Dead, between whoſe Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Way of Life, in the Main, there was ſo great a Correſpondence: That others thought he was *Elias*; probably judging ſo from the Gravity of his Perſon, Freedom of his Preaching, the Fame and Reputation of his Miracles, eſpecially ſince the Scriptures aſſured them he was not dead, but gone up into Heaven, and had ſo expreſly foretold, that he ſhould return back again: That others looked upon him as the Prophet *Jeremiah* alive again, of whoſe Return the *Jews* had great Expectations; inſomuch, that ſome of them thought the Soul of *Jeremiah* was re-inſpired into *Zacharias*: Or, if not thus, at leaſt that he was one of the moſt eminent of the antient *Prophets*, or that the Souls of theſe Perſons had been breathed into him; the Doctrine of the Tranſmigration of the Souls, firſt broached and propagated by *Pythagoras*, being at this Time current amongſt the *Jews*, and owned by the *Phariſees* as one of their prime Notions and Principles.

This Account not ſufficing, our Lord comes cloſer and nearer to them, and tells them, It was wonder if the People were divided into theſe wild Thoughts concerning him; but ſince they had been always with him, had been Hearers of his Sermons, and Spectators of his Miracles, he enquired, what they themſelves thought of him. *Peter*, ever forward to return an Anſwer, and therefore by the Fathers frequently ſtyled, *The Mouth of the Apoſtles*, told him, in the Name of the reſt, That he was the *Meſſiah*, the *Son of the*

living God, promiſed of old in the Law and the Prophets, heartily deſired and looked for by all good Men, anointed and ſet apart by God to be the King, Prieſt and Prophet of his People. To this excellent and comprehenſive Confeſſion of St. *Peter*'s, our Lord returns this great Eulogium and Commendation; *Bleſſed art thou*, Simon Bar Jonah, *Fleſh and Blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven*: That is, this Faith which thou haſt now confeſſed, is not human, contrived by Man's Wit, or built upon his Teſtimony, but upon thoſe Notions and Principles which I was ſent by God to reveal to the World, and thoſe mighty and ſolemn Atteſtations which he has given from Heaven, to the Truth both of my Perſon, and my Doctrine. And becauſe thou haſt ſo freely made this Confeſſion, therefore *I alſo ſay unto thee, that thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell ſhall ſhall not prevail againſt it*: That is, that as thy Name ſignifies a *Stone* or *Rock*, ſuch ſhalt thou thyſelf be, firm, ſolid and immovable, in building of the Church, which ſhall be ſo orderly erected, by thy Care and Diligence, and ſo firmly founded upon that Faith which thou haſt now confeſſed, that all the Aſſaults and Attempts which the Powers of Hell can make againſt it, ſhall not be able to over-turn it. Moreover, *I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on Earth, ſhall be looſed in Heaven*: That is, thou ſhalt have that Authority and Power within the Church, whereby, as with Keys, thou ſhalt be able to ſhut and lock out obſtinate and impenitent Sinners,

and upon their Repentance to unlock the Door, and take them in again: And what thou ſhalt thus regularly do, ſhall be owned in the Court above, and ratified by God in Heaven.

Upon theſe ſeveral Paſſages, the Champions of the Church of *Rome*, mainly build the unlimited Supremacy and Infallibility of the Biſhops of that See: with how much Truth, and how little Reaſon, it is not my preſent purpoſe to diſcuſs. It may ſuffice here to remark, that though this place does very much tend to exalt the Honour of St. *Peter*, yet is there nothing herein perſonal and peculiar to him alone, as diſtinct from, and preferred above the reſt of the Apoſtles. Does he here make Confeſſion of *Chriſt*'s being the Son of God? Yet, beſides that herein he ſpake but the ſenſe of all the reſt, this was no more than what others had ſaid, as well as he, yea, before he was ſo much as called to be a Diſciple. Thus *Nathanael*, at his firſt coming to *Chriſt*, expreſly told him, *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of* Iſrael. Does our Lord here ſtyle him a Rock? All the Apoſtles are elſewhere equally called *Foundations*, yea ſaid to be the *Twelve Foundations upon which the Wall of the* New-Jeruſalem, that is, the evangelical Church is erected; and ſometimes others of them, beſides *Peter*, are called Pillars, as they have relation to the Church already built. Does *Chriſt* here promiſe the Keys to *Peter?* That is, Power of governing and of exerciſing Church Cenſures, and of abſolving penitent Sinners: The very ſame is elſewere promiſed to all the Apoſtles, and almoſt in the very ſame Terms and Words, *If thine offending Brother prve obſtinate, tell it unto the Church; but, if he neglect*

neglect to hear the Chuach, let him be unto thee an Heathen and a Publican. Verily, I ſay unto you, whatſoever ye ſhall bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven. And elſewhere, when ready to leave the World, he tells them, *As my Father hath ſent me, even ſo ſend I you: Whoſeſoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whoſeſoever Sins ye retain, they are retained,* By all which it is evident, that our Lord did not here give any perſonal Prerogative to St. *Peter*, as univerſal Paſtor and Head of the Chriſtian Church, much leſs to thoſe who were to be his Succeſſors in the See of *Rome*; but as he made this Confeſſion in the Name of the reſt of the Apoſtles, ſo what was here promiſed unto him, was equally intended unto all. Nor did the more conſidering and judicious Part of the Fathers (however giving a mighty Reverence to St. *Peter*) ever underſtand it in any other Senſe. Sure I am that *Origen* tells us, that every true *Chriſtian* that makes this Confeſſion with the ſame Spirit and and Integrity which St. *Peter* did, ſhall have the ſame Bleſſing and Commendation from *Chriſt* conferred upon him.

The holy *Jeſus*, knowing the Time of his Paſſion to draw on, began to prepare the Minds of his Apoſtles againſt that fatal Hour; telling them what hard and bitter Things he ſhould ſuffer at *Jeruſalem*, what Affronts and Indignities he muſt undergo, and be at laſt put to death with all the arts of Torture and Diſgrace, by the Decree of the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*. *Peter*, whom our Lord had infinitely encouraged and endeared to him, by the great Things which he had lately ſaid concerning him, ſo that his Spirits were now afloat, and his Paſſions ready to over-run

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the Banks, not able to endure a Thought that ſo much Evil ſhould befal his Maſter, broke out into an over-confident and unſeaſonable Interruption of him. *He took him, and began to rebuke him, ſaying, Be it far from thee, Lord, this ſhall not be unto thee.* Beſides his great Kindneſs and Affection to his Maſter, the Minds of the Apoſtles were not yet throughly purged from the Hopes and Expectations of a glorious Reign of the *Meſſiah*; ſo that *Peter* could not but look upon theſe Sufferings as unbecoming and inconſiſtent with the State and Dignity of the Son of God; and therefore thought good to adviſe his Lord to take care of himſelf, and, while there was Time, to prevent and avoid them. This our Lord, who valued the Redemption of Mankind infinitely before his own Eaſe and Safety, reſented at ſo high a Rate, that he returned upon him with this ſharp and ſtinging Reproof, *Get thee behind me Satan:* The very ſame Treatment which he once gave to the Devil himſelf, when he made that inſolent Propoſal to him, *To fall down and worſhip him*; though in *Satan* it was the Reſult of pure Malice and Hatred; in *Peter* only an Error of Love and great Regard. However, our Lord could not but look upon it as a miſchievous and diabolical Counſel, prompted and promoted by the great Adverſary of Mankind. Away therefore, ſays *Chriſt*, with thy helliſh and pernicious Counſel, *Thou art an Offence unto me*, in ſeeking to oppoſe and undermine that great Deſign, for which I purpoſely came down from Heaven: In this *thou ſavoureſt not the Things of God, but thoſe that be of Men*, in ſuggeſting to me thoſe little Shifts and Arts of Safety and Self-Preſervation, which

which human Prudence, and the Love of Mens ownſelves are wont to dictate to them. By which, though we may learn *Peter*'s mighty Kindneſs to our Saviour, yet that therein he did not take his Meaſures right. A plain Evidence that his infallibility had not yet taken place.

About a Week after this, our Saviour being to receive a Type and Specimen of his future Glorification, took with him his three moſt intimate Apoſtles, *Peter*, and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, and went up into a very high Mountain, which the Antients generally conceive to have been Mount *Tabor*, a round and very high Mountain, ſituate in the Plains of *Galilee*. And now was even literally fulfilled what the *Pſalmiſt* had ſpoken, Tabor *and* Hermon *ſhall rejoice in thy Name*; for what greater Joy and Triumph, than to be peculiarly choſen to be the holy Mount, whereon our Lord, in ſo eminent a Manner, *received from God the Father, Honour and Glory*, and made ſuch magnificent Diſplays of his divine Power and Majeſty? For while they were here earneſtly employed in Prayer, (as ſeldom did our Lord enter upon any eminent Action, but he firſt made his Addreſs to Heaven) he was ſuddenly transformed into another Manner of Appearance, ſuch a luſtre and radiancy darted from his Face, that the Sun itſelf ſhines not brighter at Noon-day; ſuch Beams of Light reflected from his Garments, as out-did the Light itſelf that was round about them, ſo exceeding pure and white, that the Snow might bluſh to compare with it; nor could the Fuller's Art purify any Thing into Half that Whiteneſs: An evident and ſenſible Repreſentation of the Glory of that State, wherein the *juſt* ſhall *walk in White*, and *Shine as the Sun in the Kingdom of the*

the Father. During this heavenly Scene, there appeared *Moſes* and *Elias*, (who, as the *Jews* ſay, ſhall come together) clothed with all the Brightneſs and Majeſty of a glorified State, familiarly converſing of the Death and Sufferings which he was ſhortly to undergo, and his Departure into Heaven. Behold here together the three greateſt Perſons that ever were the Miniſters of Heaven: *Moſes*, under God, the Inſtitutor and Promulgator of their Law; *Elias*, the great Reformer of it, when under its deepeſt Degeneracy and Corruption; and the bleſſed *Jeſus*, the Son of God, who came to take away what was weak and imperfect, and to introduce a more manly and rational Inſtitution, and to communicate the laſt Revelation which God would make of his Mind to the World. *Peter* and the two Apoſtles that were with him, were in the mean Time fallen aſleep, heavy through Want of natural reſt, (it being probably Night when this was done) or elſe overpower'd with theſe extraordinary Appearances, which Frailty and Weakneſs of their preſent State could not bear, were fallen into a Trance. But now awaking, were ſtrangely ſurprized to behold our Lord ſurrounded with ſo much Glory, and thoſe two great Perſons converſing with him, knowing who they were, probably by ſome particular Marks and Signatures that were upon them, or elſe ſome immediate Revelation, or from the Diſcourſe which paſſed betwixt *Chriſt* and them, or poſſibly from ſome Communication which they themſelves might have with them. While theſe heavenly Gueſts were about to depart, *Peter*, in a great Rapture and Ecſtaſy of Mind, addreſſed himſelf to our Saviour, telling him how infinitely they were pleaſed and delighted with their being

ing there; and to that Purpoſe deſiring his Leave, that they might erect three Tabernacles, one for him, one for *Moſes*, and one for *Elias*. While he was thus ſaying, a bright Cloud ſuddenly overſhadowed the two great Miniſters, and wrapt them up; out of which came a Voice, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed, hear ye him*; which, when the Apoſtles heard, and ſaw the Cloud coming over themſelves, they were ſeized with a great Conſternation, and fell upon their Faces to the Ground; whom our Lord gently touched, bad them ariſe and diſband their Fears: Whereupon looking up, they ſaw none but their Maſter, the reſt having vaniſhed and diſappeared. In Memory of theſe great Tranſactions, *Bede* tells us, that in purſuance of Saint *Peter*'s Petition about the three Tabernacles, were afterwards three Churches built upon the Top of this Mountain, which, in After-times were had in great Veneration, which might poſſibly give ſome Foundation to that Report which one makes, that in his Time there were ſhewed the Ruins of thoſe three Tabernacles, which were built according to St. *Peter*'s Deſire.

After this, our Lord and his Apoſtles, having travelled through *Galilee*, the Gatherers of the Tribute-Money came to *Peter*, and asked him, whether his Maſter was not obliged to pay the Tribute, which God, under the *Moſaic* Law, commanded to be yearly paid by every *Jew* above twenty Years old, to the Uſe of the Temple, which ſo continued to the Times of *Veſpaſian*, under whom the Temple being deſtroyed, it was by him transferred to the Uſe of the *Capitol* at *Rome*, being to the Value of Half a Shekel, or Fifteen-pence of our Money. To this Queſtion of

theirs, *Peter* poſitively anſwers, yes; knowing his Maſter would never be backward, either to *give unto* Cæſar *the Things that be* Cæſar's, *or to God the Things that are God's*. *Peter* going into the Houſe, to give an Account to his Maſter, and to know his Mind concerning it, *Chriſt* prevented him with this Queſtion, *What thinkeſt thou* Simon, *of whom do earthly Kings exact Tribute*, of their own Children and Family, or from other People? *Peter* anſwered, Not from their own Servants and Family, but from Strangers. To which our Lord preſently replied, That then, according to his own Argument and Opinion, both he himſelf, as being the Son of God, and they whom he had taken to be his menial and domeſtick Servants, were free from this Tax of Head-Money, yearly to be paid to God. But rather than give Offence, by ſeeming to deſpiſe the Temple, and to undervalue that Authority that had ſettled this Tribute, he reſolves to put himſelf to the Expence and Charge of a Miracle; and therefore commanded *Peter* to go to Sea, and take up the firſt Fiſh which came to his Hook, in whoſe Mouth he ſhould find a Piece of Money, (a *Stater*, in Value a Shekel, or Half-a-Crown,) which he took and gave to the Collectors, both for his Maſter and himſelf.

Our Lord, after this, diſcourſing to them, how to carry themſelves towards their offending Brethren; *Peter* being deſirous to be more particularly informed in this Matter, asked our Saviour, How oft a Man was obliged to forgive his Brother, in caſe of Offence and Treſpaſs, whether ſeven Times were not enough? He told him, that upon his Neighbour's Repentance, he was not only bound to do it ſeven times, but until ſeventy times

times ſeven; that is, he muſt be indulgent to him, as oft as the Offender returns and begs it, and heartily profeſſes his Sorrow and and Repentance. Which he farther illuſtrates by a plain and excellent Parable, and thence draws this Concluſion, that the ſame Meaſures, either of Compaſſion or Cruelty, which Men ſhew to their fellow Brethren, they themſelves ſhall meet with at the Hands of God, the ſupreme Ruler and Juſticiary of the World. It was not long after, when a brisk young Man addreſſed himſelf to our Saviour, to know of him, by what Methods he might beſt attain Eternal Life. Our Lord, to humble his Confidence, bad him *ſell his Eſtate, and give it to the Poor*; and, putting himſelf under his Diſcipline, he ſhould have a much better *Treaſure in Heaven*. The Man was rich, and liked not the Counſel, nor was he willing to purchaſe Happineſs at ſuch a Rate; and accordingly went away under great Sorrow and Diſcontent. Upon which *Chriſt* takes Occaſion to let them know, how hardly thoſe Men would get to Heaven, who built their Comfort and Happineſs upon the Plenty and Abundance of theſe outward Things. *Peter*, taking hold of this Opportunity, ask'd, What Return they themſelves ſhould have, who had quitted and renounced whatever they had for his Sake and Service? Our Saviour anſwers, That no Man ſhould be Loſer by his Service; that for their Parts, they ſhould be recompenced with far greater Privileges; and that whoever ſhould forſake Houſes or Lands, Kindred and Relations, out of Love to him and his Religion, ſhould enjoy them again with infinite Advantages in this World, if conſiſtent with the Circumſtances of

their State, and thoſe Troubles and Perſecutions which would neceſſarily ariſe from the Profeſſion of the Goſpel; however, they ſhould have what would make infinite amends for all; *Eternal Life in the other World.*

Our Saviour, in order to his laſt fatal Journey to *Jeruſalem*, that he might the better comply with the Prophecy that went before of him, ſent two of his Apoſtles, who, in all Probability were *Peter* and *John*, with an authoritative Commiſſion to fetch him an Aſs to ride on, (he had none of his own; he who *was rich, for our Sakes, made himſelf poor*; he lived upon Charity all his Life, had neither an Aſs to ride on, nor an Houſe where to lay his Head, no, nor after his Death, a Tomb to lie in, but what the Charity of others provided for him) whereon being mounted, and attended with the Acclamations of the People, he ſet forward on his Journey; wherein there appears an admirable Mixture of Humility and Majeſty: The Aſs he rode on became the Meanneſs and Meekneſs of a Prophet; but his arbitrary Commiſſion for the fetching it, and the ready Obedience of its Owners, ſpake the Prerogative of a King; the Palms born before him, the Garments ſtrew'd in his Way, and the joyful Hoſannahs and Acclamations of the People, proclaim at once, both the Majeſty of a Prince, and the Triumph of a Saviour. For ſuch Expreſſions of Joy we find were uſual in publick and feſtival Solemnities. Thus a Hiſtorian, deſcribing the Emperor *Commodus* his triumphant Return to *Rome*, tells us, that the Senate and whole People of *Rome*, to teſtify their mighty Kindneſs and Veneration for him, came out of the City to meet him, carrying

Palms

Palms and Laurels along with them, and throwing about all Sorts of Flowers that were then in Seaſon. In this Manner our Lord being entered the City, he ſoon after retired to *Bethany*, whence he diſpatched *Peter* and *John*, to make Preparation for the *Paſſover*, giving them Inſtructions where he would have it kept. Accordingly they found the Perſon he had deſcribed to them, whom they followed home to his Houſe. Whether this was the Houſe of *John the Evangeliſt*, (as *Nicephorus* tells us) ſituate near Mount *Sion*, or of *Simon the Leper*, or of *Nicodemus*, or of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, as others ſeverally conjecture; ſeeing none of the *Evangeliſts* have thought fit to tell us, it may not become us curiouſly to enquire.

All Things being now prepared, our Saviour, with his Apoſtles, came down for the Celebration of the *Paſſover*. And being entered into the Houſe, they orderly took their Places. Our Lord, who had always taught them by his Practice, no leſs than by his Doctrine, did now particularly Deſign to teach them Humility and Charity, by his own Example. And that the Inſtance might be the greater, he underwent the meaneſt Offices of the Miniſtry; towards the End therefore of the Paſchal Supper, he aroſe from the Table, and laying aſide his upper Garment (which, according to the Faſhion of thoſe Eaſtern Countries, being long, was unfit for Action) and himſelf taking a Towel, and pouring Water into a Baſon, he began to waſh all the Apoſtles feet, not diſdaining thoſe of *Judas* himſelf. Coming to *Peter*, he would by no Means admit an Inſtance of ſo much Condeſcenſion. What, the Maſter do this to the Servant; the Son of God to ſo vile a Sinner? This

made

made him a ſecond Time refuſe it, *Thou ſhalt never waſh my Feet.* But our Lord ſoon corrects his Imprudent Modeſty, by telling him, That *if he waſhed him not, he could have have no Part with him*; inſinuating the Myſtery of this Action, which was to denote Remiſſion of Sin, and the purifying Virtue of the Spirit of *Chriſt* to be poured upon all true *Chriſtians*. *Peter*, ſatisfied with the Anſwer, ſoon altered his Reſolution, *Lord, not my Feet alſo, but only my Hands and my Head.* If the Caſe be ſo, let me be waſhed all over, rather than come ſhort of my Portion in thee. This being done, he returned again to the Table, and acquainted them with the Meaning and Tendency of this myſtical Action, and what force it ought to have upon them towards one another. The Waſhing itſelf denoted their inward and ſpiritual Cleanſing by the Blood and Spirit of *Chriſt*, ſymbolically typified and repreſented by all the Waſhings and Baptiſms of the *Moſaic* Inſtitution; the waſhing of the Feet reſpected our intire Sanctification of our whole Spirit, Soul and Body, no Part being to be left impure. And then, that all this ſhould be done by ſo great a Perſon (their Lord and Maſter) preached to their very Senſes a Sermon of the greateſt Humility and Condeſcenſion, and taught them how little Reaſon they had to boggle at the meaneſt Offices of Kindneſs and Charity towards others, when he he himſelf had ſtoop'd to ſo low an abaſure towards them. And now he began more immediately to reflect upon his Sufferings, and upon him who was to be the Occaſion of them; telling them that one of them would be the Traitor to betray him. Hereat they were ſtrangely troubled, and every one began

gan to ſuſpect himſelf, till *Peter* (whoſe Love and Care for his Maſter, commonly made him ſtart ſooner than the reſt) made Signs to St. *John*, who lay in our Saviour's Boſom, to ask him particularly who it was? Which our Saviour preſently did, by making them underſtand that it was *Judas Iſcariot*, who not long after left the Company.

And now our Lord began the Inſtitution of his Supper, that ſolemn Inſtitution which he was reſolved to leave behind him, to be conſtantly celebrated in all Ages of the Church, as the ſtanding Monument of his Love in dying for Mankind. For now he told them, that he himſelf muſt leave them, and that *whither he went, they could not come.* *Peter*, not well underſtanding what he meant, asked him whither it was he was going? Our Lord replied, It was to that Place whither he could not follow him; but that he ſhould do it afterwards: Intimating the Martyrdom he was to undergo for the Sake of *Chriſt*. To which *Peter* anſwered, that he knew no Reaſon why he might not follow, ſeeing that if it was even to the laying down of his Life for his Sake, he was moſt ready and reſolved to do it. Our Lord liked not his over-confident Preſumption, and therefore told him, they were great Things which he promiſed, but that he took not the true Meaſures of his own Strength, nor eſpied the Snares and Deſigns of Satan, who deſired no better Occaſion than this, to ſift and winnow him: But that he had prayed to Heaven for him, *That his Faith might not fail*; by which Means being ſtrengthened himſelf, he ſhould be obliged to ſtrengthen and confirm his Brethren. And, whereas he ſo confidently aſſured him, that he was ready

to

to go along with him, not only into Priſon, but even to death itſelf; our Lord plainly told him, that notwithſtanding all his confident and generous Reſolutions, before *the Cock crowed thrice*; that is, before three of the Clock in the Morning, he would that very Night three ſeveral Times deny his Maſter. With which Anſwer our Lord wiſely rebuked his Confidence, and taught him (had he underſtood the Leſſon) not to truſt to his own Strength, but intirely to depend upon him, who is able to keep us from falling. Withal inſinuating, that though by his Sin he would juſtly forfeit the divine Grace and Favour, yet, upon his Repentance, he ſhould be reſtored to the Honour of the Apoſtolate, as a certain Evidence of the divine Goodneſs and Indulgence to him.

Having ſung an Hymn, and concluded the whole Affair, he left the Houſe where all theſe Things had been tranſacted, and went with his Apoſtles unto the *Mount of Olives*, where again he put them in mind how much they would be offended at thoſe Things which he was now about to ſuffer; and *Peter* again renewed his reſolute and undaunted Promiſe of ſuffering and dying with him; yea, out of an exceſſive Confidence told him, that *though all the reſt ſhould forſake and deny him, yet would not he deny him.* How far will Zeal and an indiſcreet Affection tranſport even a good Man into Vanity and Preſumption! *Peter* queſtions others, but never doubts himſelf. So natural is Self-Love, ſo apt are we to take the faireſt Meaſures of ourſelves. Nay, though our Lord had but a little before, once and again reproved this vain Humour, yet does he ſtill, not only perſiſt, but grow up in it. So hardly are we brought to eſpy our Faults or to be ſo thoroughly convinced of them, as to correct

H. Roberts Sculp.

St Luke 12 Verse 20.

The covetous Worldling pronounced ye greatest Fool.

correct and reform them. This Confidence of his inſpired all the reſt with a mighty Courage, all the Apoſtles likewiſe aſſuring him of their conſtant and unſhaken adhering to him; but our Lord returned the ſame Anſwer to *Peter*, which he had done before. From hence they went down into the Village of *Gethſemane*, where, leaving the reſt of the Apoſtles, he, accompanied with none but *Peter*, *James* and *John*, retired into a neighbouring Garden, (whither, *Euſebius* tells us, *Chriſtians*, even in his Time, were wont to come ſolemnly to offer up their Prayers to Heaven, and where, as the *Arabian* Geographer informs us, a fair and ſtately Church was built to the Honour of the *Virgin Mary*) to enter upon the Ante-ſcene of the fatal Tragedy that was now approaching; it bearing a very fit Proportion (as ſome of the Fathers have obſerved) that as the *firſt Adam* fell and ruined Mankind in a *Garden*, ſo a *Garden* ſhould be the Place where the *ſecond Adam* ſhould begin his Paſſion, in order to the Redemption of the World. Gardens, which, to us are Places of Repoſe and Pleaſure, and Scenes of Divertiſement and Delight, were to our Lord a School of Temptation, a Theatre of great Horrors and Sufferings, and the firſt Approaches of the Hour of Darkneſs.

Here it was that the bleſſed *Jeſus* laboured under the bittereſt Agony that could fall upon humane Nature, which the holy Story deſcribes by Words ſufficiently expreſſive of the higheſt Grief and Sorrow; he was *afraid*, *ſorrowful*, and *very heavy*, yea, *his Soul was exceeding ſorrowful*, and that *even unto Death*, he was *ſore amazed*, *and very heavy*, he was *troubled*, his Soul was ſhaken with a vehement Commotion; yea, he was in an

Agony, a Word by which the *Greeks* were wont to repreſent the greateſt Conflicts and Anxieties. The Effect of all which was, that *he pray'd more earneſtly*, offered up *Prayers and Supplications with ſtrong Cries and Tears*, as the Apoſtle expounds it, and ſweat, *as it were, great Drops of Blood falling to the Ground*. What this bloody Sweat was, and how far natural or extraordinary, I am not concerned to enquire. Certain it is, it was a plain Evidence of the moſt intenſe Grief and Sadneſs: For if an extreme Fear or Trouble will many Times caſt us into a cold Sweat, how great muſt be the Commotion and Conflict of our Saviour's Mind, which could force open the Pores of his Body, lock'd up by the Coldneſs of the Night, and make not Drops of Sweat, but great Drops, or (as the *Greek* Word ſignifies) *Clods* of Blood to iſſue from them. While our Lord was thus contending with theſe Ante-paſſions, the three Apoſtles ſlept, when he had made three ſeveral Addreſſes unto Heaven, that, if it might conſiſt with his Father's Will, this bitter *Cup might paſs from him*, (expreſſing herein the harmleſs and innocent Deſires of human Nature, which always ſtudies its own Preſervation) between each of them came to viſit the Apoſtles, and calling to *Peter*, asked him, *Whether they could not watch with him one Hour?* adviſing them *to watch and pray, that they entered not into Temptation*; adding this Argument, that *the Spirit indeed was willing, but that the fleſh was weak*, and that therefore there was the more Need that they ſhould ſtand upon their Guard. Obſerve here the incomparable Sweetneſs, the generous Candor of our bleſſed Saviour, to paſs ſo charitable a Cenſure upon an Action, from whence Malice and Ill-nature might have drawn Mon-

ſters and Prodigies, and have repreſented it black as the Shades of Darkneſs. The Requeſt which our Lord made to theſe Apoſtles, was infinitely reaſonable, to watch with him in his bitter Agony, their Company at leaſt being ſome Refreſhment to one, under ſuch ſad and fatal Circumſtances; and this but for a little Time, one Hour, it would ſoon be over, and then they might freely conſult their own Eaſe and Safety: 'Twas their dear Lord and Maſter whom they were now to attend upon, ready to lay down his Life for them, ſweating already under the firſt Skirmiſhes of his Sufferings, and expecting every Moment when all the Powers of Darkneſs would fall upon him. But all theſe Conſiderations were drowned in a profound Security, the Men were faſt aſleep, and though often awakened and told of it, regarded it not; as if nothing but Eaſe and Softneſs had been then to be dreamed of: An Action that looked like the moſt prodigious Ingratitude, and the higheſt Unconcernedneſs for their Lord and Maſter, and which, one would have thought had argued a very great Coldneſs and indifferency of Affection towards him. But he would not ſet it upon the Tenters, nor ſtretched it to what it might eaſily have been drawn to; he imputes it not to their Unthankfulneſs, or Want of Affection, nor to their Careleſneſs of what became of him, but merely to their Infirmity and the Weakneſs of their bodily Temper, himſelf making the Excuſe, when they could make none for themſelves; *the Spirit indeed is willing, but the Fleſh is weak*: Hereby teaching us, to put the moſt candid and favourable Conſtruction upon thoſe Actions of others, which are capable of various Interpreta-

tions, and rather with the Bee to ſuck Honey, than with the Spider to draw Poiſon from them. His laſt Prayer being ended, he came to them, and told them, with a gentle Rebuke, That now they might *ſleep on*, if they pleaſed, that *the Hour was at Hand that he ſhould be betray'd, and delivered into the Hands of Men.*

While he was thus diſcourſing to them, a Band of Soldiers, ſent from the High-prieſts, with the Traitor *Judas* to conduct and direct them, ruſh'd into the Garden, and ſeized upon him; which, when the Apoſtles ſaw, they asked him whether they ſhould attempt his Reſcue. *Peter* (whoſe ungovernable Zeal put him upon all dangerous Undertakings) without ſtaying for an Anſwer, drew his Sword, and eſpying one more buſy than the reſt, in laying hold upon our Saviour, which was *Malchus* (who, though carrying Kingſhip in his Name, was but a Servant to the High-prieſt) ſtruck at him, with an Intention to diſpatch him; but God over-ruling the ſtroke, it only cut off his Right-Ear. Our Lord liked not this wild and unwarrantable Zeal, and therefore intreated their Patience, whilſt he miraculouſly healed the Wound. And turning to *Peter*, bad him put up his Sword again; told him, that they who unwarrantably uſed the Sword, ſhould themſelves periſh by it; that there was no need of theſe violent and extravagant Courſes; that if he had a Mind to be rid of his Keepers, he could ask his Father, who would preſently ſend more than twelve Legions of Angels to his Reſcue and Deliverance: But he muſt *drink the Cup* which his Father had put into his Hand; for how elſe could the Scriptures be fulfilled, which had expreſly foretold,

foretold, *That theſe Things muſt be?* Whereupon all the Apoſtles forſook him, and fled from him; and they who before in their Promiſes were as bold as Lions, now they came to it, like fearful and timorous Hares, ran away from him: *Peter* and *John*, though ſtaying laſt with him, yet followed the ſame Way with the reſt, preferring their own Safety before the Concernments of their Maſter.

No ſooner was he apprehended by the Soldiers, and brought out of the Garden, but he was immediately poſted from one Tribunal to another, brought firſt to *Annas*, then carried to *Caiaphas*, where the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim* met together in order to his Trial and Condemnation. *Peter* having a little recovered himſelf, and gotten looſe from his Fears, probably encouraged by his Companion St. *John*, returns back to ſeek his Maſter: And finding them leading him to the High-prieſt's Hall, followed afar off, to ſee what would be the Event and Iſſue. But coming to the Door, could get no Admittance, till one of the Diſciples who was acquainted there, went out and perſuaded the Servant, who kept the Door, to let him in. Being let into the Hall, where the Servants and Officers ſtood round the Fire, *Peter* alſo came thither to warm himſelf, where being eſpied by the Servant-maid that let him in, ſhe, earneſtly looking upon him, charged him with being one of *Chriſt*'s Diſciples; which *Peter* publickly denied before all the Company, poſitively affirming, that *he knew him not*; and preſently withdrew himſelf into the Porch, where he heard the Cock crow: An Intimation, which one would have thought ſhould have awakened his Conſcience into a quick Senſe of his Duty, and the Promiſe he had made unto his

his Maſter. In the Porch, another of the Maids ſet upon him, charging him that *he alſo was one of them that had been with* Jeſus *of* Nazareth: Which *Peter* ſtoutly denied, ſaying, that *he knew not* Chriſt; and the better to gain their Belief to what he ſaid, ratified it with an Oath. So natural is it for one Sin to draw on another.

About an Hour after he was a third Time ſet upon, by a Servant of the High-prieſt, *Malchus* his Kinſman, whoſe Ear *Peter* had lately cut off: By him he was charged to be one of *Chriſt*'s Diſciples; yea, *that his very Speech betrayed him to be a* Galilean. For the *Galileans*, though they did not ſpeak a different Language, had yet a different Dialect, uſing a more confuſed and barbarous, a broader and more unpoliſhed way of Pronunciation than the reſt of the *Jews*; whereby they were eaſily diſtinguiſhable in their ſpeaking from other Men; abundant Inſtances whereof there are extant in the *Talmud* at this Day. Nay, not only gave this Evidence, but added, that he himſelf had ſeen him with *Jeſus* in the Garden. *Peter* ſtill reſolutely denied the Matter, and to add the higheſt Accompliſhment to his Sin, ratified it not only with an Oath, but a ſolemn Curſe and Execration, that *he was not the Perſon*, that *he knew not the Man*. 'Tis but a very weak Excuſe, which St. *Ambroſe* and ſome others make for this Act of *Peter*'s, in ſaying, *I know not the Man. He did well* (ſays he) *to deny him to be Man, whom he knew to be God.* St. *Hierom* takes notice of this pious and well-meant Excuſe made for *Peter*, though out of Modeſty he conceals the Name of its Author, but yet juſtly cenſures it as trifling and frivolous, and which to excuſe *Man* from Fol-

ly,

ly, would charge *God* with Falſhood: For if he did not deny him, then our Lord was out, when he ſaid, that, *that Night he ould thrice deny him*, that is, his Perſon, and not only his Humanity. Certainly the beſt Apology that can be made for *Peter* is, that he quickly repented of this great Sin; for no ſooner had he done it, but the Cock crow'd again; at which Intimation our Saviour turned about, and earneſtly looked upon him; a Glance that quickly pierced him to the Heart, and brought to his Remembrance, what our Lord had once and again foretold him of, how foully and ſhamefully he ſhould deny him: whereupon not being able to contain his Sorrow, he ran out of Doors to give it vent, and *wept bitterly*, paſſionately bewailing his Folly, and the Aggravations of his Sin; thereby endeavouring to make ſome Reparation for his Fault, and recover himſelf into the Favour of Heaven, and to prevent the Execution of Divine Juſtice, by taking a ſevere Revenge upon himſelf: By theſe penitential Tears he endeavoured to waſh off his Guilt; as indeed Repentance is the next Step to Innocence.

What became of *Peter* after his late Prevarication, whether he followed our Saviour through the ſeveral Stages of his Trial, and perſonally attended, as a Mourner at the Funerals of his Maſter, we have no Account left upon Record. No doubt he ſtaid at *Jeruſalem*, and probably with St. *John*, together with whom we firſt find him mentioned, when both were ſetting forwards to the Sepulchre; which was in this Manner: Early on that Morning, whereon our Lord was to return from the Grave, *Mary Magdalen*, and ſome other devout and pious Women brought Spices and Ointments, with a Deſign to embalm the Body of our crucified

crucified Lord. Coming to the Sepulchre at Sunriſing, and finding the Door open, they entered in, where they were ſuddenly ſaluted by an Angel, who told them, that *Jeſus* was riſen, and bad them go and acquaint his Apoſtles, and particularly *Peter*, that he was returned from the Dead; and that he would go before them into *Galilee*, where they ſhould meet with him. Hereupon they returned back, and acquainted the Apoſtles with what had paſſed, who beheld the Story as the Product of a weak frighted Fancy. But *Peter* and *John* preſently haſtened towards the Garden; *John*, being the younger and nimbler, out-ran his Companion, and came firſt thither, where he only looked, but entered not in, either out of Fear in himſelf, or a great Reverence to our Saviour. *Peter*, though behind in Space, was before in Zeal, and being elder and more conſiderate, came and reſolutely entered in, where they found nothing but the Linnen Clothes lying together in one Place, and the Napkin that was about his Head wrapped together in another; which being diſpoſed with ſo much Care and Order, ſhewed (what was falſly ſuggeſted by the *Jews*) that our Saviour's Body was not taken away by Thieves, who are wont more to conſult their Eſcape, than how to leave Things orderly diſpoſed behind them.

The ſame Day, about Noon, we may ſuppoſe it was, that our Lord himſelf appeared alone to *Peter*; being aſſured of the Thing, though not ſo preciſely of the Time. That he did ſo, St. *Paul* expreſly tells us; and ſo did the Apoſtles to the two Diſciples that came from *Emmaus*, *The Lord is riſen, and hath appeared unto* Simon; which probably intimates, that it was before his appearing to thoſe two Diſciples. And indeed we cannot

but

but think that our Lord would haſten the Manifeſtation of himſelf to him, as compaſſionating his Caſe, being overwhelmed with Sorrow for the late ſhameful Denial of his Maſter; and was therefore willing in the firſt Place to honour him with his Preſence, at once to confirm him in the Article of his Reſurrection, and to let him ſee, that he was reſtored to the Place which before he had in his Grace and Favour. St. *Paul* mentioning his ſeveral Appearances after his Reſurrection, ſeems to make this the firſt of them, *That he was ſeen of* Cephas. Not that it was ſimply the firſt, for he firſt appeared to the Women. But as *Chryſoſtom* obſerves, it was the firſt, that was made to Men. He was firſt ſeen of him who firſt deſired to ſee him. He alſo adds ſeveral probable Conjectures, why our Lord firſt diſcovered himſelf to *Peter*; as, that it required a more than ordinary Firmneſs and Reſolution of Mind, to be able to bear ſuch a Sight: For they who beheld him after others had ſeen him, and had heard their frequent Teſtimonies and Reports, had had their Faith greatly prepared and encouraged to entertain it; but he who was to be honoured with the firſt Appearance, had need of a bigger, and more undaunted Faith, leſt he ſhould be overborn with ſuch a ſtrange and unwonted Sight: That *Peter* was the firſt that had made a ſignal Confeſſion of his Maſter, and therefore it was fit and reaſonable, that he ſhould firſt ſee him alive after his Reſurrection: That *Peter* had lately denied his Lord, the Grief whereof lay hard upon him, that therefore our Saviour was willing to adminiſter ſome Conſolation to him, and as ſoon as might be to let him ſee, that he had not caſt him off; like

the kind *Samaritan*, he made haſte to help him, and to pour Oil into his wounded Conſcience.

Some time after this, the Apoſtles began to reſolve upon their Journey into *Galilee*, as he himſelf had commanded them. If it be enquired why they went no ſooner, ſeeing this was the firſt Meſſage and Intimation, they had received from him; St. *Ambroſe* his Reſolution ſeems very rational, that our Lord indeed had commanded them to go thither, but that their Fears for ſome Time kept them at home; not being yet fully ſatisfied in the Truth of his Reſurrection, till our Lord, by often appearing to them, had confirmed their Minds, and put the Caſe beyond all Diſpute. They went, as we may ſuppoſe, in ſeveral Companies, leſt going all in one Body, they ſhould awaken the Power and Malice of their Enemies, and alarm the Care and Vigilancy of the State, which by reaſon of the Noiſe that our Saviour's Trial and Execution had made up and down the City and Country, was yet full of Jealouſies and Fears. We find *Peter*, *Thomas*, *Nathaniel*, and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, and two more of the Diſciples arrived at ſome Town about the Sea of *Tiberias*: Where, the Providence of God guiding the Inſtance of their Employment, *Peter*, accompanied with the reſt, returns to his old Trade of Fiſhing. They laboured all Night, but caught nothing. Early in the Morning a grave Perſon, probably in the Habit of a Traveller, preſents himſelf upon the Shore: And calling to them, asked them whether they had any Meat? When they told him, No: He adviſed them to caſt the Net on the Right-ſide of the Ship, that ſo the Miracle might not ſeem to be the Effect of Chance, and they ſhould not fail to ſpeed. They did ſo,

and the Net preſently incloſed ſo great a Draught, that they were ſcarce able to drag it a-Shore. St. *John* amazed with the Strangeneſs of the Matter, told *Peter*, that ſurely this muſt be the Lord, whom the Winds and the Sea, and all the Inhabitants of that watery Region were ſo ready to obey. *Peter*'s Zeal preſently took fire, notwithſtanding the Coldneſs of the Seaſon, and impatient of the leaſt Moments being kept from the Company of his dear Lord and Maſter, without any Conſideration of the Danger to which he expoſed himſelf; he girt his Fiſher's Coat about him, and throwing himſelf into the Sea, ſwam to Shore, not being able to ſtay till the Ship could arrive, which came preſently after. Landing, they found a Fire ready made, and Fiſh laid upon it, either immediately created by his Divine Power, or which came to the Shore of its own Accord, and offered itſelf to his Hand. Which notwithſtanding he commands them to bring of the Fiſh which they had lately caught, and prepare it for their Dinner, he himſelf dining with them; both that he might give them an Inſtance of mutual Love and Fellowſhip, and alſo aſſure them of the Truth of his human Nature, ſince his Return from the Dead.

Dinner being ended, our Lord more particularly addreſſed himſelf to *Peter*; urging him to the utmoſt Diligence in his Care of Souls: And becauſe he knew, that nothing but a mighty Love to himſelf could carry him through the Troubles and Hazards of ſo dangerous and difficult an Employment; an Employment attended with all the Impediments, which either the Perverſeneſs of Men, or the Malice and Subtilty of the Devil could caſt in the way to hinder it; therefore he firſt enquired

of him, whether he loved him more than the reſt of the Apoſtles, herein mildly reproving his former over-confident Reſolution, that *though all the reſt ſhould deny him, yet would not he deny him. Peter* modeſtly replied, not cenſuring others, much leſs preferring himſelf before them, that our Lord knew the Integrity of his Affection towards him. This Queſtion he puts three ſeveral Times to *Peter*, who as often returned the ſame Anſwer: It being but juſt that he who by a threefold Denial had given ſo much Cauſe to queſtion, ſhould now by a threefold Confeſſion give more than ordinary Aſſurance of his ſincere Affection to his Maſter. *Peter* was a little troubled at this frequent queſtioning of his Love, and therefore more expreſly appeals to our Lord's Omniſciency, that he who knew all Things, muſt needs know that he loved him. To each of theſe Confeſſions our Lord added this ſignal Trial of his Affection; then, *Feed my Sheep*; that is, faithfully inſtruct and teach them, carefully rule and guide them, perſuade, not compel them; feed, not fleece, nor kill them. And ſo 'tis plain St. *Peter* himſelf underſtood it, by the Charge which he gives to the Guides and Rulers of the Church, that *they ſhould feed the Flock of God, taking the Over-ſight thereof, not by Conſtraint, but willingly; not for filthy Lucre, but of a ready Mind: Neither as being Lords over God's Heritage, but as Examples to the Flock.* but that *by feeding* Chriſt's *Sheep and Lambs*, here commended to St. *Peter*, ſhould be meant an univerſal and uncontroulable Monarchy and Dominion over the whole *Chriſtian* Church, and that over the Apoſtles themſelves and their Succeſſors in ordinary, and this Power and Supremacy ſolely inveſted in St. *Peter*, and thoſe who were to ſucceed him in the See of *Rome*,

Rome, is ſo wild an Inference, and ſuch a melting down Words to run into any Shape, as could never with any Face have been offered, or been poſſible to have been impoſed upon the Belief of Mankind, if Men had not firſt ſubdued their Reaſon to their Intereſt, and captivated both to an implicit Faith and a blind Obedience. For granting that our Lord here addreſſed his Speech only unto *Peter*, yet the very ſame Power, in equivalent Terms, is elſewhere indifferently granted to all the Apoſtles, and, in ſome Meaſure, to the ordinary Paſtors and Governors of the Church: As when our Lord told them, That *all Power was given him in Heaven and in Earth*, by Virtue whereof *they ſhould go teach and baptize all Nations*, and *preach the Goſpel to every Creature*: That *they ſhould feed God's Flock, rule well*, inſpect and watch over thoſe over whom they had the Authority and Rule. Words of as large and more expreſs Signification, than thoſe which were here ſpoken to St. *Peter*.

Our Lord having thus engaged *Peter* to a chearful Compliance with the Dangers that might attend the Diſcharge and Execution of his Office, now particularly intimates to him what that Fate was that ſhould attend him: telling him, that though when he was young he girt himſelf, lived at his own Pleaſure, and went whither he pleaſed; yet when he was old, he ſhould ſtretch forth his Hands, and another ſhould gird and bind him, and lead him whither he had no Mind to go; intimating, as the *Evangeliſt* tells us, *by what Death he ſhould glorify God*; that is, by Crucifixion, the Martyrdom which he afterward underwent. And then riſing up, commanded him to follow him; by this bodily Attendance, myſtically implying his Conformity to the Death of *Chriſt*, that he ſhould

ſhould follow him in dying for the Truth and Teſtimony of the Goſpel. It was not long after, that our Lord appeared to them to take his laſt Farewel of them, when leading them out unto *Bethany*, a little Village upon the Mount of *Olives*, he briefly told them, That they were the Perſons, whom he had choſen to be the Witneſſes both of his Death and Reſurrection; a Teſtimony which they ſhould bear of him in all Parts of the World: In order to which he would, after his Aſcenſion, pour out his Spirit upon them in larger Meaſures than they had hitherto received, that they might be the better fortified to graple with that violent Rage and Fury wherewith both Men and Devils would endeavour to oppoſe them; and that in the mean Time they ſhould return to *Jeruſalem*, and ſtay till theſe miraculous Powers were from on high conferred upon them. His Diſcourſe being ended, laying his Hands upon them, he gave them his ſolemn Bleſſing; which done, he was immediately taken from them, and being attended with a glorious Guard and Train of Angels, was received up into Heaven. Antiquity tells us, that in the Place where he laſt trod upon the Rock, the Impreſſion of his Feet did remain, which could never afterwards be filled up or impaired, over which *Helena*, Mother of the *Great Conſtantine*, afterwards built a little Chapel, called the *Chapel of the Aſcenſion*; in the Floor whereof, upon a whitiſh kind of Stone, modern Travellers tell us, that the Impreſſion of his Foot is ſhewed at this Day; but 'tis that of his Right-foot only, the other being taken away by the *Turks*, and, 'tis ſaid, kept in the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. Our Lord being thus taken from them, the Apoſtles were filled with a greater Senſe of his Glory and Majeſty, than while he

he was wont familiarly to converſe with them; and having performed their ſolemn Adorations to him, returned back to *Jeruſalem*, waiting for the Promiſe of the *Holy Ghoſt*, which was ſhortly after conferred upon them. *They worſhipped him, and returned to* Jeruſalem *with great Joy.* They who lately were overwhelmed with Sorrow at the very Mention of their Lord's Departure from them, entertained it now with Joy and Triumph, being fully ſatisfied of his glorious Advancement at God's Right-hand, and of that particular Care and Providence which they were ſure he would exerciſe towards them, in Purſuance of thoſe great Truſts he had committed to them.

The holy *Jeſus* being gone to Heaven, the Apoſtles began to act according to the Power and Commiſſion he had left with them. In order whereunto, the firſt Thing they did after his Aſcenſion, was to fill up the Vacancy in their College, lately made by the unhappy Fall and Apoſty of *Judas*. To which end no ſooner were they returned to *Jeruſalem*, but they went *into an Upper-Room*. Where this Upper-Room was, whether in the Houſe of St. *John*, or of *Mary John-Mark's* Mother, or in ſome of the Out-rooms belonging to the Temple (for the Temple had, over the Cloiſters ſeveral Chambers for the Service of the Prieſts and *Levites*, and as Repoſitories, where the conſecrated Veſſels and Utenſils of the Temple were laid up, though it be not probable, that the *Jews*, and eſpecially the Prieſts, would ſuffer the Apoſtles and their Company to be ſo near the Temple) I ſtand not to enquire. 'Tis certain that the *Jews* uſually had their private Oratories in the upper Parts of their Houſes, for the more private Exerciſes

ciſes of their Devotions. Thus *Daniel* had his Upper-chamber, whither he was wont to retire to pray to his God: And *Benjamin* the *Jew* tells us, that in his Time (*Anno Chriſti* 1172.) the *Jews* at *Babylon* were wont to pray both in their Synagogues and in that ancient Upper-room of *Daniel*, which the Prophet himſelf built. Such an Upper-chamber was that wherein St. *Paul* preached at *Troas*; and ſuch probably this, where the Apoſtles were now met together, and, in all Likelihood, the ſame where our Lord had lately kept the Paſſover, where the Apoſtles and the Church were aſſembled on the Day of *Pentecoſt*, and which was then the Place of their religious Aſſemblies. Here the Church being met to the Number of about a hundred and twenty, *Peter*, as Preſident of the Aſſembly, began to ſpeak, and, applying himſelf to the whole Congregation, propoſed to them the Choice of a new Apoſtle. And 'tis the Remark which St. *Chryſoſtome* makes upon this Paſſage, that *Peter* herein would do nothing without the common Conſent and Approbation, aſſuming no peculiar ſupereminent Power and Authority to himſelf. He put them in mind, that *Judas*, one of our Lord's Apoſtles, being betray'd by his own covetous and inſatiable Mind, had lately fallen from his Place and Miniſtry; that this was no more than what the Prophet had long ſince foretold ſhould come to paſs, and that the Rule and Overſight in the Church, which had been committed unto him, ſhould be devolved upon another: that therefore it was highly neceſſary, that one ſhould be ſubſtituted in his Room, and eſpecially ſuch a one as had been familiarly Converſant with our Saviour, from firſt to laſt, that ſo he

he might be a competent Witneſs both of his Doctrine and Miracles, his Life and Death, but eſpecially of his Reſurrection from the Dead. For ſeeing no Evidence is ſo valid and ſatisfactory, as the Teſtimony of an Eye-witneſs, the Apoſtles all along mainly inſiſted upon this, that they delivered no other Things concerning our Saviour to the World, than what they themſelves had ſeen and heard. And ſeeing his Riſing from the Dead was a Principle likely to meet with a great deal of Oppoſition, and which would hardlieſt gain Belief and Entertainment with the Minds of Men, therefore they principally urged this at every Turn, that *they were Eye-witneſſes of his Reſurrection*; that they had ſeen, felt, eaten, and familiarly converſed with him, after his Return from the Grave. That therefore ſuch an Apoſtle might be choſen, two Candidates were propoſed, *Joſeph*, called *Barſabas*, and *Matthias*. And having pray'd that the Divine Providence would immediately guide and direct the Choice, they caſt Lots, and the Lot fell upon *Matthias*, who was accordingly admitted into the Number of the Twelve Apoſtles.

Fifty Days ſince the laſt *Paſſover*, being now run out, made Way for the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*: At which Time the great Promiſe of the Holy Ghoſt was fully made good unto them. The *Chriſtian* Aſſembly being met together, for the publick Services of their Worſhip, on a ſudden a Sound, like that of a mighty Wind, ruſhed in upon them, repreſenting the powerful Efficacy of the divine Spirit, that was now to be communicated to them: After which there appeared little Flames of Fire, which, in Shape of Cloven-Tongues, not only deſcended, but ſat upon each of them, probably to note their perpetual Enjoyment of this

Gift, upon all Occaſions, that when neceſſary, they ſhould never be without it; not like the prophetic Gifts of Old, which were conferred but ſparingly, and only at ſome particular Times and Seaſons; as the *ſeventy Elders propheſied and ceaſed not*; but it was only at ſuch Times *as the Spirit came down and reſted upon them:* Hereupon they were all immediately filled with the Holy Ghoſt, which enabled them in an Inſtant to ſpeak ſeveral Languages, which they had never learn'd, and probably never heard of, together with other miraculous Gifts and Powers. Thus as the Confounding of Languages became a Curſe to the old World, ſeparating Men from all mutual Offices of Kindneſs and Commerce, rendring one Part of Mankind Barbarians to another; ſo here, the multiplying ſeveral Languages became a Bleſſing, being intended as the Means to bring Men of all Nations *into the Unity of the Faith, and the Knowledge of the Son of God*, into the Fellowſhip of that Religion, that would baniſh Diſcords, cement Differences, and unite Men's Hearts in the Bond of Peace. The Report of ſo ſudden and ſtrange an Action preſently ſpread itſelf into all Corners of the City; and there being, at that Time, at *Jeruſalem*, Multitudes of *Jewiſh* Proſelytes, *Devout Men out of every Nation under Heaven*, Parthians, Medes, Elamites (*or* Perſians) *the Dwellers in* Meſopotamia *and* Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus *and* Aſia Minor, *from* Phrygia *and* Pamphylea, *from* Egypt *and the Parts of* Lybia *and* Cyrene, *from* Rome, *from* Crete, *from* Arabia, *Jews* and *Proſelytes* (probably drawn thither by the general Report and Expectation which had ſpread itſelf over all the *Eaſtern* Parts, and in a Manner over all Places of the *Roman* Empire, of the *Jewiſh Meſ-*

ſiah,

ſiah, that about this Time ſhould be born at *Jeruſalem*) they no ſooner heard of it, but univerſally flocked to this *Chriſtian* Aſſembly; where they were amazed to hear theſe *Galileans* ſpeaking to them in their own native Languages, ſo various, ſo vaſtly different from one another. And it could not but exceedingly encreaſe their Wonder to reflect upon the Meanneſs and Inconſiderableneſs of the Perſons, neither aſſiſted by natural Parts, nor poliſhed by Education, nor improved by Uſe and Cuſtom: Which three Things Philoſophers require to render a Man accurate and extraordinary in any Art or Diſcipline; as *Plutarch* ſays, *Natural Diſpoſition without Inſtitution is blind, Inſtruction without a Genius and Diſpoſition is defective, and Exerciſe without both is lame and imperfect.* Whereas theſe Diſciples had not one of theſe to ſet them off; their Parts were mean, below the Rate of common People, the *Galileans* being generally accounted the rudeſt and moſt ſtupid of the whole *Jewiſh* Nation; their Education had been no higher than to catch Fiſh, and to mend Nets; nor had they been uſed to plead Cauſes, or to deliver themſelves before great Aſſemblies; but ſpoke on a ſudden, not premeditated Diſcourſes; not idle Stories, or wild roving Fancies, but the great and admirable Works of God, and the Myſteries of the Goſpel beyond human Apprehenſions to find out, and this delivered in almoſt all the Languages of the then known World. Men were ſeverally affected with it, according to their different Tempers and Apprehenſions. Some admiring, and not knowing what to think on't; others, deriding it, ſaid, that it was nothing elſe but the wild raving Effect of Drunkenneſs and Intemperance. At ſo wild a Rate are Men of pro-

phane Minds wont to talk, when they take upon them to paſs their Cenſure in the Things of God.

Hereupon the Apoſtles roſe up, and *Peter*, in the Name of the Reſt, took this Occaſion of diſcourſing to them: He told them, that this ſcandalous Slander proceeded from the Spirit of Malice and Falſhood; that their Cenſure was as uncharitable, as it was unreaſonable; that *they that are drunken*, are *drunk in the Night*; that it was againſt Nature and Cuſtom for Men to be in drink ſo ſoon, too early for ſuch a Suſpition to take Place, it being now about nine of the Clock, the Hour for Morning-Prayer, 'till then, Men, even of ordinary Sobriety and Devotion on Feſtival Days, were wont to faſt. That theſe extraordinary and miraculous Paſſages were but the Accompliſhment of an antient Prophecy, the fulfilling of what God had expreſly foretold ſhould come to paſs in the Times of the *Meſſiah*; that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* had evidently approv'd himſelf to be the *Meſſiah* ſent from God by many unqueſtionable Miracles, of which they themſelves had been Eye-witneſſes: And though, by God's Permiſſion, who had determined, by this Means, to bring about the Salvation of Mankind, they had wickedly crucified and ſlain him, yet that God had raiſed him from the Dead: That it was not poſſible he ſhould be holden always under the Dominion of the Grave, nor was it conſiſtent with the Juſtice and Goodneſs of God, and eſpecially with thoſe divine Predictions which had expreſly foretold he ſhould riſe again from the Dead: *David* having more particularly foretold, *That his Fleſh ſhould reſt in Hope, that God would not leave his Soul in Hell, neither ſuffer his Holy One to ſee Corruption*; but *would make known to him the Ways*

of

of Life. That this Prophecy could not be meant concerning *David* himſelf, by whom it was ſpoken, he having many Ages ſince been turned to Aſhes, his Body diſſolved into Rottenneſs and Putrefaction, and his Tomb yet viſible among them, from which he never did return; that therefore it muſt needs have been prophetically ſpoken concerning *Chriſt*, having never been truly fulfill'd in any but him, who both died, and was riſen again, wherefore they were Witneſſes: Yea, that he was not only riſen from the Dead, but aſcended into Heaven, and according to *David*'s Prediction, *ſate down on God Right-Hand, until he made his Enemies his Foot-ſtool*; which could not be primarily meant of *David*, he never having yet bodily aſcended into Heaven: That therefore the whole Houſe of *Iſrael* ought to believe, and take Notice, that this very *Jeſus*, whom they had crucified, was the Perſon whom God had appointed to be the Meſſiah and the Saviour of his Church.

This Diſcourſe, in every Part of it, like ſo many Daggers, pierced them to the Heart; who thereupon cry'd out to *Peter* and his Brethren, to know what they ſhould do. *Peter* told them, that there was no other Way, than by an hearty and ſincere Repentance, and a being baptized into the Religion of this crucified Saviour, to expiate their Guilt, to obtain Pardon of Sin, and the Gifts and Benefits of the Holy Ghoſt. That upon theſe Terms the Promiſes of the new Covenant, which was ratified by the Death of *Chriſt*, did belong to them and their Children, and to all that ſhould effectually believe and embrace the Goſpel; farther preſſing and perſuading them, by doing thus,

to ſave themſelves from that unavoidable Ruin and Deſtruction, which this wicked and untoward Generation of obſtinate unbelieving *Jews* were ſhortly to be expoſed to. The Effects of his Preaching were ſtrange and wonderful; as many as believed were baptized; there being that Day added to the Church, no leſs than three thouſand Souls. A quick and plentiful Harveſt; the late Sufferings of our Saviour, as yet freſh bleeding in their Memories; the preſent miraculous Powers of the Holy Ghoſt, that appeared unto them; the Zeal of his Auditors, though heretofore miſplaced and miſguided; and above all, the Efficacy of divine Grace contributing to this numerous Converſion.

Though the converting ſo vaſt a Multitude might juſtly challenge a Place amongſt the greated Miracles, yet the Apoſtles began now more particularly to exerciſe their miraculous Power. *Peter* and *John* going up to the Temple, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, towards the Concluſion of one of the ſolemn Hours of Prayer, (for the *Jews* divided their Day into four greater Hours, each quarter containing three leſſer under it; three of which were publick and ſtated Times of Prayer, inſtituted (ſay they) by the three great Patriarchs of their Nation; the firſt from ſix of the Clock in the Morning till nine, called hence, *the third Hour of the Day*, inſtituted by *Abraham*, this was called *Morning Prayer*; the ſecond from nine till twelve, called the *ſixth Hour*, and this Hour of Prayer was ordain'd by *Iſaac*, this was called *Mid-day Prayer*; the third from twelve 'till three in the Afternoon, called *the ninth Hour*, appointed by *Jacob*, called *Evening Prayer*; and

at

at this Hour it was that theſe two Apoſtles went up to the Temple) where they found a poor impotent Cripple, who, though above forty Years old, had been lame from his Birth, lying at the *Beautiful-Gate* of the *Temple*, and asking an Alms of them. *Peter* earneſtly looking on him, told him, he had no Money to give him, but that he would give him that which was a great deal better, reſtore him to his Health; and lifting him up by the Hand, commanded him, in the Name of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth, to riſe up and walk.* The Word was no ſooner ſaid, than the Thing was done; immediately the Nerves and Sinews were enlarged, and the Joints returned to their proper Uſe. The Man ſtanding up, went into the Temple, walking, leaping, and praiſing God. The beholding ſo ſudden and extraordinary a Cure, begot great Admiration in the Minds of the People, whoſe Curioſity drew them to the Apoſtles, to ſee thoſe who had been the Authors of it. Which *Peter* taking Notice of, began to diſcourſe to them to this Effect: That there was no Reaſon they ſhould wonder at them, as if, by their own Skill and Art they had wrought this Cure, it being intirely done in the Name of their crucified Maſter, by the Power of that very *Chriſt*, that holy and juſt Perſon, whom they themſelves had denied and delivered up to *Pilate*, and preferred a Rebel and a Murtherer before him, when his Judge was reſolved to acquit him; And though they had put him to death, yet that they were Witneſſes that God had raiſed him up again, and that he was gone to Heaven, where he muſt remain till the Times of the general Reſtitution; that he preſumed that this in them, as alſo in their Rulers, was, in a great Meaſure the

Effect

Effect of Ignorance, and the not being thoroughly convinced of the Greatneſs and Divinity of his Perſon, which yet God made uſe of for the bringing about his wiſe and righteous Deſigns, the accompliſhing of what he had foretold concerning *Chriſt*'s Perſon and Sufferings, by *Moſes* and *Samuel*, and all the holy *Prophets which had been ſince the World began*: That therefore it was now high Time for them to repent, and turn to God, that their great Wickedneſs might be expiated; and that when *Chriſt* ſhould ſhortly come in Judgment upon the *Jewiſh* Nation, it might be a Time of Comfort and refreſhing to them, what would be of Vengeance and Deſtruction to other Men: That they were the peculiar Perſons, to whom the Bleſſings of the Promiſes did primarily appertain, and unto whom God in the firſt Place ſent his Son, that he might derive his Bleſſing upon them by *turning them away from their Iniquities*. While *Peter* was thus diſcourſing to the People in one Place, we may ſuppoſe that *John* was preaching to them in another; and the Succeſs was anſwerable. The Apoſtles caſt out the Seed, and God immediately gave the Increaſe. There being by this Means no fewer than Five Thouſand brought over to the Faith; though 'tis impoſſible the whole Body of Believers might be comprehended in that Number.

While the Apoſtles were thus Preaching, the Prieſts and *Sadducees* (who particularly appeared in this Buſineſs, as being Enemies to all Tumults, or whatever might diſturb their preſent Eaſe and Quiet, the only Portion of Happineſs they expected; beſides that they hated *Chriſtianity*, becauſe ſo expreſly aſſerting the Reſurrection) being

vexed

Ab. Jongelinx sc.

Foxes & Birds in a better condition than the Saviour of the World. Luke 9. 58.

vexed to hear this Doctrine vented amongſt the People, intimated to the Magiſtrate, that this Concourſe might probably tend to an Uproar and Inſurrection: Whereupon they came with the Captain of the Temple (Commander of the Tower of *Antonia*, which ſtood cloſe by, on the North-ſide of the Temple, wherein was a *Roman* Garriſon to prevent or ſuppreſs, eſpecially at feſtival Times, popular Tumults and Uproars) who ſeized on the Apoſtles, and put them into Priſon. The next Day they were convened before the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*; and being asked by what Power and Authority they had done this; *Peter* reſolutely anſwered, that as to the Cure done to this impotent Perſon, be it known to them, and all the *Jews*, that it was perfectly wrought in the Name of that *Jeſus of Nazareth*, whom they themſelves had crucified, and God had raiſed from the Dead, and whom, though they had thrown him by as Rubbiſh, yet God had made *Head of the Corner*; and that there was no other Way, wherein they, or others, could expect Salvation, but by this crucified Saviour. Great was the Boldneſs of the Apoſtles, admired by the *Sanhedrim* itſelf, in this Matter; eſpecially if we conſider, that this probably was the very Court that had ſo lately ſentenced and condemned their Maſter, and being fleſhed in ſuch ſanguinary Proceedings, had no other way but to go on, and juſtify one Cruelty with another; that the Apoſtles did not ſay theſe Things in Corners, and behind the Curtain, but to their very Faces; and that in the open Court of Judicature, and before all the People; that the Apoſtles had not been uſed to plead in ſuch publick Places, nor had been poliſhed with the Arts of Education, but were ignorant, unlearned Men,

known not to be verſed in the ſtudy of the *Jewiſh* Law.

The Council (which all this while had beheld them with a kind of Wonder, and now remember'd that they had been the Companions and Attendants of the late crucified *Jeſus*) commanded them to withdraw, and debated amongſt themſelves what they ſhould do with them. The Miracle they could not deny, the Fact being ſo plain and evident, and therefore reſolved ſtrictly to charge them, that they ſhould preach no more in the Name of *Jeſus*. Being called in again, they acquainted them with the Reſolution of the Council; to which *Peter* and *John* replied, that they could by means yield Obedience to it, appealing to themſelves, whether it was not more fit that *they ſhould obey God, rather than them*; and they could not but *teſtify what they had ſeen and heard*. Nor did they in this Anſwer, make any undue Reflexion upon the Power of the Magiſtrates, and the Obedience due to them, it being a ruled Caſe, by the firſt Dictates of Reaſon, and the common Vote and Suffrage of Mankind, that Parents and Governors are not to be obeyed when their Commands interfere with the Obligations under which we ſtand to a ſuperior Power. All Authority is originally derived from God, and our Duty to him may not be ſuperſeded by the Laws of any Authority deriving from him: And even *Socrates* himſelf, in a parallel Inſtance, when preſuaded to leave off his excellent Way of inſtituting and inſtructing Youth, and to comply with the Humour of his *Athenian* Judges, to ſave his Life, returned this Anſwer, that *indeed he loved and honoured the* Athenians; *but yet reſolved to obey God rather than them.* An Anſwer almoſt the

the ſame both in Subſtance and Words, with that which was here given by the Apoſtles. In all other Caſes, where the Laws of the Magiſtrate did not interfere with thoſe of *Chriſt*, none more loyal, more compliant than they. As indeed no Religion in the World ever ſecured the Intereſts of Civil Authority like the Religion of the Goſpel. It poſitively charges every Soul, of what Rank or Condition ſoever *to be ſubject to the higher Powers*, as a divine Ordinance and Inſtitution, and that *not for Wrath only, but for Conſcience Sake: It puts Men in mind to be ſubject to Principalities and Powers, and to obey Magiſtrates, to ſubmit to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's Sake, both to the King as ſupreme, and unto Governors, as unto them that are ſent by him; for ſo is the will of God.* So far is it from allowing us to violate their Perſons, that it ſuffers us not boldly to cenſure their Actions; *to revile the Gods, deſpiſe Dominions, and ſpeak Evil of Dignities*; or to vilify and injure them ſo much as by a diſhonourable Thought; commanding us, when we cannot obey, to ſuffer the moſt rigorous Penalties impoſed upon us with Calmneſs, and *to poſſeſs our Souls with Patience.* Thus, when theſe two Apoſtles were ſhortly after again ſummoned before the Council, commanded no more to preach the *Chriſtian* Doctrine, and to be ſcourged for what they had done already, though they could not obey the one, they chearfully ſubmitted to the other without any peeviſh or tart Reflexions, but went away rejoicing. But what the Carriage of *Chriſtians* was, in this Matter in the firſt and beſt Ages of the Goſpel, we have in another Place ſufficiently diſcovered to the World. We may not withhold our Obedi-

ence, till the Magiſtrate invades God's Throne, and countermands his Authority, and may then appeal to the Senſe of Mankind, whether it be not moſt reaſonable that God's Authority ſhould firſt take place, as the Apoſtles here appealed to their very Judges themſelves. Nor do we find that the *Sanhedrim* did except againſt the Plea: At leaſt, whatever they thought, yet not daring to puniſh them, for fear of the People, they only threatned them, and let them go: Who, thereupon, preſently returned to the reſt of the Apoſtles and Believers.

The Church exceedingly multiplied by theſe Means: And that ſo great a Company (moſt whereof were poor) might be maintained, they generally ſold their Eſtates, and brought the Money to the Apoſtles, to be by them depoſited in one common Treaſury, and thence diſtributed according to the ſeveral Exigencies of the Church; which gave Occaſion to this dreadful Inſtance. *Ananias* and his Wife *Saphira* having taken upon them the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, according to the free and generous Spirit of thoſe Times, had conſecrated and devoted their Eſtate to the Honour of God and the Neceſſities of the Church; and accordingly ſold their Poſſeſſions, and turn'd them into Money But as they were willing to gain the Reputation of charitable Perſons, ſo were they loath wholly to caſt themſelves upon the divine Providence, by letting go all at once; and therefore privately withheld Part of what they had devoted, and bringing the reſt, laid it at Apoſtles Feet, hoping herein they might deceive the Apoſtles, though immediately guided by the Spirit of God. But *Peter*, at his firſt coming in,

treated

treated *Ananias* with theſe ſharp Enquiries: Why he would ſuffer *Satan* to fill his Heart with ſo great a Wickedneſs, as by keeping back of his Eſtate, to think to *deceive the Holy Ghoſt?* That before it was ſold, it was wholly at his own Diſpoſure; and after, it was perfectly in his own Power fully to have performed his Vow: So that it was capable of no other Interpretation, than that herein he had not only abuſed and injured Men, but mocked God, and, what in him lay, lyed to and cheated the Holy Ghoſt, who he knew was privy to the moſt ſecret Thoughts and Purpoſes of his Heart. This was no ſooner ſaid, but ſuddenly, to the great Terror and Amazement of all that were preſent, *Ananias* was arreſted with a Stroke from Heaven, and fell down to the Ground. Not long after his Wife came in, whom *Peter* entertained with the ſame ſevere Reproofs, wherewith he had done her Husband, adding, that the like ſad Fate and Doom ſhould immediately ſeize upon her, who thereupon dropt down dead, and as ſhe had been Copartner with him in the Sin, ſhe became Sharer with him in the Puniſhment. An Inſtance of great Severity, filling all that heard of it with Fear and Terror, and became a ſeaſonable Prevention of Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation, wherewith many might poſſibly think to have impoſed upon the Church.

This ſevere Caſe was extraordinary; the Apoſtles uſually exerting their Power in ſuch Miracles as were more uſeful and beneficial to the World: Curing all Manner of Diſeaſes, and diſpoſſeſſing Devils: Inſomuch that they brought the Sick into the Streets, and laid them upon Beds and Couches, that at leaſt *Peter*'s Shadow, as he paſſed by, might

might come upon them. Theſe aſtoniſhing Miracles could not but mightily contribute to the Propagation of the Goſpel, and convince the World that the Apoſtles were more conſiderable Perſons than they took them for; Poverty and Meanneſs being no Bar to true Worth and Greatneſs. And, methinks, *Eraſmus*'s Reflexion is here not unreaſonable; that no Honour or Sovereignty, no Power or Dignity was comparable to this Glory of the Apoſtle; that the Things of *Chriſt*, tho' in another Way, were more noble and excellent than any Thing that this World could afford. And therefore he tells us, that when he beheld the State and Magnificence wherewith Pope *Julius* II. appeared firſt at *Bononia*, and then at *Rome*, equalling the Triumphs of a *Pompey*, or a *Caſar*, he could not but think how much all this was below the Greatneſs and Majeſty of St. *Peter*, who converted the World, not by Power or Armies, not by Engines or Artifices of Pomp and Grandeur, but by Faith in the Power of *Chriſt*, and drew it to the Admiration of himſelf: And the ſame State (ſays he) would no doubt attend the Apoſtles Succeſſors, were they Men of the ſame Temper and Holineſs of Life. The *Jewiſh* Rulers alarmed with the News, and awakened with the growing Numbers of the Church, ſent to apprehend the Apoſtles, and caſt them into Priſon. But God, who is never wanting to his own Cauſe, ſent that Night an Angel from Heaven to open the Priſon Doors, commanding them to repair to the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry. Which they did early in the Morning, and openly taught the People. How unſucceſsful are the Projects of the wiſeſt Stateſmen, when God frowns upon them! how little

tle do any Counſels againſt Heaven proſper! In vain is it to ſhut the Doors, where God is reſolved to open them; the firmeſt Bars, the ſtrongeſt Chains cannot hold, when once God has deſigned and decreed our Liberty. The Officers returning the next Morning, found the Priſon ſhut and guarded, but the Priſoners gone: Wherewith they acquainted the Council, who much wondred at it; but being told where the Apoſtles were, they ſent to bring them without any Noiſe or Violence, before the *Sanhedrim*; where the High-prieſt asked them, how they durſt go on to propagate that Doctrine which they had ſo ſtrictly commanded them not to preach? *Peter*, in the Name of the reſt, told them, that they muſt, in this Caſe, *obey God rather than Men.* That though they had ſo barbarouſly and contumelioufly treated the Lord *Jeſus*, yet that God had raiſed him up, and exalted him to be a *Prince and a Saviour, to give both Repentance and Remiſſion of Sins*: That they were Witneſſes of theſe Things, and ſo were thoſe miraculous Powers which the Holy Ghoſt conferred upon all true *Chriſtians.* Vexed was the Council with this Anſwer, and began to conſider how to cut them off. But *Gamaliel*, a grave and learned Senator, having commanded the Apoſtles to withdraw, bad the Council take Heed what they did to them; putting them in Mind, that ſeveral Perſons had heretofore raiſed Parties and Factions, and drawn vaſt Numbers after them; but that they had miſcarried, and they and their Deſigns come to nought. That therefore they ſhould do well to let theſe Men alone; that if their Doctrines and Deſigns were merely human, they would in Time, of themſelves fall to the Ground, but if they were of God, it was not all their Power

and

and Policy would be able to defeat and overturn them; and that they themſelves would herein appear to oppoſe the Counſels and Deſigns of Heaven. With this prudent and rational Advice they were ſatisfied; and having commanded the Apoſtles to be ſcourged, and charged them no more to preach this Doctrine, reſtored them to their Liberty; who, notwithſtanding this Charge and threatning, returned home in a kind of Triumph, that they were accounted worthy to ſuffer in ſo good a cauſe, and to undergo Shame and Reproach for the Sake of ſo good a Maſter. Nor could all the hard Uſage they met with from Men, diſcourage them in their Duty to God, or make them leſs zealous and diligent, both publickly and privately to preach *Chriſt* in every Place.

The Church had been hitherto toſſed with gentle Storms, but now a more violent tempeſt overtook it, which began in the Proto-Martyr *Stephen*, and was moſt vigorouſly carried on afterwards; by Occaſion whereof the Diſciples were diſperſed: And God, who always brings Good out of Evil, hereby provided, that the Goſpel ſhould not be confined only to *Jeruſalem*. Hitherto the Church had been crowded up within the City-Walls, and their Religion had crept up and down in private Corners; but the Profeſſors of it being now diſperſed abroad, by the Malice and Cruelty of their Enemies, carried *Chriſtianity* along with them, and propagated it into the neighbouring Countries, accompliſhing hereby an ancient Prophecy, That *out of* Sion *ſhall go forth a Law, and the Word of the Lord from* Jeruſalem. Thus God over-rules the Malice of Men, and makes intended Poiſon to become Food or Phyſick. That divine Providence that governs the World, more particu-

particularly ſuperintends the Affairs and Intereſts of his Church, ſo that no weapon formed againſt *Iſrael* ſhall proſper; Curſes ſhall be turned into Bleſſings, and that become an eminent Means to enlarge and propagate the Goſpel, which they deſigned as the only Way to ſuppreſs and ſtifle it. Amongſt thoſe that were ſcattered, *Philip* the *Deacon*, was driven down unto *Samaria*, where he preached the Goſpel, and confirmed his preaching by many miraculous Cures, and diſpoſſeſſing Devils. In this City there was one *Simon*, who, by magick Arts, and diabolical Sorceries, ſought to advance himſelf into a great Fame and Reputation with the People, inſomuch that they generally beheld him as the *great Power of God*, for ſo the Antients tell us, he uſed to ſtyle himſelf, giving out himſelf to be the *firſt and chiefeſt Deity, the Father, who is God over all*; that is, that he was that which in every Nation was accounted the ſupreme Deity. This Man hearing the Sermons, and beholding the Miracles that were done by *Philip*, gave up himſelf amongſt the Number of Believers, and was baptized by them. The Apoſtles, who yet remained at *Jeruſalem*, having heard of the great Succeſs of *Philip*'s Miniſtry at *Samaria*, thought good to ſend ſome of their Number to his Aſſiſtance. And accordingly deputed *Peter* and *John*, who came thither. Where having pray'd for, and laid their Hands upon theſe new Converts, they preſently received the Holy Ghoſt. *Simon the Magician* obſerving that by lay-on of the Apoſtles Hands, miraculous Gifts were conferred upon Men, offered them a conſiderable Sum of Money to inveſt him with this Power, that on whom he laid his Hands, they might re-

ceive the Holy Ghoſt. *Peter* perceiving his rotten and inſincere Intentions, rejected his impious Motion with Scorn and Deteſtation: *Thy Money periſh with thee.* He told him that his Heart was naught and hypocritical; that he could have no Share nor Portion in ſo great a Privilege; that it more concern'd him to repent of ſo great a Wickneſs, and ſincerely ſeek to God, that ſo the Thoughts of his Heart might be forgiven him; for that he perceived that he was in a very wretched and miſerable State, diſpleaſing to God, and dangerous to himſelf. The Conſcience of the Man was a little ſtartled with this, and he pray'd the Apoſtles to intercede with Heaven, that God would pardon his ſin, and none of theſe Things might fall upon him. But how little Cure this wrought upon him, we ſhall find elſe-where, when we ſhall again meet with him afterwards. The Apoſtles having thus confirmed the Church at *Samaria*, and preached up and down in the Villages thereabouts, returned back to *Jeruſalem*, to joyn their Counſel and Aſſiſtance to the reſt of the Apoſtles.

The Storm, though violent, being at length blown over, the Church enjoy'd for ſome Time great Calmneſs and Serenity: During which *Peter* went out to viſit the Churches lately planted in thoſe Parts by thoſe Diſciples who had been diſperſed by the Perſecution at *Jeruſalem*. Coming down to *Lydda*, the firſt Thing he did, was to work a Cure upon one *Æneas*, who being crippled with the Palſy, had lain bed-rid for eight Years together. *Peter* coming to him, bad him, in the Name of *Chriſt* to ariſe, and the Man was immediately reſtored to perfect Health. A Miracle that was not

confined

confined only to his Perſon; for being known abroad, it generally brought over the Inhabitants of that Place. The Fame of this Miracle having flown to *Joppa*, a Sea-port Town, ſome ſix Miles thence, the *Chriſtians* there preſently ſent for *Peter* upon this Occaſion. *Tabitha*, whoſe *Greek* Name was *Dorcas*, a Woman venerable for her piety and diffuſive Charity was newly dead, to the great Lamentation of all good Men, and much more to the Loſs of the Poor that had been relieved by her. *Peter* coming to the Houſe, found her dreſſed up for her Funeral Solemnity, and compaſſed about with the ſorrowful Widows, who ſhewed the Coats and Garments wherewith ſhe had cloathed them, the Badges of her charitable Liberality. *Peter* ſhutting all out, kneeled down and prayed, and then turning him to the Body, commanded her to ariſe, and lifting her up by the Hand, preſented her in perfect Health to her Friends, and thoſe that were about her; by which he confirmed many, and converted more to the Faith. After which he ſtaid ſome conſiderable Time at *Joppa*, lodging in the Houſe of *Simon* a Tanner.

While he abode in this City, retiring one Morning to the Houſe-top to pray, (as the *Jews* frequently did, having thence a free and open Proſpect towards *Jeruſalem* and the Temple) it being now near Noon, which was the Concluſion of one of their ſtated Times of Prayer, he found himſelf himſelf hungry, and called for Meat: But while it was preparing he himſelf fell into a Trance, wherein was preſented to him a large Sheet let down from Heaven, containing all Sorts of Creatures, clean and unclean; a Voice at the ſame Time calling to him, that he ſhould riſe, kill

freely, and indifferently feed upon them; *Peter*, tenacious as yet of the Rites and Inſtitutions of the *Moſaic* Law, rejoin'd, that he could not do it, having never eaten any Thing that was common or unclean. To which the Voice replied, that what God had cleanſed he ſhould not account or call common. Which being done thrice, the Veſſel was again taken up into Heaven, and the Viſion preſently diſappeared. By this ſymbolic Repreſentment, though *Peter* at preſent knew not what to make of it, God was teaching him a new Leſſon, and preparing him to go upon an Errand and Embaſſy, which the Spirit at the ſame Time expreſly commanded him to undertake. While he was in this doubtful Poſture of Mind, three Meſſengers knocked at the Door, enquiring for him, from whom he received this Account: That *Cornelius*, a *Roman*, Captain of a Band of *Italian* Soldiers at *Cæſarea*, a Perſon of great Piety and Religion (being a Proſelite of the Gate, who though not obſerving an exact Conformity to the Rites of the *Moſaic* Law, yet did maintain ſome general Correſpondence with it, and lived under the Obligation of the *Seven Precepts* of the Sons of *Noah*) had by an immediate Command from God ſent for him. The next Day *Peter*, accompanied with ſome of the Brethren, went along with them, and the Day after they came to *Cæſarea*. Againſt whoſe Arrival *Cornelius* had ſummoned his Friends and Kindred to his Houſe. *Peter* arriving, *Cornelius* (who was affected with a mighty Reverence for ſo great a Perſon) fell at his Feet and worſhipped him; a way of Addreſs frequent in thoſe *Eaſtern* Countries towards Princes and great Men, but by the *Greeks* and *Romans* appropriated as a peculiar Honour to the Gods. *Peter*, rejecting

rejecting the Honour, as due only to God, entered into the Houſe, where he firſt made his Apology to the Company, that though they could not but know, that it was not lawful for a *Jew* to converſe in the Duties of Religion with thoſe of another Nation, yet that now God had taught him another Leſſon. And then proceeded particularly to enquire the Reaſon of *Cornelius* his ſending for him. Whereupon *Cornelius* told him, That four Days ſince, being converſant in the Duties of Faſting and Prayer, an Angel had appeared to him, and told him, that his Prayers and Alms were come up for a Memorial before God; that he ſhould ſend to *Joppa* for one *Simon Peter*, who lodged in a Tanner's Houſe by the Sea-ſide, who ſhould farther make known his Mind to him; that accordingly he had ſent, and being now come, they were there met to hear what he had to ſay to them. Where we ſee, that though God ſent an Angel to *Cornelius* to acquaint him with his Will, yet the Angel was only to direct him to the Apoſtle for Inſtruction in the Faith; which no doubt was done, partly that God might put the greater Honour upon an Inſtitution, that was likely to meet with Contempt and Scorn enough from the World; partly to let us ſee, that we are not to expect extraordinary and miraculous Ways of Teaching and Information, where God affords ordinary Means.

Hereupon *Peter* began this Diſcourſe, that by comparing Things it was now plain and evident, that the *Partition-wall* was broken down; that God had no longer a particular Kindneſs for Nations or Perſons; that it was not the Nation, but the Religion; not the outward Quality of the Man, but the inward Temper of the Mind that recommends

mends Men to God; that the devout and the pious, the righteous and the good Man, where-ever he be, is equally dear to Heaven; that God has as much Reſpect for a juſt and virtuous Perſon in the Wilds of *Scythia*, as upon *Mount Sion*; that the reconciling and making Peace between God and Man by *Jeſus Chriſt*, was the Doctrine publiſhed by the Prophets of old, and of late, ſince the Times of *John*, preached through *Galilee* and *Judea*, *viz.* That God had anointed and conſecrated *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* with Divine Powers and Graces, in the Exerciſe whereof he conſtantly went about to do Good to Men; that they had ſeen all he had done amongſt the *Jews*, whom though they had ſlain and crucified, yet that God had raiſed him again the third Day, and had openly ſhewed him to his Apoſtles and Followers, whom he had choſen to be his peculiar Witneſſes, and whom to that End he had admitted to eat and drink with him after his Reſurrection, commanding them to preach the Goſpel to Mankind, and to teſtify that he was the Perſon whom God had ordained to be the great Judge of the World; that all the Prophets with one Conſent bore Witneſs of him; that this *Jeſus* is he, in whoſe Name whoſoever believes, ſhould certainly receive Remiſſion of Sins. While *Peter* was thus preaching to them, the Holy Ghoſt fell upon a great Part of his Auditory, enabling them to ſpeak ſeveral Languages, and therein to magnify the Giver of them. Whereat the *Jews*, who came along with *Peter*, did ſufficiently wonder, to ſee that the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt ſhould be poured upon the *Gentiles*. *Peter* ſeeing this, told the Company that he knew no Reaſon why theſe Perſons ſhould not be baptized, having received the Holy Ghoſt as well as

they;

they; and accordingly commanded them to be baptized. For whose farther Confirmation he staid some Time longer with them. This Act of *Peter*'s made a great Noise among the Apostles and Brethren at *Jerusalem*, who being but lately converted to *Christianity*, were as yet zealous for the Religion of their Country, and therefore severely charged *Peter* at his Return, for his too familiar conversing with the *Gentiles*. See here the powerful Prejudice of Education! The *Jews* had, for several Ages, conceived a radicated and inveterate Prejudice against the *Gentiles*. Indeed the Law of *Moses* commanded them to be peculiarly kind to their own Nation; and the Rites and Institutions of their Religion, and the peculiar Form of theri Commonwealth made them different from the Fashions of other Countries; a Separation, which, in After-times, they drew into a narrower Compass. Besides, they were mightily puffed up with their external Privileges, that they were the Seed of *Abraham*, the People whom God had peculiarly chosen for himself, above all other Nations of World; and therefore with a lofty Scorn they proudly rejected the *Gentiles* as Dogs and Reprobates, utterly refusing to shew them any Office of common Kindness and Converse. We find the *Heathens* frequently charging them with this Rudeness and Inhumanity. *Juvenal* accuses them, that they would not shew a Traveller the right Way, nor give him a Draught of Water, if he were not of their Religion. *Tacitus* tells us, that they had *a bitter Hatred of all other People*: *Haman* represented them to *Ahasuerus*, as *a People that would never kindly mix and correspond with any other, as different in their Manners as in their Laws and Religion*

Religion from other Nations. The Friends of *Antiochus* (as the Hiſtorian reports) charged them, *That they alone of all others were the moſt unſociable People under Heaven; that they held no Converſe ro Correſpondence with any other, but accounted them as their mortal Enemies; that they would not eat or drink wi h Men of another Nation, no nor ſo much as wiſh well to them; their Anceſtors having leavened them with an Hatred of all Mankind.* This was their Humour; and that the *Gentiles* herein did not wrong them, is ſufficiently evident from their ordinary Practice, and is openly avowed by their own Writings. Nay, at their firſt coming over to *Chriſtianity*, though one great Deſign of it was, to ſoften the Manners of Men, and to oblige them to a more extenſive and univerſal Charity, yet could they hardly quit this common Prejudice, quarrelling with *Peter* for no other Reaſon, but that he had eaten and drunken with the *Gentiles*; inſomuch that he was forced to apologize for himſelf, and to juſtify his Actions as immediately done by Divine Warrant and Authority. And then, no ſooner had he given them a naked and impartial Account of the whole Tranſaction, from firſt to laſt, but they preſently turned their Diſpleaſure againſt him into Thanks to God, that had granted to the *Gentiles* alſo Repentance unto Life.

It was now about the End of *Caligula*'s Reign, when *Peter*, having finiſhed his Viſitation of the new-planted Churches, was returned unto *Jeruſalem.* Not long after *Herod Agrippa*, Grand-child to *Herod the Great*, having attained the Kingdom, the better to ingratiate himſelf with the People, had lately put St. *James* to Death; And finding

finding that this gratified the Vulgar, resolved to send *Peter* the same way after him. In order thereunto he apprehended him, cast him into Prison, and set strong Guards to watch him; the Church, in the mean time, being very instant and importunate with Heaven for his Life and Safety. The Night before his intended Execution, God purposely sent an Angel from Heaven, who coming to the Prison, found him fast asleeep between two of his Keepers. So soft and secure a Pillow is a good Conscience, even in the Confines of Death, and the greatest Danger. The Angel raised him up, knock'd off his Chains, bad him gird on his Garments, and follow him. He did so, and having passed the first and second Watch, and enter'd through the *Iron-gate* into the City (which opened to them of its own Accord) after having passed through one Street more, the Angel departed from him. By this Time *Peter* came to himself, and perceived that it was no Vision, but a Reality that had happened to him. Whereupon he came to *Mary*'s House, where the Church were met together at Prayer for him. Knocking at the Door, the Maid, who came to let him in, perceiving it was his Voice, ran back to tell them that *Peter* was at the Door: Which they at first looked upon as nothing but the Effect of Fright or Fancy; but she still affirming it, they concluded that it was his Angel, or some peculiar Messenger sent from him. The Door being opened, they were strangly amazed at the Sight of him: But he briefly told them the Manner of his Deliverance, and charging them to acquaint the Brethren with it, presently withdrew into another Place. 'Tis easy to imagine what a Bustle and Stir there was the next Morning among the Keepers of the Pri-

ſon, with whom *Herod* was ſo much diſpleaſed, that he commanded them to be put to death.

Some time after this it happened, that a Controverſy ariſing between the *Jewiſh* and *Gentile* Converts, about the Obſervation of the *Moſaic* Law, the Minds of Men were exceedingly diſquieted and diſturbed with it; the *Jews* zealouſly contending for Circumciſion, and the Obſervance of the Ceremonial Law, to be joined with the Belief and Profeſſion of the Goſpel, as equally neceſſary to Salvation. To compoſe this Difference, the beſt Expedient that could be thought on was, to call a general Council of the Apoſtles and Brethren to meet together at *Jeruſalem*, which was done accordingly, and the Caſe throughly ſcanned and canvaſſed. At laſt *Peter* ſtood up, and acquainted the Synod, that God having made Choice of him among all the Apoſtles, to be the firſt that preached the Goſpel to the *Gentiles*; God, who was beſt able to judge of the Hearts of Men, had born Witneſs to them, that they were accepted of him, by giving them his Holy Spirit as well as he had done to the *Jews*; having put no Difference between the one and the other. That therefore it was tempting and provoking God, to put a Yoke upon the Necks of the Diſciples, which neither they themſelves nor their Fathers were able to bear; there being Ground enough to believe, that the *Gentiles* as well as the *Jews* ſhould be ſaved by the Grace of the Goſpel. After ſome other of the Apoſtles had declared their Judgments in the Caſe, it was unanimouſly decreed, that except the temporary Obſervance of ſome few particular Things, equally convenient both for *Jew* and *Gentile*, no other burden ſhould be impoſed upon them. And ſo the decrees of the Council being drawn

drawn up in a *Synodical Epiſtle*, were ſent abroad to the ſeveral Churches, for allaying the Heats and Controverſies that had been raiſed about this Matter.

Peter, a while after the Celebration of this Council, left *Jeruſalem*, and came down to *Antioch*, where uſing the Liberty which the Goſpel had given him, he familiarly eat, and converſed with the *Gentile* Converts, accounting them, now that the *Partition-wall was broken down*, no longer *Strangers and Foreigners, but Fellow-citizens with the Saints, and of the Houſhold of God:* This he had been taught by the Viſion of the Sheet let down from Heaven; this had been lately decreed, and he himſelf had promoted and ſubſcribed it in the Synod of *Jeruſalem:* This he had before practiſed towards *Cornelius* and his Family, and juſtified the Action to the Satisfaction of his Accuſers; and this he had here freely and innocently done at *Antioch*, till ſome of the *Jewiſh* Brethren coming thither, for fear of offending and diſpleaſing them, he withdrew his Converſe with the *Gentiles*, as if it had been unlawful for him to hold Communion with uncircumciſed Perſons, when yet he knew, and was fully ſatisfied, that our Lord had wholly removed all Difference, and broken down the Wall of Separation between *Jew* and *Gentile*. In which Affair, as he himſelf acted againſt the Light of his own Mind and Judgment, condemning what he had approved, and deſtroying what he had before built up; ſo hereby he confirmed the *Jewiſh* Zealots in their inveterate Error, caſt infinite Scruples into the Minds of the *Gentiles*, filling their Conſciences with Fears and Diſſatisfactions, reviving the old Feuds and Pre-

judices between *Jew* and *Gentile*; by which Means many others were enſnared; yea, the whole Number of *Jewiſh* Converts followed his Example, ſeparating themſelves from the Company of the *Gentile* Chriſtians. Yea, ſo far did it ſpread, that *Barnabas* himſelf was carried away with the Stream and Torrent of this unwarrantable Practice. St. *Paul*, who was at this Time come to *Antioch*, unto whom *Peter* gave the *Right hand of Fellowſhip*, acknowledging his Apoſtleſhip of the Circumciſion, obſerving theſe evil and unevangelical Actings, reſolutely withſtood *Peter* to the Face, and publickly reproved him as a Perſon worthy to be blamed for his groſs Prevarication in this Matter; ſeverely expoſtulating and reaſoning with him, that he who was himſelf a *Jew*, and thereby under a more immediate Obligation to the *Moſaick* Law, ſhould caſt off that Yoke himſelf, and yet endeavour to impoſe it upon the *Gentiles*, who were not in the leaſt under any Obligation to it. A ſmart, but an impartial Charge; and indeed ſo remarkable was this Carriage of St. *Paul* towards our Apoſtle, that though it ſet Things right for the preſent, yet it made ſome Noiſe abroad in the World. Yea, *Porphyry* himſelf, that acute and ſubtile Enemy of *Chriſtianity*, makes uſe of it as an Argument againſt them both; charging the one with Error and Falſhood, and the other with Rudeneſs and Incivility; and that the whole was but a Compact of Forgery and Deceit, while the Princes of the Church did thus fall out among themſelves. And ſo ſenſible were ſome of this, in the firſt Ages of *Chriſtianity*, that rather than ſuch a Diſhonour and Diſgrace, as they accounted it, ſhould be reflected upon *Peter*, they tell us of two

ſeveral

ſeveral *Cephas's*, one the *Apoſtle*, the other one of the *ſeventy Diſciples*; and that it was the laſt of theſe that was guilty of this Prevarication, and whom St. *Paul* ſo vigorouſly reſiſted and reproved at *Antioch*. But for this plauſible and well-meant Evaſion, the Champions of the *Romiſh* Church give them no great Thanks at this Day. Nay, St. *Hierome* long ſince fully confuted it in his Notes upon this Place.

Hitherto in drawing up the Life of this great Apoſtle, we have had an infallible Guide to conduct and lead us; but the ſacred Story breaking off here, forces us to look abroad, and to pick up what *Memoirs* the Ancients have left us in this Matter; which we ſhall for the Main digeſt according to the Order, wherein *Baronius*, and other Eccleſiaſtical Writers have diſpoſed the Series of St. *Peter's* Life; reſerving what is juſtly queſtionable, to a more particular Examination afterward. And that we may preſent the Account more entire and perfect, we muſt ſtep back a little in Point of Time, that ſo we may go forward with greater Advantage. We are to know therefore, that during the Peace and Calmneſs which the Church enjoyed after *Saul's* Perſecution, when St. *Peter* went down to viſit the Churches, he is ſaid to have gone to *Antioch*, where great Numbers of *Jews* inhabited, and there to have planted the *Chriſtian* Faith. That he founded a Church here, *Euſebius* expreſly tells us; and by others it is ſaid, that he himſelf was the firſt Biſhop of this See. Sure I am, that St. *Chryſoſtome* reckons it one of the greateſt Honours of that City, that St. *Peter* ſtaid ſo long there, and that the Biſhops of it ſucceeded him in that See. The Care and Preſidency of the

the Church he had between ſix and ſeven Years. Not that he ſtaid there all that Time, but that having ordered and diſpoſed Things to the beſt Advantage, he returned to other Affairs and Exigencies of the Church; confirming the new Plantations, bringing in *Cornelius* and his Family, and in him the Firſt-fruits of the *Gentiles* Converſion to the Faith of *Chriſt*. After which he returned unto *Jeruſalem*, where he was impriſoned by *Herod*, and miraculouſly delivered by an Angel ſent from Heaven.

What became of *Peter* after his Deliverance out of Priſon, is not certainly known: Probably he might preach in ſome Parts a little farther diſtant from *Judea*, as we are told he did at *Byzantium*, and in the Countries thereabout (though, I confeſs, the Evidence to me is not convincing.) After this he reſolved upon a Journey to *Rome*; where, moſt agree, he arrived about the ſecond Year of the Emperor *Claudius*. *Oroſius* tells us, that coming to *Rome*, he brought Proſperity with him to that City: For beſides ſeveral other extraordinary Advantages which at that Time happened to it, this was not the leaſt obſervable, that *Camillus Scribonianus*, Governor of *Dalmatia*, ſolliciting the Army to rebel againſt the Emperor, the *Eagles*, their military Standard, remained ſo faſt in the Ground, that no Power nor Strength was able to pluck them up. With which unuſual Accident the Minds of the Soldiers were ſurprized and ſtartled, and turning their Swords againſt the Author of the Sedition, continued firm and loyal in their Obedience: Whereby a dangerous Rebellion was prevented, likely enough otherwiſe to have broken out. This he aſcribes to St. *Peter*'s coming

to

to *Rome*, and the firſt Plantation of the *Chriſtian* Faith in that City. Heaven beginning more particularly to ſmile upon that Place at his firſt coming thither. 'Tis not to be doubted, but that at his firſt Arrival, he diſpoſed himſelf amongſt the *Jews* his Countrymen, who, ever ſince the Time of *Auguſtus*, had dwelt in the Region beyond *Tybur*. But when afterwards he began to preach to the *Gentiles*, he was forced to change his Lodging, and was taken in by one *Pudens*, a Senator lately converted to the Faith. Here he cloſely plied his main Office and employment, to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity in that Place. Here we are told, he met with *Philo* the *Jew*, lately come on his ſecond Embaſſy unto *Rome*, in the Behalf of his Countrymen at *Alexandria*, and to have contracted an intimate Friendſhip and Acquaintance with him. And now it was, ſays *Baronius*, that *Peter* being mindful of the Churches which he founded in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia* and *Aſia the leſs*, wrote his firſt Epiſtle to them, which he probably infers hence, that St. *Mark* being yet with him at the Time of the Date of this Epiſtle, it muſt be written at leaſt ſome Time this Year, for that now it was that St. *Mark* was ſent to preach and propagate the Faith in *Egypt*. Next to the planting Religion at *Rome*, he took Care to propagate it in the *Weſtern* Parts. And to that End (if we may believe one of thoſe that pretend to be his Succeſſors) he ſent abroad Diſciples into ſeveral Provinces. That ſo *their Sound might go into all the Earth, and their Words into the Ends of the World.*

It happened that after St. *Peter* had been ſeveral Years at *Rome*, *Claudius* the Emperor taking Advantage of ſome Seditions and Tumults raiſed by

by the *Jews*, by a publick Edict banished them out of *Rome*: In the Number of whom St. *Peter* (they say) departed thence, and returned back to *Jerusalem*, where he was present at that great Apostolical Synod, of which before. After this we are left under great Uncertainties, how he disposed of himself for many Years. Confident we may be, that he was not idle, but spent his Time sometimes in preaching in the *Eastern* Parts, sometimes in other Parts of the World, as in *Africk*, *Sicily*, *Italy*, and other Places. And here it may not be amiss to insert a Claim in Behalf of our own Country: *Eusebius* telling us (as *Metaphrastes* reports it) that *Peter* was not only in these *Western* Parts, but particularly that he was a long Time in *Britain*, where he converted many Nations to the Faith. But we had better be without the Honour of St. *Peter*'s Company, than build the Story upon so sandy a Foundation: *Metaphrastes* his Authority being of so little Value in this Case, that it is slighted by the more learned and moderate Writers of the Church of *Rome*. But wherever it was that St. *Peter* employed his Time, towards the latter Part of *Nero*'s Reign, he returned to *Rome*; where he found the Minds of the People strangely bewitched and hardned against the embracing of the *Christian* Religion by the Subtilties and Magick Arts of *Simon Magus*, whom (as we have before related) he had formerly baffled at *Samaria*. This *Simon* was born at *Gitton*, a Village of *Samaria*, bred up in the Arts of Sorcery and Divination, and by the Help of the Diabolical Powers performed many strange Feats of Wonder and Activity: Insomuch that People generally looked upon him as some great Deity come down from Heaven. But being discovered and confounded

The followers of Christ must deny themsel
& take up their Cross. Luke 9. 23.

founded by *Peter* at *Samaria*, he left the *East*, and fled to *Rome*: Where, by Witchcraft and Sorceries, he insinuated himself into the Favour of the People, and at last became very acceptable to the Emperors themselves, insomuch that no Honour and Veneration was too great for him. *Justin Martyr* assures us, that he was honoured as a Deity, that a Statue was erected to him in the *Insula Tyberina*, between two Bridges, with this Inscription, *SIMONI DEO SANCTO*; *To Simon the holy God*: That the *Samaritans* generally, and very many of other Nations did own and worship him as the chief and principal Deity. I know the Credit of this Inscription is shrewdly shaken by some later Antiquaries, who tell us, that the good Father being a *Greek*, might easily mistake in a *Latin* Inscription, or be imposed upon by others; and that the true Inscription was *SIMGNI SANGO DEO FIDIO*, *&c.* such an Inscription being in the last Age dug up in the *Tyberine* Island, and there preserved to this Day. It is not impossible but this might be the Foundation of the Story. But sure I am, that it is not only reported by the Martyr, who was himself a *Samaritan*, and lived but in the next Age, but by others almost of the same Time, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and by others after them. It farther deserves to be considered, that *J. Martyr* was a Person of great Learning and Gravity, inquisitive about Matters of this Nature, at this Time at *Rome*, where he was capable fully to satisfy himself in the Truth of Things, that he presented this Apology to the Emperor and the Senate of *Rome*, to whom he would be careful what he said, and who, as they knew whether it was true or no, so, if false, could not but ill resent to be so boldly imposed upon by so notorious a Fa-

ble. But be it as it will, he was highly in Favour both with the People and their Emperors; eſpecially *Nero*, who was the great Patron of Magicians, and all who maintained ſecret Ways of Commerce with the infernal Powers. With him St. *Peter* thought fit, in the firſt Place to encounter, and to undeceive the People, by diſcovering the Impoſtures and Deluſions of that wretched Man.

That he did ſo, is generally affirmed by the antient Fathers, who tell us of ſome particular Inſtances wherein he baffled and confounded him. But becauſe the Matter is more entirely drawn up by *Hegippius the Younger*, an Author contemporary with St. *Ambroſe*, if not (which is moſt probable) St. *Ambroſe* himſelf, we ſhall from him repreſent the Summary of the Story. There was, at this Time, at *Rome*, an eminent yound Gentleman, and a Kinſman of the Emperor's, lately dead. The Fame which *Peter* had, for raiſing Perſons to Life, perſuaded his Friends that he might be called. Others alſo prevailing that *Simon* the Magician might be ſent for. *Simon*, glad of the Occaſion to magnify himſelf before the People, propounded to *Peter*, that if he raiſed the Gentleman unto Life, then *Peter*, who had injuriouſly provoked the *great Power of God*, (as he ſtiled himſelf) ſhould loſe his Life: But if *Peter* prevailed, he himſelf would ſubmit to the ſame Fate and Sentence. *Peter* accepted the Terms, and *Simon* began his Charms and Inchantments; whereat the dead Gentleman ſeemed to move his Hand. The People that ſtood by, preſently cried out, that he was alive, and that he talked with *Simon*, and began to fall foul upon *Peter*, for daring to oppoſe himſelf againſt ſo great a Power. The Apoſtle entreated their Patience, told them,

that

that all this was but a Phantaſm and Appearance; that if *Simon* was but taken from the Bed-ſide, all this Pageantry would quickly vaniſh: Who being accordingly removed, the Body remained without the leaſt Sign of Motion. *Peter*, ſtanding a good Diſtance from the Bed, ſilently made his Addreſſes from Heaven, and then, before them all, commanded the young Gentleman, in the Name of the *Lord Jeſus* to ariſe; who immediately did ſo, ſpoke, walked, and eat, and was by *Peter* reſtored to his Mother. The People, who ſaw this, ſuddenly changed their Opinions, and fell upon the Magician with an Intent to ſtone him. But *Peter* begged his Life, and told them, that it would be a ſufficient Puniſhment to him, to live and ſee, that in Deſpite of all his Power and Malice, the Kingdom of *Chriſt* ſhould increaſe and flouriſh. The Magician was inwardly tormented with this Defeat, and vexed to ſee the Triumph of the Apoſtle, and therefore muſtering up all his Powers, ſummoned the People, told them that he was offended at the *Galileans*, whoſe Protector and Guardian he had been, and therefore ſet them a Day, when he promiſed that they ſhould ſee him fly up into Heaven. At the Time appointed, he went up to the Mount of the Capital, and throwing himſelf from the Top of th Rock, began his Flight. A Sight which the People entertained with great Wonder and Veneration, affirming that this muſt be the Power of God and not of Man. *Peter*, ſtanding in the Croud, prayed to our Lord, that the People might be undeceived, and that the Vanity of the Impoſtor might be diſcovered in ſuch a Way, that he himſelf might be ſenſible of it. Immediately the Wings which he had made him-

ſelf began to fail him, and he fell to the Ground, miſerably bruiſed and wounded with the Fall; Aſſiſtance being carried into a Neighbouring Village, he ſoon after died. This is the Story, for the particular Circumſtances thereof, the Reader muſt rely upon the Credit of my Author, the Thing in general being ſufficiently acknowledged by moſt ancient Writers. This Conteſt of *Peter*'s with *Simon Magus*, is placed by *Euſebius* under the Reign of *Claudius*, but by the Generality both of ancient and later Authors, it is referred to the Reign of *Nero*.

Such was the End of this miſerable and unhappy Man, which no ſooner came to the Ears of the Emperor, to whom, by wicked Artifices, he had endeared himſelf, but it became an Occaſion of haſtning *Peter*'s Ruin. The Emperor probably had been before diſpleaſed with *Peter*, not only upon the Account of the general Diſagreement and Inconformity of his Religion, but becauſe he had ſo ſtrictly preſſed Temperance and Chaſtity, and reclaimed ſo many Women in *Rome* from a diſſolute and vicious Life, thereby croſſing that wanton and laſcivious Temper, to which that Prince was ſo immoderate a Slave and Vaſſal. And being now by this Means robbed of his dear Favourite and Companion, he reſolved upon Revenge, commanding *Peter* (as alſo St. *Paul*, who was at this Time at *Rome*) to be apprehended, and caſt into the *Mamertine* Priſon; where they ſpent their Time in the Exerciſes of Religion, and eſpecially in preaching to the Priſoners, and thoſe who reſorted to them. And here we may ſuppoſe it was (if not a little before) that *Peter* wrote his *ſecond Epiſtle* to the diſperſed *Jews*, wherein he endea-

vours

vours to confirm them in the Belief and Practice of *Chriſtianity*, and to fortify them againſt thoſe poiſonous and pernicious Principles and Practices, which even then began to break in upon the *Chriſtian* Church.

Nero returning from *Achaiah*, and entring *Rome* with a great deal of Pomp and Triumph, reſolved now the Apoſtles ſhould fall a Victim and Sacrifice to his Cruelty and Revenge. While the fatal Stroke was daily expected, the *Chriſtians* in *Rome* did, by daily Prayers and Importunities, ſolicit St. *Peter* to make an Eſcape, and to reſerve himſelf to the Uſes and Services of the Church. This at firſt he rejected, as what would ill reflect upon his Courage and Conſtancy, and argue him to be afraid of thoſe Sufferings for *Chriſt*, to which he himſelf had ſo often perſuaded others; but the Prayers and Tears of the People overcame him, and made him yield. Accordingly the next Night having prayed with, and taken his Farewel of the Brethren, he got over the Priſon-wall, and coming to the City-gate, he is there ſaid to have met with our Lord, who was juſt entring into the City. *Peter* asked him, *Lord, whither art thou going?* from whom he preſently received this Anſwer, *I am come to* Rome, *to be crucified a ſecond Time.* By which Anſwer, *Peter* apprehended himſelf to be reproved, and that our Lord meant it of his Death, that he was to be crucified in his Servant. Whereupon he went back to the Priſon, and delivered himſelf into the Hands of his Keepers, ſhewing himſelf moſt ready and chearful to acquieſce in the Will of God. And we are told, that in the Stone whereon our Lord ſtood while he talked with *Peter*, he left the Impreſſion of his Feet, which Stone has

has been ever ſince preſerved as a very ſacred Relique, and, after ſeveral Tranſlations, was at length fixed in the Church of St. *Sebaſtian* the Martyr, where it is kept and viſited with great Expreſſions of Reverence and Devotion at this Day. Before his Suffering he was no queſtion ſcourged, according to the Manner of the *Romans*, who were wont firſt to whip thoſe Malefactors, who were adjudged to the moſt ſevere and capital Puniſhments: Having ſaluted his Brethren, and eſpecially having taken his laſt Farewel of St. *Paul*, he was brought out of the Priſon, and led to the Top of the *Vatican Mount*, near to *Tybur*, the Place deſigned for his Execution. The Death he was adjudged to was Crucifixion, as of all others accounted the moſt ſhameful, ſo the moſt ſevere and terrible. But he intreated the Favour of the Officers, that he might not be crucified in the ordinary Way, but might ſuffer with his Head downwards, and his Feet up to Heaven, affirming that he was unworthy to ſuffer in the ſame Poſture wherein his Lord had ſuffered before him. Happy Man (as *Chryſoſtome* gloſſes) to be ſet in the readieſt Poſture of travelling from Earth to Heaven. His Body being taken from the Croſs, is ſaid to have been embalmed by *Marcellinus* the Presbyter, after the *Jewiſh* Manner, and was then buried in the *Vatican*, near the Triumphal Way. Over his Grave a ſmall Church was ſoon after erected, which being deſtroyed by *Heliogabalus*, his Body was removed to the *Appian Way*, two Miles from *Rome*; where it remained till the Time of Pope *Cornelius*, who re-conveyed it to the *Vatican*, where it reſted ſomewhat obſcurely until the Reign of *Conſtantine*, who out of the mighty Reverence

Reverence which he had for the *Chriſtian* Religion, cauſed many Churches to be built at *Rome*, but eſpecially rebuilt and enlarged the *Vatican* to the Honour of St. *Peter*; in the doing whereof, himſelf is ſaid to have been the firſt that began to dig the Foundation, and to have carried thence twelve Baskets of Rubbiſh with his own Hands, in Honour, as it ſhould ſeem, of the twelve Apoſtles. He infinitely enriched the Church with Gifts and Ornaments, which, in every Age encreaſed in Splendor and Riches, till it is become one of the Wonders of the World at this Day. Of whoſe Glories, Statelineſs and Beauty, and thoſe many venerable Monuments of Antiquity that are in it; they who deſire to know more, may be plentifully ſatisfied by *Onuphrius*: Only one amongſt the reſt muſt not be forgotten; there being kept that very wooden Chair wherein St. *Peter* ſate when he was at *Rome*, by the only touching whereof many Miracles are ſaid to be performed. But ſurely *Baronius*'s Wiſdom and Gravity were from Home, when ſpeaking of this Chair, and fearing that the Hereticks would imagine that it might be rotten in ſo long a Time, he tells us, that it is no Wonder that this Chair ſhould be preſerved ſo long, when *Euſebius* affirms, that the wooden Chair of St. *James*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, was extant in the Time of *Conſtantine*. But the Cardinal, it ſeems, forgot to conſider, that there is ſome Difference between three and ſixteen hundred Years. But of this enough. St. *Peter* was crucified, according to the common Computation, in the Year of *Chriſt* ſixty-nine, and the thirteenth (or, as *Euſebius*, the fourteenth) of *Nero*, how truly may be enquired afterwards.

Having run through the current Hiſtory of St. *Peter*'s

Peter's Life, it may not be amiſs, in the next Place, to ſurvey a little his Perſon and Temper. His Body, (if we may believe the Deſcription given of him by *Nicephorus*) was ſomewhat ſlender, of a middle Size, but rather inclining to Tallneſs; his Complexion very pale, and almoſt white; the Hair of his Head and Beard curled and thick, but withal ſhort; though St. *Hierome* tells us, out of *Clement*'s *Periods*, that he was Bald, which probably might be in his declining Age; his Eyes black, but ſpeck'd with red, which *Baronius* will have to proceed from his frequent weeping; his Eyebrows thin, or none at all; his Noſe long, but rather broad and flat, than ſharp; ſuch was the Caſe and Outſide. Let us next look inwards, and view the Jewel that was within. Take him as a Man, and there ſeems to have been a natural Eagerneſs predominant in his Temper, which, as a Whetſtone ſharpen'd his Soul for bold and generous Undertakings. It was this, in a great Meaſure, that made him ſo forward to ſpeak, and to return Anſwers, ſometimes, before he had well conſidered them. It was this made him expoſe his Perſon to the moſt imminent Dangers, promiſe thoſe great Things in behalf of his Maſter, and reſolutely draw his Sword, in his Quarrel, againſt a whole Band of Soldiers, and wound the High-prieſt's Servant; and poſſibly he had attempted greater Matters, had not our Lord reſtrained, and taken him off, by that ſeaſonable Check that he gave him.

This Temper he owed, in a great Meaſure, to the *Genius* and Nature of his Country, of which *Joſephus* gives this true Character; that it naturally bred in Men a certain Fierceneſs and Animoſity, whereby they were fearleſly carried out upon any Action, and in all Things ſhew'd a great Strength

Strength and Courage, both of Mind and Body. The *Galileans*, ſays he, being Fighters from their Childhood, the Men being as ſeldom overtaken with Cowardize, as their Country with Want of Men. And yet, notwithſtanding this, his Fervour and Fierceneſs had its Intervals, there being ſome Times, when the Paroxiſms of his Heat and Courage did intermit, and the Man was ſurprized and betray'd by his own Fears; witneſs his paſſionate crying out, when he was upon the Sea, in Danger of his Life, and his fearful deſerting his Maſter in the Garden; but eſpecially his Carriage in the High-prieſt's Hall, when the confident Charge of a ſorry Maid, made him ſink ſo far beneath himſelf, and notwithſtanding his great and reſolute Promiſes, ſo ſhamefully deny his Maſter, and that with Curſes and Imprecations: But he was in Danger, Paſſion prevailed over his Underſtanding, and Fear betray'd the Succours which Reaſon offered; and being intent upon nothing but the preſent Safety of his Life, he heeded not what he did, when he diſowned his Maſter to ſave himſelf; ſo dangerous is it to be left to ourſelves, and to have our natural Paſſions let looſe upon us

Conſider him as a Diſciple and a *Chriſtian*, and we ſhall find him exemplary in the great Inſtances of Religion. Singular was his Humility and Lowlineſs of Mind: With what a paſſionate Earneſtneſs upon the Conviction of a Miracle, did he beg of our Saviour to depart from him; accounting himſelf not worthy, that the Son of God ſhould come near ſo vile a Sinner. When our Lord, by a wonderful Condeſcenſion ſtoopt to waſh his Apoſtles Feet, he could by no Means be perſuaded to admit it, not thinking it fit that ſo

great a Perſon ſhould ſubmit himſelf to ſo ſervile an Office towards ſo mean a Perſon as himſelf; nor could he be induced to accept it, till our Lord was in a Manner forced to threaten him into Obedience. When *Cornelius*, heighten'd in his Apprehenſions of him, by an immediate Command from God concerning him, would have entertained him with Expreſſions of more than ordinary Honour and Veneration, ſo far was he from complying with it, that he plainly told him, he was no other than ſuch a Man as himſelf. With how much Candour and Modeſty does he treat the inferior Rulers and Miniſters of the Church? He, upon whom Antiquity heaps ſo many honourable Titles, ſtyling himſelf no other than their *Fellow-presbyter*. Admirable his Love to, and Zeal for his Maſter, which he thought he could never expreſs at too high a Rate; for his Sake venturing on the greateſt Dangers, and expoſing himſelf to the moſt imminent Hazards of Life: It was in his Quarrel that he drew his Sword againſt a Band of Soldiers, and an armed Multitude; and 'twas Love to his Maſter drew him into that imprudent Advice, that he ſhould ſeek to ſave himſelf, and avoid thoſe Sufferings that were coming upon him; that made him promiſe and engage ſo deep, to ſuffer and die with him. Great was his Forwardneſs in owning *Chriſt* to be the *Meſſiah* and Son of God; which drew from our Lord that honourable Encomium, *Bleſſed art thou*, Simon Bar-Jonah: But greater his Courage and Conſtancy in confeſſing *Chriſt* before his moſt inveterate Enemies, eſpecially after he had recovered himſelf of his Fall. With how much Plainneſs did he tell the *Jews* at every Turn, to their very Faces, that they were the Murtherers and Crucifiers of the Lord

Lord of Glory? Nay, with what an undaunted Courage, with what an heroic Greatneſs of Mind did he tell that very *Sanhedrim*, that had ſentenced and condemned him, that they were guilty of his Murther, and that they could never be ſaved any other Way, than by this very *Jeſus*, whom they had crucified and put to Death?

Laſtly, let us reflect upon him as an Apoſtle, as a Paſtor and Guide of Souls. And ſo we find him faithful and diligent in his Office, with an infinite Zeal endeavouring to inſtruct the Ignorant, reduce the Erroneous, ſtrengthen the Weak, and confirm the Strong; to reclaim the Vicious, and turn Souls to Righteouſneſs. We find him taking all Opportunities of preaching to the People, converting Thouſands at once. How many Voyages and Travels did he undergo? With how unconquerable a Patience did he endure all Conflicts and Trials, and ſurmount all Difficulties and Oppoſitions, that he might plant and propagate the *Chriſtian* Faith? Not thinking much to lay down his own Life, to promote and farther it. Nor did he only do his Duty himſelf, but as one of the prime Superintendants of the Church, and as one that was ſenſible of the Value and Worth of Souls, he was careful to put others in mind of theirs, earneſtly preſſing and perſuading the Paſtors and Governors of it, to feed the Flock of God, to take upon them the Rule and Inſpection of it freely and willingly, and not out of a ſiniſter End, merely of gaining Advantages to themſelves, but out of a ſincere Deſign of doing Good to Souls; that they would treat them mildly and gently, and would be themſelves Examples of Piety and Religion to them, as the beſt Way to make their Miniſtry

ſucceſsful and effectual. And becauſe he could not be always preſent to teach and warn Men, he ceaſed not by Letters *to ſtir up their Minds* to the Remembrance and Practice of what they had been taught. A Courſe, he tells them, which he was reſolved to hold as long as he lived, as *thinking it meet, while he was in this Tabernacle, to ſtir them up, by putting them in mind of theſe Things*; that ſo *they might be able, after his Deceaſe, to have them always in Remembrance.* And this may lead us to the Conſideration of thoſe Writings which he left behind him for the Benefit of the Church.

Now the Writings that entitle themſelves to this Apoſtle, were either genuine, or ſuppoſititious. The genuine Writings are his two Epiſtles, which make up Part of the ſacred Canon. For the firſt of them, no certain Account can be had when it was written; though *Baronius* and moſt Writers commonly aſſign it to the Year of *Chriſt* Forty-four. But this cannot be, *Peter* not having been at *Rome* (from whence it is ſuppoſed to have been written) at that Time, as we ſhall ſee anon. He wrote it to the *Jewiſh* Converts, diſperſed through *Pontus, Galatia,* and the Countries thereabouts, chiefly upon the Occaſion of the Perſecution which had been raiſed at *Jeruſalem.* And accordingly the main Deſign of it is to confirm and comfort them under their preſent Sufferings and Perſecutions, and to direct and inſtruct them how to carry themſelves in the ſeveral States and Relations, both of the Civil and of the *Chriſtian* Life. For the Place whence it was written, 'tis expreſly dated from *Babylon*; but what, or where this *Babylon* is, is not ſo eaſy to determine. Some think it was *Babylon* in *Egypt,* and probably *Alexandria*; and that

that there *Peter* preached the Goſpel. Others will have it to have been *Babylon*, the antient Metropolis of *Aſſyria*, where great Numbers of *Jews* had dwelt ever ſince the Times of their Captivities. But we need not ſend *Peter* of ſo long an Errand, if we embrace the Notion of a learned Man, who by *Babylon* will figuratively underſtand *Jeruſalem*, now no longer the holy City, but a kind of ſpiritual *Babylon*, in which the Church of God did at this Time groan under great Servitude and Perſecution. And this Notion of the Word he endeavours to make good, by calling in to his Aſſiſtance two of the antient Fathers, who ſo underſtand that of the Prophet, *We have healed* Babylon, *but ſhe was not healed.* Where the Prophet (ſay they) by *Babylon* means *Jeruſalem*, as differing nothing from the Wickedneſs of the Nations, nor conforming itſelf to the Law of God. But generally the Writers of the *Romiſh* Church, and the more moderate of the *reformed* Party, acquieſcing herein in the Judgment of Antiquity, by *Babylon* underſtand *Rome*. And ſo it is plain St. *John* calls it, in his *Revelation*, either from its Conformity in Power and greatneſs to that antient City, or from the great Idolatry which at this Time reign'd in *Rome*. And ſo we may ſuppoſe St. *Peter* to have written it from *Rome*, not long after his coming thither; though the preciſe Time be not exactly known.

As for the *Second Epiſtle*, it was not accounted of old of equal Value and Authority with the *Firſt*, and therefore, for ſome Ages, not taken into the ſacred Canon, as is expreſly affirmed by *Euſebius*, and many of the Antients before him. The antient *Syriac* Church did not receive it, and accordingly it is not to be found in their antient Copies

Copies of the *New-Teſtament*: Yea, thoſe of that Church at this Day do not own it as Canonical, but only read it privately, as we do the *Apocryphal* Books. The greateſt Exception that I can find againſt it, was the Difference of its Stile from the other Epiſtle; and therefore it was preſumed, that they were not both written by the ſame Hand. But St. *Hierome*, who tells us the Objection, does elſewhere himſelf return the Anſwer; That the Difference in the Stile and Manner of Writing might very well ariſe from hence, that St. *Peter*, according to his different Circumſtances, and the Neceſſities of Affairs, was forced to uſe ſeveral *Amanuenſes* and Interpreters; ſometimes St. *Mark*, and after his Departure, ſome other Perſon, which might juſtly Occaſion a Difference in the Stile and Character of theſe *Epiſtles*. Not to ſay that the ſame Perſon may vaſtly alter and vary his Stile, according to the Times when, or the Perſons to whom, or the Subjects about which he writes, or the Temper and Diſpoſition he is in at the Time of writing, or the Care that is uſed in doing it. Who ſees not the vaſt Difference of *Jeremiah*'s writing in his *Prophecy*, and in his *Book of Lamentations?* Between St. *John*'s, in his *Goſpel*, his *Epiſtles* and *Apocalypſe?* How oft does St. *Paul* alter his Stile in ſeveral of his *Epiſtles*, in ſome more lofty and elegant, in others more rough and hard? Beſides, hundreds of Inſtances that might be given both in eccleſiaſtical and foreign Writers, too obvious to need inſiſting on in this Place. The learned *Grotius* will have this Epiſtle to have been written by *Simeon*, St. *James*'s immediate Succeſſor in the Biſhoprick of *Jeruſalem*; and that the Word *Peter* was inſerted into the Title by another Hand. But as a judicious Perſon

ſon of our own Country obſerves, theſe were but his poſthumous Annotations, publiſhed by others, and, no doubt, never intended as the deliberate Reſult of that great Man's Judgment; eſpecially ſince he himſelf tacitly acknowledges, that all Copies, extant at this Day, read the Title and Inſcription as it is in our Books.

And indeed there is a Concurrence of Circumſtances to prove St. *Peter* to be the Author of it: It bears his Name in the Front and Title, yea, ſomewhat more expreſly than the former, which has only one, this both his Names. There's a Paſſage in it, that cannot well relate to any but him. When he tell us, that he was preſent with *Chriſt* in the holy Mount; *When he received from God the Father, Honour and Glory; where he heard the Voice which came from Heaven, from the excellent Glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.* This evidently refers to *Chriſt*'s Transfiguration, where none were preſent but *Peter* and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, neither of whom were ever thought to be the Author of this Epiſtle: Beſides that, there is an admirable Conſent and Agreement in many Paſſages between theſe two Epiſtles, as it were eaſy to ſhew in particular Inſtances. Add to this, that St. *Jude*, ſpeaking of the *Scoffers who ſhould come in the laſt Time, walking after their own ungodly Luſts*, cites this as that which had been *before ſpoken by the Apoſtles of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt; wherein he plainly quotes the Words of this *Second Epiſtle of Peter*, affirming, *That there ſhould come in the laſt Days Scoffers, walking after their own Luſts.* And that this does refer to *Peter*, will farther appear by this, that he tells us of theſe Scoffers that ſhould come

come in the laſt Days, that is, before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* (as that Phraſe is often uſed in the *New-Teſtament*) That they ſhould ſay, *Where is the Promiſe of his Coming?* Which clearly reſpects their making Light of thoſe Threatnings of our Lord, whereby he had foretold, that he would ſhortly come in Judgment for the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the *Jewiſh* Nation. This he now puts them in mind of, as what probably he had before told them of *Viva voce*, when he was amongſt them: For ſo we find he did elſewhere. *Lactantius* aſſures us, *That amongſt many ſtrange and wonderful Things, which* Peter *and* Paul *preached at* Rome, *and left upon Record, this was one, That within a ſhort Time God would ſend a Prince, who ſhould deſtroy the* Jews, *and lay their Cities level with the Ground, ſtraitly beſiege them, deſtroy them with Famine, ſo that they ſhould feed upon one another: That their Wives and Daughters ſhould be raviſhed, and their Childrens brains daſht out before their Faces; that all ſhould be laid waſte by Fire and Sword, and themſelves perpetually baniſhed from their own Country; and this for their inſolent and mercileſs Uſage of the innocent and dear Son of God.* All which, as he obſerves, came to paſs ſoon after their Death, when *Veſpaſian* came upon the *Jews*, and extinguiſhed both their Name and Nation. And what *Peter* here foretold at *Rome*, we need not queſtion but he had done before to thoſe *Jews*, to whom he wrote this Epiſtle. Wherein he eſpecially antidotes them againſt thoſe corrupt and poiſonous Principles, wherewith many, and eſpecially the Followers of *Simon Magus*, began to infect the Church of *Chriſt*; and this but a little before his Death, as appears from

that

An. Tongelinx Sc.

Satan falls from Heaven like lightning;
Christ empowers his Disciples to tread on
Serpents & Scorpions. Luke 10.19.

that Paſſage in it, where he tells them, *That he knew he muſt ſhortly put off his earthly Tabernacle.*

Beſides theſe divine Epiſtles, there were other ſuppoſititious Writings, which, in the firſt Ages, were fathered upon St. *Peter*. Such was the Book called his *Acts*, mentioned by *Origen*, *Euſebius* and others, but rejected by them. Such was his Goſpel, which probably at firſt was nothing elſe but the Goſpel written by St. *Mark*, dictated to him (as is generally thought) by St. *Peter*; and therefore, as St. *Hierome* tells us, ſaid to be his. Tho' in the next Age there appeared a Book under that Title, mentioned by *Serapion*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, and by him at firſt ſuffered to be read in the Church; but afterwards, upon a more careful peruſal of it, he rejected it as *Apocryphal*, as it was by others after him: Another was the Book ſtiled *His Preaching*, mentioned and quoted both by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and by *Origen*, but not acknowledged by them to be Genuine; nay, expreſly ſaid to have been forged by Hereticks, by an antient Author, cotemporary with St. *Cyprian*. The next was his *Apocalypſe* or *Revelation*, rejected, as *Sozomen* tells us, by the Antients as ſpurious, but yet read in ſome Churches in *Paleſtine*, in his time. The laſt was the Book called *His Judgment*, which probably was the ſame with that called *Hermes* or *Paſtor*; a Book of good Uſe and Eſteem in the firſt Ages of *Chriſtianity*, and which, as *Euſebius* tells us, was not only frequently cited by the Antients, but alſo publickly read in Churches.

We ſhall conclude this Section by conſidering *Peter* with reſpect to his ſeveral Relations: That

he was married, is unqueſtionable, the ſacred Hiſtory mentioning his Wife's Mother; his Wife (might we believe *Metaphraſtes*) being the Daughter of *Ariſtobulus*, Brother to *Barnabas* the Apoſtle. And though St. *Hierom* would perſuade us, that he left her behind him, together with his Nets, when he forſook all to follow *Chriſt*; yet we know that Father too well, to be over-confident upon his Word, in a Caſe of Marriage or ſingle Life, wherein he is not over-ſcrupulous ſometimes to ſtrain a Point, to make his Opinion more fair and plauſible. The beſt is, we have an infallible Authority which plainly intimates the contrary, the Teſtimony of St. *Paul*, who tells us of *Cephas*, that *he led about a Wife and Siſter*, along with him, who, for the moſt Part mutually cohabited and lived together, for ought that can be proved to the contrary. *Clemens Alexandrinus* gives us this Account, (though he tells us not the Time or Place,) that *Peter*, ſeeing his Wife going towards Martyrdom, exceedingly rejoiced, that ſhe was called to ſo great an Honour, and that ſhe was now returning Home; encouraging and earneſtly exhorting her, and calling her by her Name, *bid her to be mindful of our Lord.* Such (ſays he) was the Wedlock of that bleſſed Couple, and the perfect Diſpoſition and Agreement in thoſe Things that were deareſt to them. By her he is ſaid to have had a Daughter called *Petronella*, (*Metaphraſtes* adds a Son) how truly I know not: This only is certain, that *Clemens* of *Alexandria* reckons *Peter* for one of the Apoſtles that was married and had Children. And ſurely, he who was ſo good a Man, and ſo good an Apoſtle, was as good in the Relation both of an Husband and a Father.

It

It is not to my Purpoſe to ſwim againſt the Stream and Current of Antiquity, in denying St. *Peter* to have been at *Rome*; an Aſſertion more eaſy to be perplexed and entangled, than confuted and diſproved; we may grant the Main, without doany great Service to that Church; there being Evidence enough, to every impartial and conſidering Man, to ſpoil that ſmooth and plauſible Scheme of Times, which *Baronius* and the Writers of that Church have drawn with ſo much Care and Diligence. And, in order to this, we muſt firſt enquire, whether that Account which *Bellarmine* and *Baronius* give us of *Peter*'s being at *Rome*, be tolerably reconcileable with the Hiſtory of the *Apoſtles Acts*, recorded by St. *Luke*, which will be beſt done by briefly preſenting St. *Peter*'s *Acts* in their juſt Series and Order of Time, and then ſee what Countenance and Foundation their Account can receive from hence.

After our Lord's Aſcenſion, we find *Peter*, for the firſt Year, at leaſt, ſtaying with the reſt of the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*. In the next Year he was ſent, together with St. *John*, by the Command of the Apoſtles, to *Samaria*, to preach the Goſpel to that City, and the Parts about it. About three Years after St. *Paul* meets him at *Jeruſalem*, with whom he ſtaid ſome Time. In the two following Years he viſited the new planted Churches, preached at *Lydda* and *Joppa*, where having tarried many Days, he thence removed to *Caſarea*, where he preached to, and baptized *Cornelius* and his Family. Thence, after ſome Time, he returned to *Jeruſalem*, where he probably ſtaid, till he was caſt into Priſon by *Herod*, and delivered by the Angel. After this we hear no more of him, till three or four Years after we find him in the

Council at *Jeruſalem*: After which he had the Conteſt with St. *Paul* at *Antioch*. And thence forward the ſacred Story is altogether ſilent in this Matter. So that in all this Time, we find not the leaſt Footſtep of any Intimation that he went to *Rome*. This *Baronius* well foreſaw, and therefore once and again inſerts this Caution, that St. *Luke* did not deſign to record all the Apoſtles Acts, and that he omitted many Things which were done by *Peter*. Which ſurely no Man ever intended to deny. But then that he ſhould omit a Matter of ſuch vaſt Moment and Importance to the whole Chriſtian World, that not one Syllable ſhould be ſaid of a Church planted by *Peter* at *Rome*; a Church that was to be Paramount, the Seat of ſpiritual Power and Infallibility, and to which all other Churches were to yield and do Homage; nay, that he ſhould not ſo much as mention that ever he was there, and yet all this ſaid to be done within the Time he deſigned to write of, is by no Means reaſonable to ſuppoſe; eſpecially conſidering, that St. *Luke* records many of his Journeys and Travels, and his preaching at ſeveral Places, of far leſs Conſequence and Concernment. Nor let this be thought the worſe of, becauſe a negative Argument, ſince it carries ſo much rational Evidence along with it, that any Man, who is not plainly byaſſed by Intereſt, will be ſatisfied with it.

But let us proceed a little farther, to enquire whether we can meet any probable Footſteps afterwards. About the Year *Fifty three*, towards the End of *Claudius*'s Reign, St. *Paul* is thought to have ſent his Epiſtle to the Church of *Rome*, wherein he ſpends the greateſt Part of one Chapter in ſaluting

luting particular Perſons that were there; amongſt whom it might reaſonably have been expected, that St. *Peter* ſhould have had the firſt Place. And ſuppoſing, with *Baronius*, that *Peter*, at this Time, might be abſent from the City, preaching the Goſpel in ſome Parts in the *Weſt*, yet we are not ſure that St. *Paul* knew of this; and if he did, it is ſtrange that in ſo large an Epiſtle, wherein he had Occaſion enough, there ſhould be neither direct nor indirect Mention of him, or of any Church there founded by him. Nay, St. *Paul* himſelf intimates, what a Deſire he had to come thither, that he might *impart unto them ſome ſpiritual Gifts, to the End they might be eſtabliſhed in the Faith*, for which there could have been no ſuch apparent Cauſe, had *Peter* been there ſo lately, and ſo long before him. Well, St. *Paul* himſelf, not many Years after, is ſent to *Rome*, *Ann. Chr.* LVI. or as *Euſebius* LVII. (though *Baronius* makes it two Years after) about the ſecond Year of *Nero*; when he comes thither, does he go to ſojourn with *Peter*, as it is likely he would, had he been there? No, but dwelt by himſelf in his own hired Houſe. No ſooner was he come, but he called the chief of the *Jews* together, acquainting them with the Cauſe and End of his Coming, and explains the Doctrine of Chriſtianity; which when they rejected, he tells them, that *henceforth the Salvation of God was ſent unto the Gentiles*, who would hear it, to whom he would now addreſs himſelf. This ſeems to intimate, that however ſome few of the *Gentiles* might have been brought over, yet that no ſuch harveſt had been made before his coming, as might reaſonably have been expected from St. *Peter*'s having been ſo many Years amongſt them. Within the two firſt Years after St. *Paul*'s coming

to

to *Rome*, he wrote Epiſtles to ſeveral Churches, to the *Coloſſians*, *Epheſians*, *Philippians*, and one to *Philemon*; in none whereof there is the leaſt Mention of St. *Peter*, or from whence the leaſt Probability can be derived, that he had been there. In that to the *Coloſſians*, he tells them, that of the *Jews* at *Rome*, he had had *no other Fellow-workers unto the Kingdom of God, which had been a Comfort unto him*, ſave only *Ariſtarchus*, *Marcus*, and *Jeſus*, who was called *Juſtus*, which evidently excludes St. *Peter*. And in that to *Timothy*, which *Baronius* confeſſes to have been written a little before his Martyrdom (though probably it was written the ſame Time with the reſt above-mentioned) he tells them, that *at his firſt Anſwer at* Rome, *no Man ſtood with him, but that all Men forſook him*: Which we can hardly believe St. *Peter* would have done, had he been there. He farther tells him, that *only* Luke *was with him*; that *Creſcens* was gone to this Place, *Titus* to that, and *Tychicus* left at another. Strange! that if *Peter* was at this Time gone from *Rome*, St. *Paul* ſhould take no Notice of it as well as the reſt. Was he ſo inconſiderable a Perſon, as not to be worth the remembring? Or his Errand of ſo ſmall Importance, as not to deſerve a Place in St. *Paul*'s Account as well as that of *Creſcens* to *Galatia*, or of *Titus* to *Dalmatia*? Surely the true Reaſon was, that St. *Peter*, as yet, had not been at *Rome*, and ſo there could be no Foundation for it.

It were no hard Matter farther to demonſtrate the Inconſiſtency of that Account which *Bellarmine* and *Baronius* give us of *Peter*'s being at *Rome*, from the Time of the apoſtolical Synod at *Jeruſalem*. For if St. *Paul* went up to that Council, fourteen Years after his own Converſion,

as

as he plainly intimates; and that he himſelf was converted *Anno* XXXV. ſomewhat leſs than two Years after the Death of *Chriſt*, then it plainly appears, that this Council was holden *Anno Dom.* XLVIII. in the ſixth Year of *Claudius*, if not ſomewhat ſooner; for St. *Paul*'s *fourteen Years after*, does not neceſſarily imply that Fourteen Years were compleatly paſt, but that it was near about that Time. This being granted (and if it be not, it is eaſy to make it good) then three Things, amongſt others, will follow from it. Firſt, That whereas, according to *Bellarmine* and *Baronius*, St. *Peter*, after his firſt coming to *Rome*, (which they place *Anno* XLIV. and the ſecond of *Claudius*) was ſeven Years before he returned thence to the Council at *Jeruſalem*, they are ſtrangely out in their Story, there being but three, or at moſt four Years between his going thither, and the Celebration of that Council. Secondly, That when they tell us, that St. *Peter*'s leaving *Rome*, to come to the Council, was upon the Occaſion of the Decree of *Claudius*, which baniſhed all *Jews* out of the City; this can no-ways be: For *Oroſius* does not only affirm, but prove it from *Joſephus*, that *Claudius*'s Decree was publiſhed in the ninth Year of his Reign, or *Ann. Chr.* LI. three Years, at leaſt after the Celebration of that Council. Thirdly, that when *Baronius* tells us, that the Reaſon why *Peter* went to *Rome*, after the breaking up of the Synod, was becauſe *Claudius* was now dead, he not daring to go before, for fear of the Decree: This can be no Reaſon at all, the Council being ended at leaſt three Years before that Decree took Place; ſo that he might ſafely have gone thither without the leaſt Danger from it. It might farther be

be ſhewed, if it were neceſſary, that the Account, which even they themſelves give us, is not very conſiſtent with itſelf. So fatally does a bad Cauſe draw Men, whether they will or no, into Errors and Miſtakes.

The Truth is, the learned Men of that Church are not well agreed among themſelves, how to give in their Verdict upon this. And indeed how ſhould they, when the Thing itſelf affords no ſolid Foundation for it? *Onuphrius*, a Man of great Learning and Induſtry, in all Matters of Antiquity, and who (as the Writer of *Baronius*'s Life informs us) deſigned, before *Baronius*, to write the Hiſtory of the Church, goes a way by himſelf in aſſigning the Time of St. *Peter*'s founding his See both at *Antioch* and *Rome*. For finding, by the Account of the ſacred Story, that *Peter* did not leave *Judea* for the ten firſt Years after our Lord's Aſcenſion, and conſequently could not, in that Time, erect his See at *Antioch*, he affirms that he went to *Rome*; whence returning to the Council at *Jeruſalem*, he thence went to *Antioch*, where he remained ſeven Years, till the Death of *Claudius*; and having ſpent almoſt the whole Reign of *Nero*, in ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, returned in the laſt of *Nero*'s Reign to *Rome*, and there died. An Opinion, for which he is ſufficiently chaſtiſed by *Baronius*, and others of that Party. And here I cannot but remark the Ingenuity (for the Learning ſufficiently recommends itſelf) of Monſieur *Valois* who freely confeſſes the Miſtake of *Baronius*, *Petavius*, &c. in making *Peter* go to *Rome*, *Anno* XLIV. the ſecond Year of *Claudius*, when, as it is plain (ſays he) from the Hiſtory of the *Acts*, that *Peter* went not out of *Judea* and *Syria*, till the Death

Death of *Herod*, *Claudii Anno* IV. two whole Years after. Conſonant to which, as he obſerves, in what *Apollonius*, a Writer of the ſecond Century, reports from a Tradition current in his Time, that the Apoſtles did not depart aſunder till the twelfth Year after *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion, our Lord himſelf having ſo commanded them. In Confirmation whereof, let me add a Paſſage that I meet with in *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, where from St. *Peter* he records this Speech of our Saviour to his Apoſtles, ſpoken, probably, either a little before his Death, or after his Reſurrection. *If any* Iſraelite *ſhall repent, and believe in God, through my Name, his Sins ſhall be forgiven him after twelve Years. Go ye into the World, leſt any ſhould ſay, we have not heard.* This Paſſage, as it ſtands in the *Greek*, and as ordinarily pointed in all Editions that I have ſeen, is ſcarce capable of any tolerable Senſe; for what's the Meaning of a penitent *Iſraelite*'s being pardon'd *after twelve Years?* If therefore it was pointed, as I apprehend it ſhould be, the Senſe will then run ſmooth and clear, thus; *If any* Jew *ſhall repent and believe the Goſpel, he ſhall be pardoned; but after twelve Years, go ye into all the World, that none may pretend that they have not heard the Sound of the Goſpel.* The Apoſtles were firſt to preach the Goſpel to the *Jews*, for ſome conſiderable Time, twelve Years after *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion, in and about *Judea*, and then to betake themſelves to the Provinces of the *Gentile* World, to make known to them the glad Tidings of Salvation, exactly anſwerable to the Tradition mentioned by *Apollonius*. Beſides, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* tells us, that *Peter* came not to *Rome* 'till the ſeventh Year of *Claudius*, *Anno Chriſti* XLIX. So little Certainty

can there be of any Matter, wherein there is no Truth. Nay, the ſame excellent Man beforementioned, does not ſtick elſewhere to profeſs, he wonders at *Baronius*, that he ſhould make *Peter* come from *Rome*, baniſhed thence by *Claudius*'s Edict, to the Synod at *Jeruſalem*, the ſame Year, *viz. Anno Claudii* IX. a Thing abſolutely inconſiſtent with that Story of the *Apoſtles Acts*, recorded by St. *Luke*, wherein there is the Space of no leſs that three Years from the Time of that Synod, to the Decree of *Claudius*: It being evident, what he obſerves, that after the Celebration of that Council, St. *Paul* went back to *Antioch*, afterwards into *Syria* and *Cicilia* to preach the Goſpel; thence into *Phrygia*, *Galatia* and *Myſia*; from whence he went into *Macedonia*, and firſt preached at *Philippi*, then *Theſſalonica* and *Beræa*, afterwards ſtay'd ſome conſiderable Time at *Athens*, and laſt of all went to *Corinth*, where he met with *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, lately come from *Italy*, and baniſhed *Rome* with the reſt of the *Jews*, by the Decree of *Claudius*; all which, by an eaſy and reaſonable Computation, can take up no leſs than three Years at leaſt.

That which cauſed *Baronius* to ſplit upon ſo many Rocks, was not ſo much through the want of ſeeing them, which a Man of his Parts and Induſtry could not but in a great Meaſure ſee, as the unhappy Neceſſity of defending thoſe unſound Principles which he had undertaken to maintain. For being to make good *Peter*'s five and twenty Years Preſidency over the Church of *Rome*, he was forced to confound Times, and diſlocate Stories, that he might bring all his Ends together What Foundation this Story of *Peter*'s being five and twenty

twenty Years Biſhop of *Rome*, has in Antiquity, I find not, unleſs it ſprang from hence, that *Euſebius* places *Peter*'s coming to *Rome* in the ſecond Year of *Claudius*, and his Martyrdom in the fourteenth of *Nero*, between which there is the juſt Space of five and twenty Years. Whence thoſe that came after concluded, that he was Biſhop there, all that time. It cannot be denied, but that in St. *Hierom*'s Tranſlation it is expreſly ſaid, that he continued five and twenty Years Biſhop of that City. But then it is as evident, that this was his own Addition, who probably ſet Things down as the Report went in his Time, no ſuch Thing being to be found in the *Greek* Copy of *Euſebius*. Nor indeed, does he ever there, or elſewere poſitively affirm St. *Peter* to have been Biſhop of *Rome*, but only that he preached the Goſpel there: And expreſly affirms, that he and St. *Paul* being dead, *Linus* was the firſt Biſhop of *Rome*. To which I may add, that when the Antients ſpeak of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and the firſt Originals of that Church, they equally attribute the Founding, and Epiſcopacy and Government of it to *Peter* and *Paul*, making the one as much concerned in it as the other. Thus *Epiphanius* reckoning up the Biſhops of that See, places *Peter* and *Paul* in the Front, as the firſt Biſhops of *Rome*, Peter *and* Paul *Apoſtles*, *became the firſt Biſhops of* Rome, *then* Linus, *&c.* And again, a little after, *The Succeſſion of the Biſhops of* Rome *was in this Manner*, Peter *and* Paul, Linus, Cletus, *&c.* And *Hegeſippus* ſpeaking of their coming to *Rome*, equally ſays of them, that they were *the Inſtructors of the* Chriſtians, *admirable for Miracles, and renowned for their Authority*. However, granting

not only that he was Biſhop, and that for five and twenty Years together, yet what would this make for the unlimited Sovereignty and Univerſality of that Church, unleſs a better Evidence than *Feed my Sheep*, could be produced for its uncontroulable Supremacy and Dominion over the whole *Chriſtian* World?

The Sum is this, granting what none that has any Reverence for Antiquity will deny, that St. *Peter* was at *Rome*, he probably came thither ſome few Years before his Death, joined with and aſſiſted St. *Paul* in preaching of the Goſpel, and then both ſealed the Teſtimony of it with their Blood. The Date of his Death is differently aſſigned by the Antients. *Euſebius* places it in *Anno* LXIX. in the fourteenth of *Nero*, *Epiphanius* in the Twelfth That which ſeems to me moſt probable is, that it was in the tenth, or the Year LXV. which I thus compute: *Nero*'s burning of *Rome* is placed by *Tacitus*, under the Conſulſhip of *C. Lecanius* and *M. Licinius*, about the Month of *July*; that is, *Ann. Chr.* LXIV. This Act procuring him the infinite Hatred and Clamours of the People, which having in vain endeavoured ſeveral Ways to remove and pacify, he at laſt reſolved upon this Project, to derive the Odium upon the *Chriſtians*, whom therefore, to appeaſe the People, he condemned as Guilty of the Fact, and cauſed to be executed with all Manner of acute and exquiſite Tortures. This Perſecution we may ſuppoſe began about the End of that, or the Beginning of the following Year. And under this Perſecution, I doubt not, it was that St. *Peter* ſuffered, and changed Earth for Heaven.

Finding

Finding the Truth of what is ſuppoſed and granted in the foregoing Section, to wit, St. *Peter*'s going to, and ſuffering at *Rome*, not only doubted of heretofore in the Beginning of the Reformation, while the Paths of Antiquity were leſs frequent, and beaten out, but now again lately in this broad Day-light of eccleſiaſtical Knowledge not only called in Queſtion, but exploded as moſt vain and fabulous, and that eſpecially by a foreign Profeſſor, of Name and note; it may not be amiſs, having the Opportunity of this Impreſſion, to make ſome few Remarks for the better clearing of this Matter.

And firſt, I obſerve that this Matter of Fact is atteſted by Witneſſes of the moſt remote Antiquity, Perſons of great Eminency and Authority, and who lived near enough to thoſe Times, to know the Truth and Certainty of thoſe Things which they reported. And, perhaps there is ſcarce any one Piece of ancient Church Hiſtory, for which there is more clear, full and conſtant Evidence, than there is for this. Not to inſiſt on that Paſſage of *Ignatius*, in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, which ſeems yet to look this Way; it is expreſly aſſerted by *Papias* Biſhop of *Hierapolis* in *Phyrigia*, who (as *Irenæus* tells us) was Scholar to St. *John*, and Fellow-pupil with St. *Polycarp*; and though we ſhould, with *Euſebius*, ſuppoſe, that it was not St. *John* the Apoſtle, whoſe Scholar he was, but another ſirnamed the *Elder*, that lived at *Epheſus*, yet will this ſerve him very little in Point of Time. Now *Papias* ſays not only that St. *Peter* was at *Rome*, and preached the *Chriſtian* Faith there, but that he wrote thence his firſt Epiſtle, and by his Authority confirmed the Goſpel, which St. *Mark*, his

his Diſciple and Follower, at the Requeſt of the *Romans*, had drawn up. And that we may ſee, he did not careleſly take up theſe Things as common Hearſays, it was his Cuſtom, where-ever he met with any that had converſed with the Apoſtles, to pick up what Memoirs he could meet with concerning them, and particularly to enquire what *Andrew*, what *Peter*, what *Philip*, what *Thomas* or *James*, or the reſt of the Diſciples of our Lord had either ſaid or done. Which ſufficiently ſhews what Care he took to derive the moſt accurate Notices of theſe Matters.

Next to *Papias* comes *Irenæus*, a Man, as St. *Jerom* ſtiles him, of the Apoſtolick Times, and was, he tells us, *Papias* his own Scholar: However it is certain from his own Account, that he was Diſciple to St. *Polycarp*, a Man famous for his Learning, Prudence, Gravity, and Piety, throughout the whole *Chriſtian* World. About the Year One hundred twenty-nine, he was made Biſhop of the metropolitan Church of *Lyons* in *France*, a little before which he had been diſpatched upon a Meſſage to *Rome*, and had converſed with the great Men there. Now his Teſtimony, in this Caſe, is uncontroulable; for he ſays that *Peter* and *Paul* preached the Goſpel at *Rome*, and founded a Church there; and elſewhere, that the great and moſt ancient Church of *Rome* was founded and conſtituted by the two glorious Apoſtles, *Peter* and *Paul*; and that theſe bleſſed Apoſtles having founded this Church, delivered the epiſcopal Care of it to *Linus*. Contemporary with *Irenæus*, or rather a little before him, was *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*, a Man of ſingular Eminency and Authority in thoſe Times, who, in an Epiſtle which he

he wrote to the Church of *Rome*, compares the Plantation of *Chriſtianity* which *Peter* and *Paul* had made both at *Rome* and *Corinth*; and ſays farther, that after they had ſown the Seeds of the evangelical Doctrine at *Corinth*, they went together into *Italy*, where they taught the Faith, and ſuffered Martyrdom.

Toward the latter End of the Second Century flouriſhed *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, Presbyter of that Church, and Regent of the Catechetick School there, who, in his Book of *Inſtitutions*, gives the very ſame Teſtimony which we quoted from *Papias* before; they being both brought in by *Euſebius* as Joint-evidences in this Matter. *Tertullian*, who lived much about the ſame Time at *Carthage*, that *Clemens* did at *Alexandria*, and had been, as is probable, more than once at *Rome*, affirms more expreſly, more than once and again, that the Church of *Rome* was happy in having its Doctrine ſealed with the apoſtolick Blood, and that *Peter* was crucified in that Place, or, as he expreſſes it, that *Peter* baptized in *Tyber*, as *John* the Baptiſt had done in *Jordan*, and elſewhere; that when *Nero* firſt died, the yet tender Faith at *Rome*, late water'd with the Blood of its Profeſſors, then it was that *Peter* was girt by another, and bound to the Croſs.

Next to *Tertullian* ſucceeds *Caius*, an eccleſiaſtical Perſon, as *Euſebius* calls him, flouriſhing *anno* CCIV. in the Time of Pope *Zephyrin*; who, in a Book which he wrote againſt *Proclus*, one of the Heads of the *Cataphrygian* Sect, ſpeaking concerning the Places where the Bodies of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* were buried, has theſe Words, *I am able to ſhew the very Tombs of the Apoſtles; for whether you go into the* Vatican, *or into*

into the Via Oſtienſis, *you will meet with the Sepulchres of thoſe that founded that Church*, meaning the Church of *Rome*. The laſt Witneſs whom I ſhall produce in this Caſe, is *Origen*, a Man juſtly reverenced for his great Learning and Piety, and who took a Journey to *Rome*, while Pope *Zephyrin* yet lived, on Purpoſe, as himſelf tells us, to behold the Church ſo venerable for its Antiquity; and therefore cannot but be ſuppoſed to have been very inquiſitive to ſatisfy himſelf in all, eſpecially the eccleſiaſtical Antiquities of that Place. Now he expreſly ſays of *Peter*, that after he had preached to the diſperſed *Jews* of the *Eaſtern* Parts, he came at laſt to *Rome*, where, according to his own Requeſt, he was crucified with his Head downwards. Lower than *Origen* I need not deſcend, it being granted by thoſe who oppoſe this Story, that in the Time of *Origen*, the Report of St. *Peter's* going to, and ſuffering Martyrdom at *Rome*, was commonly received in the *Chriſtian* Church. And now I would fain know, what one Paſſage of thoſe antient Times can be proved either by more, or by more conſiderable Evidence than this is; and indeed, conſidering how ſmall a Portion of the Writings of thoſe firſt Ages of the Church has been tranſmitted to us, there is much greater Cauſe rather to wonder that we ſhould have ſo many Witneſſes in this Caſe, than that we have no more.

Secondly, I obſerve, that the Arguments brought to ſhake the Credit of this Story, and the Exceptions made to theſe ancient Teſtimonies, are very weak and trifling, and altogether unbecoming the Learning and Gravity of thoſe that make them. For Arguments againſt it, what can be more weak and inconcluſive, than to aſſert the Fabulouſneſs

St. Paul the great Apostle of the Gentiles was beheaded at Rome in the 68 year of his Age.

buſineſs of this Story, becauſe no Mention is made of it by St. *Luke*, in the *Apoſtolical Hiſtory*, no Footſteps of it to be found in any of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles written from *Rome*; as if it might not come thither time enough, after the Accounts of the ſacred Story do expire; that St. *Peter* was never at *Rome*, becauſe *Clemens Romanus* ſays nothing of it in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, when yet he mentions St. *Paul*'s coming to the Bounds of the *Weſt*; and what yet is more abſurd, becauſe no Notice is taken of it by the *Roman* Hiſtorians who wrote the Acts of that Age, eſpecially *Tacitus*, *Suetonius* and *Dio*; as if theſe great Writers had had nothing elſe to do, but to fill their Commentaries with Accounts concerning *Chriſtians*, whom it is plain they deſpiſed and ſcorned, and looked upon as a contemptible, execrable ſort of Men, and therefore very little beſide the bare Mention of them, and that too but rarely, is to be met with in any of their Writings; much leſs can it be expected that they ſhould give an Account of the Accidents and Circumſtances of particular *Chriſtians*: Beſides that, this whole way of reaſoning is negative, and purely depends upon the Silence of ſome few Authors, which can ſignify nothing, where there is ſuch a current and uncontroulable Tradition, and ſo many poſitive Authorities to the contrary. And yet theſe are the beſt, and almoſt only Arguments that are offered in this Matter.

And of no greater Force or Weight are the Exceptions made to the Teſtimonies of the Ancients, which we have produced, as will appear by a ſummary Enumeration of the moſt material of them. Againſt *Papias*'s Evidence it is excepted,

that he was, as *Euſebius* characters him, a Man of a very weak and undiſcerning Judgment, and that he derived ſeveral Things ſtrange and unheard-of from mere Tradition. But all this is ſaid of him by *Euſebius* only, upon the Account of ſome doctrinal Principles and Opinions, and ſome raſh and abſurd Expoſitions of our Saviour's Doctrine, careleſly taken up from others, and handed down without due Examination; particularly his millenary or chiliaſtick Notions; but what is this to invalidate his Teſtimony in the Caſe before us, a Matter of a quite different Nature from thoſe mentioned by *Euſebius?* May not a Man be miſtaken in abſtruſe Speculations, and yet be fit enough to judge in ordinary Caſes? As if none but a Man of acute Parts and a ſubtil Apprehenſion, one able to pierce into the Reaſon, Conſiſtency and Conſequences of doctrinal Concluſions, were capable to deliver down Matters of Fact, Things freſh in Memory, done within much leſs than an hundred Years, in themſelves highly probable, and wherein no Intereſt could be ſerved, either for him to deceive others, or others to deceive him.

Againſt *Irenæus* it is put in bar, that he gave not this Teſtimony till after his Return from *Rome*, that is, about an hundred and forty Years after St. *Peter*'s firſt pretended coming thither; which is no great Abatement in a Teſtimony of ſo remote Antiquity, when they had had ſo many Evidences and Opportunities of ſatisfying themſelves in the Truth of Things which to us are utterly loſt; that before his Times many frivolous Traditions began to take Place, and that he himſelf is ſometimes miſtaken: The proper Inference from

from which, if purſued to its juſt Iſſue, muſt be this, either that he is always miſtaken, or at leaſt that he is ſo in this.

The Authority of *Dionyſius* of *Corinth* is thrown off with this, that it is of no greater Value than that of *Irenæus*; that Churches then began to emulate each other, by pretending to be of apoſtolical Foundation, and that *Dionyſius* herein conſulted the Honour of his own Church, by deriving upon it the Authority of thoſe two great Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*, and in that reſpect ſetting it on the ſame Level with *Rome*; which yet is a mere Suggeſtion of his own, and, as far as it reſpects *Dionyſius*, is ſaid, without any juſt Warrant from Antiquity. Beſides, his Teſtimony itſelf is called in Queſtion, for affirming that *Peter* and *Paul* went together from *Corinth*, into *Italy*, and there taught and ſuffered Martyrdom at the ſame Time. Againſt their coming together to *Corinth*, and thence paſſing into *Italy*, nothing is brought, but that the Account which St. *Luke* gives of the Travels and Preachings of theſe Apoſtles is not conſiſtent with St. *Peter*'s coming to *Rome* under *Claudius*, which let them look to, whoſe Intereſt it is that it ſhould be ſo; I mean them of the Church of *Rome*: And for his ſaying that they ſuffered Martyrdom *at the ſame Time*, it does not neceſſarily imply their ſuffering the ſame Day and Year, but admits of ſome conſiderable Diſtance of Time; it being elſewhere granted, by our Author, that the *Greek* Phraſe is often uſed in *Joſephus*, in a large Senſe, as including what happened within the Compaſs of ſome Years.

To enervate the Teſtimony of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, it is ſaid, (with how little Pretence of Reaſon,

Reaſon, let any Man judge) that *Euſebius* quotes it out of a Book of *Clemens*, that is now loſt, and that he tells not whence St. *Clemens* derived the Report; that Abundance of *Apocryphal* Writings were extant in his Time, and that he himſelf inſerts a great many frivolous Traditions in his Writings; which, if it were granted, would do no Service in this Caſe, unleſs it were aſſerted, that all Things he ſays are doubtful or fabulous, becauſe ſome few are ſo.

Much after the ſame rate it is argued againſt *Tertullian*, that he was a Man of great Credulity; that he ſets down ſome Paſſages concerning St. *John*, which are not related by other Writers of his Time; that he was miſtaken in our Saviour's Age, at the Time of his Paſſion; that he was impoſed upon in the Account which he ſays *Tiberius* the Emperor ſent to the Senate concerning *Chriſt*, which, forſooth, muſt needs be falſe, becauſe no Mention is made of it by *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, or *Dio*.

The Exceptions to *Caius* are no whit ſtronger than the former; that he flouriſhed but in the Beginning of the third Century, when many falſe Reports were ſet on foot, and that it is not reaſonable to believe, that in thoſe Times of Perſecution the Tombs of the Apoſtles ſhould be undefaced, and had in ſuch publick Honour and Veneration; as if the Places where the Apoſtles were buried, could not be familiarly known to *Chriſtians*, without being commonly ſhewn to their *Heathen* Perſecutors, or without erecting pompous and ſtately Monuments over their Graves, to provoke the Rage and Malice of their Enemies to fall foul upon them.

Againſt

Againſt *Origen*, nothing is pretended, but what is notoriouſly vain and frivolous; as that perhaps his Reports concerning the Travels of the Apoſtles are not ſufficiently certain; that in ſome other Caſes he produces Teſtimonies out of *Apocryphal* Writings; and that many Things are reported concerning himſelf, which are at beſt obſcure and ambiguous, and that *Baronius* and *Valeſius* cannot agree about the Time of his Journey to *Rome*. I have but lightly touched upon theſe Exceptions, becauſe the very Mention of them is enough to ſuperſede a ſtudied and operoſe Confutation; and indeed they are generally ſuch as may, with equal Force be levelled almoſt againſt any antient Hiſtory.

Thirdly, I obſerve how far Zeal, even of the beſt Cauſe, may ſometimes tranſport learned Men to ſecure it by undue and imprudent Methods, and ſuch as one would think were made uſe of rather to ſhew the Acumen and Subtilty of the Author, than any Strength or Cogency in the Arguments. Plain it is, that they who ſet themſelves to undermine this Story, deſign therein to ſerve the Intereſts of the *Proteſtant* Cauſe, againſt the vain and unjuſt Pretences of the See of *Rome*, and utterly to ſubvert the very Foundations of that Title whereby they lay Claim to St. *Peter*'s Power. This indeed could it be fairly made good, and without offering Violence to the Authority of thoſe ancient and venerable Sages of the *Chriſtian* Church, would give a mortal Blow to the *Romiſh* Cauſe, and free us from ſeveral of their groundleſs and ſophiſtical Allegations; but when this cannot be done without calling in Queſtion the firſt and moſt early Records of the Church, and throwing off the

the Authority of the Ancients, *Non tali auxilio*,— Truth needs no ſuch Weapons to defend itſelf, but is able to ſtand up, and triumph in its own Strength, without calling in ſuch indirect Artifices to ſupport it. We can ſafely grant the Main of the Story, that St. *Peter* did go to *Rome*, and came thither (as *Origen* expreſly ſays he did) about the latter End of his Life, and there ſuffered Martyrdom for the Faith of *Chriſt*; and yet this is no Diſadvantage to ourſelves, nay, 'tis that which utterly confounds all their Accounts of Things, and proves their pretended Story of St. *Peter*'s being twenty-five Years Biſhop of that See to be not only vain, but falſe, as has been ſufficiently ſhewn in the foregoing Section. But to deny that St. *Peter* was ever at *Rome*, contrary to the whole Stream and Current of Antiquity, and the unanimous Conſent of the moſt early Writers, and that merely upon little Surmiſes, and trifling Cavils; and in order thereunto to treat the Reverend Fathers, whoſe Memories have ever been dear and ſacred to the *Chriſtian* Church, with rude Reflections and ſpiteful Inſinuations, is a Courſe, I confeſs, not over ingenuous, and might give too much Occaſion to our Adverſaries of the Church of *Rome*, to charge us (as they ſometimes do, falſely enough) with a Neglect of Antiquity, and Contempt of the Fathers; but that it is notoriouſly known, that all the great Names of the *Proteſtant* Party, Men moſt celebrated for Learning and Piety, have always paid a moſt juſt Deference and Veneration to Antiquity, and upon that Account have freely allowed this Story of St. *Peter*'s going to *Rome*, as our Author, who oppoſes it, is forced to grant.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, It deſerves to be conſidered whether the needleſs queſtioning a Story ſo well atteſted, may not in Time open too wide a Gape to ſhake the Credit of all Hiſtory. For if Things done at ſo remote a Diſtance of Time, and which have all the Evidence that can be deſired to make them good, may be doubted of or denied, merely for the ſake of ſome few and inſignificant Exceptions, which may be made againſt them, what is there that can be ſecure? There are few Paſſages of ancient Hiſtory, againſt which a Man of Wit and Parts may not ſtart ſome Objections, either from the Writers of them, or from the Account of the Things themſelves; and ſhall they therefore be preſently diſcarded, or condemned to the Number of the Falſe or Fabulous? If this Liberty be indulged, farewell Church-hiſtory, nay, it is to be feared, whether the ſacred Story will be able long to maintain its Divine Authority. We live in an Age of great Scepticiſm and Infidelity, wherein Men have in a great Meaſure put off the Reverence due to ſacred Things; and witty Men ſeem much delighted to hunt out Objections, beſtow their Cenſures, expoſe the Credit of former Ages, and to believe little but what themſelves either ſee or hear. And therefore it will become wiſe and good Men to be very tender, how they looſen, much more *remove the old Land-marks, which the Fathers have ſet*, leſt we run ourſelves before we be aware into a Labyrinth and Confuſion, from whence it will not be eaſy to get out.

The

The LIFE of St. *PAUL.*

THough St. *Paul* was none of the Twelve Apoſtles, yet had he the Honour of being an Apoſtle extraordinary, and to be immediately called in a Way peculiar to himſelf. He juſtly deſerves a Place next St. *Peter*; for as *in their Lives they were pleaſant and lovely*, ſo *in their Death they were not divided*; eſpecially if it be true, that they both ſuffered not only for the ſame Cauſe, but at the ſame Time, as well as Place. St. *Paul* was born at *Tarſus*, the Metropolis of *Cilicia*; a City infinitely rich and populous, and what contributed more to the Fame and Honour of it, an Academy, furniſhed with Schools of Learning, where the Scholars ſo cloſely plied their Studies, that, as *Strabo* informs us, they excelled in all Arts of polite Learning and Philoſophy thoſe of other Places, yea, even of *Alexandria*, and *Athens* itſelf; and that even *Rome* was beholden to it for many of its beſt Profeſſors. It was a *Roman Municipium*, or free Corporation, inveſted with many Franchiſes and Privileges by *Julius Cæſar*, and *Auguſtus*; who granted to the Inhabitants of it the Honours and Immunities of Citizens of *Rome*. In which Reſpect St. *Paul* owned and aſſerted as the Privilege of his Birthright, that he was a *Roman*, and thereby free from being bound or beaten. True it is that St. *Hierom* (followed herein by one, who himſelf travelled in theſe Parts) makes him born

born at *Giſchalis*, a well fortified Town in *Judea*, which being beſieged and taken by the *Roman* Army, his Parents fled away with him and dwelt at *Tarſus*. But beſides that this contradicts St. *Paul*, who expreſly affirms, that he was born at *Tarſus*, there needs no more to confute this Opinion, than that St. *Hierom* elſewhere ſlights it as a fabulous Report.

His Parents were *Jews*, and that of the ancient Stock, not entering in by the Gate of Proſelytiſm, but originally deſcended from that Nation, which ſurely he means, when he ſays, That he *was an Hebrew of the Hebrews*; either becauſe both his Parents were *Jews*, or rather that all his Anceſtors had been ſo. They belonged to the Tribe of *Benjamin*, whoſe Founder was the youngeſt Son of the old Patriarch *Jacob*, who thus propheſied of him: Benjamin *ſhall raven as a Wolf, in the Morning he ſhall devour the Prey, and at Night he ſhall divide the Spoil.* This prophetical Character *Tertullian*, and ſome others after him, will have to be accompliſhed in our Apoſtle. *As a ravenous Wolf in the Morning devouring the Prey*, that is, as a Perſecutor of the Churches, in the firſt Part of his Life deſtroying the Flock of God: *In the Evening dividing the Spoil*, that is, in his declining and reduced Age, as Doctor of the Nations, feeding and diſtributing to *Chriſt*'s Sheep.

We find him deſcribed by two Names in Scripture, one *Hebrew*, and the other *Latin*; probably referring both to his *Jewiſh* and *Roman* Capacity and Relation. The one, *Saul*, a Name frequent and common in the Tribe of *Benjamin* ever ſince the firſt King of *Iſrael*, who was of that Name, was choſen out of that Tribe; in Memory where-

of they were wont to give their Children this Name at their Circumcision. His other was, *Paul*, assumed by him, as some think, at his Conversion, to denote his Humility; as others, in memory of his converting *Sergius Paulus* the *Roman* Governor; in Imitation of the Generals and Emperors of *Rome*, who were wont, from the Places and Nations that they conquered, to assume the Name, as an additional Honour and Title to themselves, as *Scipio Africanus*, *Cæsar Germanicus*, *Parthicus*, *Sarmaticus*, *&c.* But this seems no-way consistent with the great Humility of this Apostle. More probable therefore it is, what *Origen* thinks, That he had a double Name given him at his Circumcision; *Saul*, relating to his *Jewish* Original; and *Paul*, referring to the *Roman* Corporation, wherein he was born. And this the Scripture seems to favour, when it says, *Saul, who is also called Paul.* And this perhaps may be the Reason why St. *Luke*, so long as he speaks of him as conversant among the *Jews* in *Syria*, styles him *Saul*; but afterwards when he left those Parts, and went among the *Gentiles*, he gives him the Name of *Paul*, as a Name more frequent, and familiarly known to them. And for the same Reason, no doubt, he constantly calls himself by that Name in all his Epistles written to the *Gentile* Churches. Or if it was taken up by him afterwards, it was probably done at his Conversion, according to the Custom and Manner of the *Hebrews*, who used many Times upon solemn and eminent Occasions, especially upon their entering upon a more strict and religious Course of Life, to change their Names, and assume one which they had not before.

In his Youth he was brought up in the Schools of *Tarsus*, fully instructed in all the liberal Arts and

and Sciences, whereby he became admirably acquainted with foreign and external Authors. Together with which he was brought up to a particular Trade and Courſe of Life; according to the great Maxim and Principle of the *Jews*, That, *He who teaches not his Son a Trade, teaches him to be a Thief.* They thought it not only fit, but a neceſſary Part of Education, for their wiſeſt and moſt learned Rabbins to be brought up to a manual Trade, whereby, if Occaſion was, they might be able to maintain themſelves. Hence (as *Druſius* obſerves) nothing more common in their Writings, than to have them denominated from their Callings, *Rabbi Joſe* the *Tanner*, *Rabbi Jochanan* the *Shoemaker*, *Rabbi Juda* the *Baker*, &c. A Cuſtom taken up by the *Chriſtians*, eſpecially the Monks and Aſceticks of the primitive Times, who together with their ſtrict Profeſſion, and almoſt incredible Exerciſes of Devotion, each took upon him a particular Trade, whereat he daily wrought, and by his own Hand-labour maintained himſelf. And this Courſe of Life the *Jews* were very careful ſhould be free from all Suſpicion of Scandal; being wont to ſay, That he was happy that had his Parents employed in an honeſt and commendable Calling; as he was miſerable, who ſaw them converſant in any ſordid and diſhoneſt Courſe of Life. The Trade our Apoſtle was put to, was that of *Tent-making*, whereat he wrought, for ſome particular Reaſons, even after his Calling to the Apoſtolate. An honeſt, but mean Courſe of Life, and, as *Chryſoſtome* obſerves, an Argument that his Parents were not of the nobler and better Rank; however, it was an uſeful and gainful Trade, eſpecially in thoſe warlike Countries, where Armies had ſuch frequent Uſe of Tents.

Having run through the whole Circle of Sciences, and laid the ſure Foundations of human Learning at *Tarſus*, he was by his Parents ſent to *Jeruſalem*, to be perfected in the Study of the Law, and put under the Tutorage of *Rabban Gamaliel*. This *Gamaliel* was the Son of *Rabban Symeon* (probably preſumed to be the ſame *Symeon* that came into the Temple, and took *Chriſt* into his Arms) Preſident of the Court of the *Sanhedrim*: He was a Doctor of the Law, a Perſon of great Wiſdom and Prudence, and Head at that Time of one of the Families of the Schools at *Jeruſalem*. A Man of chief Eminency and Authority in the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*, and Preſident of it at that very Time when our bleſſed Saviour was brought before it. He lived to a great Age, and was buried by *Onkelos* the Proſelyte, Author of the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe (one who infinitely loved and honoured him) at his own vaſt Expence and Charge. He it was that made that wiſe and excellent Speech in the *Sanhedrim*, in Favour of the Apoſtles and their Religion. Nay, he himſelf is ſaid (though I know not why) to have been a *Chriſtian*, and his ſitting among the Senators to have been conniv'd at by the Apoſtles, that he might be the better Friend to their Affairs. *Chryſippus*, Presbyter of the Church of *Jeruſalem* adds, that he was Brother's Son to *Nicodemus*, together with whom, he and his Son *Abib* were baptized with *Peter* and *John*. This Account he derives from *Lucian*, a Presbyter alſo of that Church under *John*, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, who, in an Epiſtle of his ſtill extant, tells us, that he had this, together with ſome other Things, communicated to him in a Viſion by *Gamaliel* himſelf; which if true, no better Evidence

Evidence could be desired in this Matter. At the Feet of this *Gamaliel*, St. *Paul* tells us, he was brought up; alluding to the Custom of the *Jewish* Masters, who were wont to sit, while their Disciples and Scholars stood at their Feet; which honorary Custom continued till the Death of this *Gamaliel*, and was then left off. Their own *Talmud* telling us, That *since our old* Rabbin Gammaliel *died, the Honour of the Law was perished, Purity and Pharisaism were destroyed*; which the Gloss thus explains, That whilst he lived, Men were found, and studied the Law *standing*, but he being dead, Weakness crept into the World, and they were forced to *sit*.

Under the Tuition of this great Master St. *Paul* was educated in the Knowledge of the Law, wherein he made such quick and vast Improvements, that he soon out-stript his Fellow-disciples. Amongst the various Sects at that Time in the *Jewish* Church, he was especially educated in the Principles and Institutions of the *Pharisees*; of which Sect was both his Father and his Master, whereof he became a most earnest and zealous Professor. This being, as himself tells us, the strictest Sect of their Religion; for the understanding whereof, it may not be amiss a little to enquire into the Temper and Manners of this Sect. *Josephus*, tho' himself a *Pharisee*, gives this Character of them, That *they were a crafty and subtile Generation of Men, and so perverse even to Princes themselves, that they would not fear many Times openly to affront and oppose them.* And so far had they insinuated themselves into the Affections and Estimations of the Populace, that their good or ill Word was enough to make, or blast any one with the People, who would implicitly believe them, let their Report

be

be never ſo falſe or malicious. And therefore *Alexander Janæus*, when he lay a dying, wiſely adviſed his Queen by all means to comply with them, and to ſeem to govern by their Counſel and Direction, affirming, that this had been the greateſt Cauſe of his fatal Miſcarriage, and that which had derived the Odium of the Nation upon him, that he had offended this ſort of Men. Certain it is, that they were infinitely proud and inſolent, ſurly and ill-natured, that they hated all Mankind but themſelves, and cenſured whoever would not be of their Way, as a Villain and Reprobate; greatly zealous to gather Proſelytes to their Party, not to make them more religious, but more fierce and cruel, more carping and cenſorious, more heady and high-minded; in ſhort, *twofold more the Children of the Devil, than they were before.* All Religion and Kindneſs was confined within the Bounds of their own Party; and the firſt Principles wherewith they inſpired their new Converts were, That none but they were the godly Party, and that all other Perſons were Slaves and Sons of the Earth; and therefore they endeavoured to inſpire them with a mighty Zeal and Fierceneſs againſt all that differed from them, ſo that if any one did but ſpeak a good Word of our Saviour, he ſhould be preſently excommunicated and caſt out, perſecuted and devoted to Death. To this End they were wont, not only to ſeparate, but diſcriminate themſelves from the Herd and Community, by ſome peculiar Notes and Badges of Diſtinction; ſuch as their long Robes, broad Phylacteries, and their large Fringes and Borders of their Garments, whereby they made themſelves known from the reſt of Men. Theſe dogged and ill-natured Principles, together with their ſeditious, unnatural, unjuſt,

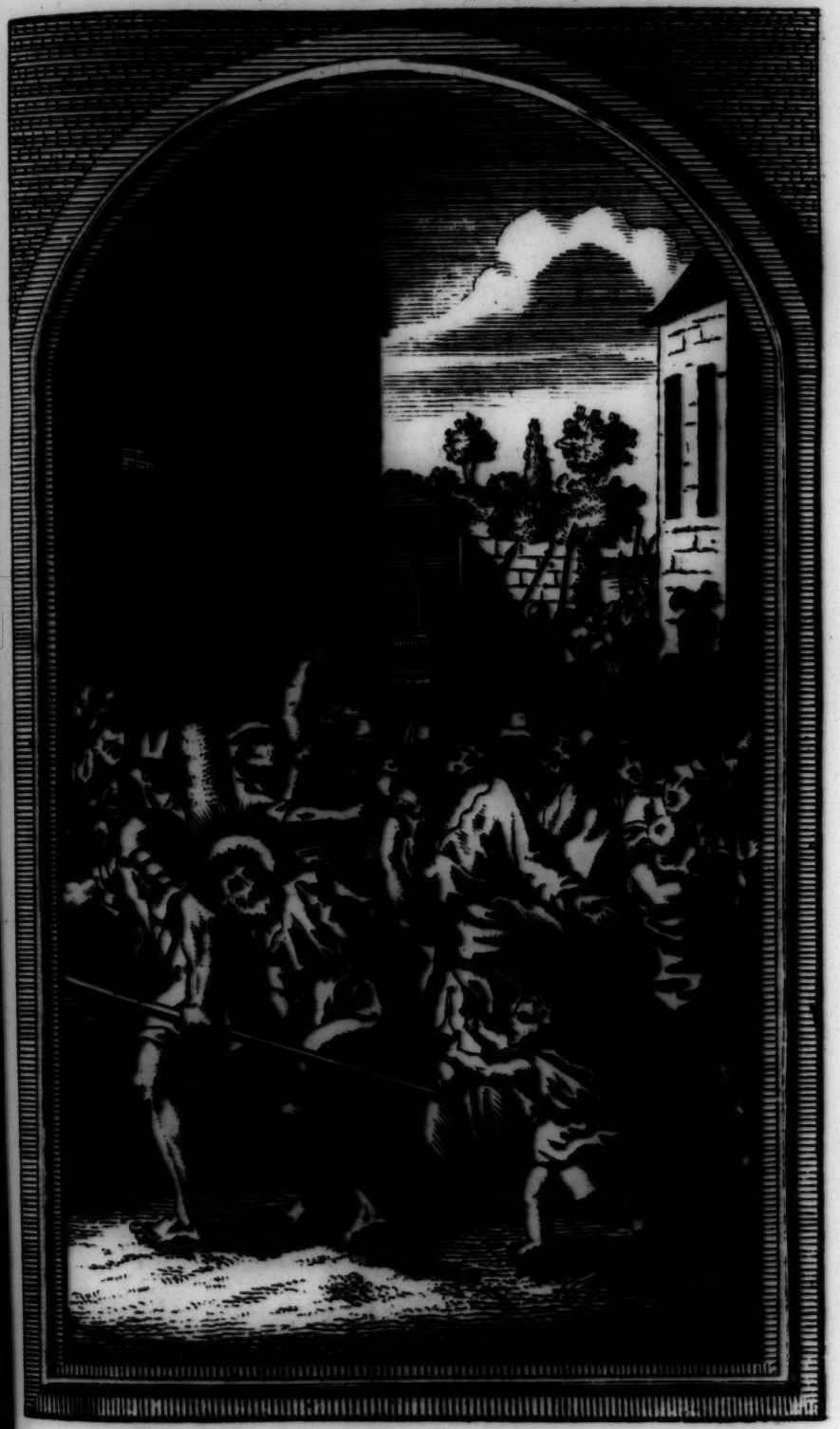
unmerciful,

unmerciful and uncharitable Behaviour, which otherwiſe would have made them ſtink above Ground in the Noſtrils of Men, they ſought to palliate and varniſh over with a more than ordinary Pretence and Profeſſion of Religion; but were eſpecially active and diligent in what coſt them little, the outward Inſtances of Religion, ſuch Duties eſpecially as did more immediately refer to God, as frequent faſting and praying, which they did very often, and very long, with demure and mortified Looks, in a whining and an affected Tone, and this almoſt in every Corner of the Streets; and indeed they ſo contrived the Scheme of their Religion, that what they did might appear above Ground, where they might be ſeen of Men to the beſt Advantage.

Though this ſeems to have been the general Temper and Diſpoſition of that Party, yet doubtleſs there were ſome amongſt them of better and honeſter Principles than the reſt; in which Number we have juſt Reaſon to reckon our Apoſtle; who nevertheleſs was yet deeply leavened with the active and fiery Genius of the Sect, not able to brook any oppoſite Party in Religion, eſpecially if late and new: Inſomuch that when the *Jews* were reſolved to do Execution upon *Stephen*, he ſtood by and kept the Clothes of them that did it. Whether he was any farther engaged in the Death of this innocent and good Man, we do not find; however this was enough loudly to proclaim his Approbation and Conſent: And therefore elſewhere we find him indicting himſelf for this Fact, and pleading guilty. *When the Blood of thy Martyr* Stephen *was ſhed, I alſo was ſtanding by, and conſenting unto his Death, and kept the Raiment of*

them

them that ſlew him. God chiefly inſpects the Heart, and if the Vote be paſſed there, writes the Man guilty, though he ſtir no farther. 'Tis eaſy to murder another by a ſilent Wiſh, or a paſſionate Deſire. In all moral Actions God values the Will for the Deed, and reckons the Man a Companion in the Sin, who, though poſſibly he may never actually join in it, does yet inwardly applaud and like it. The Storm thus begun, encreaſed apace, and a violent Perſecution began to ariſe, which miſerably afflicted and diſperſed the *Chriſtians* at *Jeruſalem*; in which our Apoſtle was a prime Agent and Miniſter, ranging about all Parts with a mad and ungovernable Zeal, ſearching out the Saints, beating them in the Synagogues, compelling many to blaſpheme, impriſoning others, and procuring them to be put to death. Indeed he was a kind of *Inquiſitor Hæreticæ pravitatis* to the High-prieſt, by whom he was employed to hunt and find out theſe upſtart Hereticks, who preached againſt the Law of *Moſes*, and the Traditions of the Fathers. Accordingly having made ſtrange Havock at *Jeruſalem*, he addreſſed himſelf to the *Sanhedrim*, and there took out a Warrant and Commiſſion to go down and ranſack the Synagogues at *Damaſcus*. How eternally inſatiable is Fury and a miſguided Zeal! how reſtleſs and unwearied in its Deſigns of Cruelty! it had already ſufficiently haraſſed the poor *Chriſtians* at *Jeruſalem*, but not content to have vexed them there, and to have driven them thence, it perſecuted them unto ſtrange Cities, following them even to *Damaſcus* itſelf, whither many of theſe perſecuted *Chriſtians* had fled for Shelter, reſolving to bring up thoſe whom he found there to *Jeruſalem*, in order to their



St. LUKE 23. Verse 27 28.

Jesus *bearing the Cross, bids ye Daughters of* Jerusalem *not weep for him, but for themselves and their Children.*

their Puniſhment and Execution For the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim* had not only Power of ſeizing and ſcourging Offenders againſt their Law within the Bounds of their own Country, but by Connivance and Favour of the *Romans*, might ſend into other Countries, where there were any Synagogues that acknowledged a Dependance in religious Matters upon the Council at *Jeruſalem*, to apprehend them; as here they ſent *Paul* to *Damaſcus* to fetch up what *Chriſtians* he could find, to be arraigned and ſentenced at *Jeruſalem*.

But God, who had deſigned him for Work of another Nature, and *ſeparated him from his Mother's Womb to the preaching of the Goſpel*, ſtopt him in his Journey. For while he was, together with his Company, travelling on the Road, not far from *Damaſcus*, on a ſudden a Gleam of Light beyond the Splendor and Brightneſs of the Sun, was darted from Heaven upon them, whereat being ſtrangely amazed and confounded, they all fell to the Ground, a Voice calling to him, *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* To which he replied, *Lord, who art thou?* Who told him, That *he was* Jeſus *whom he perſecuted*, that what was done to the Members was done to the Head, that it was hard for him to kick againſt the Pricks, that he now appeared to him, to make choice of him for a Miniſter, and a Witneſs of what he had now ſeen, and ſhould after hear; that he would ſtand by him, and preſerve him, and make him a great Inſtrument in the Converſion of the *Gentile* World. This ſaid, he asked our Lord, what he would have him to do? who bad him go into the City, where he ſhould receive his Anſwer. St. *Paul*'s Companions, who had been preſent at this Tranſaction,

heard the Voice, but ſaw not him that ſpoke to him; though elſewhere the Apoſtle himſelf affirms, that they ſaw the Light, but heard not the Voice of him that ſpake; that is, they heard a confuſed Sound, but not a diſtinct and articulate Voice; or, more probably, being ignorant of the *Hebrew* Language, wherein our Lord ſpake to St. *Paul*, they heard the Words, but knew not the Senſe and Meaning of them.

St. *Paul* by this Time was gotten up, but tho' he found his Feet, yet he had loſt his Eyes, being ſtricken blind with the extraordinary Brightneſs of the Light, and was accordingly led by his Companions into *Damaſcus*. In which Condition he there remained, faſting three Days together. At this Time, we may probably ſuppoſe it was, that he had that Viſion and Ecſtaſy, wherein he was taken up into the third Heaven, where he ſaw and heard Things great and unutterable, and was fully inſtructed in the Myſteries of the Goſpel, and hence expreſly affirms, that he was not *taught the Goſpel which he preached by Man, but by the Revelation of* Jeſus Chriſt. There was at this Time at *Damaſcus* one *Ananias*, a very devout and religious Man, (one of the Seventy Diſciples, as the Ancients inform us, and probably the firſt Planter of the *Chriſtian* Church in this City) and tho' a *Chriſtian*, yet of great Reputation amongſt all the *Jews*. To him our Lord appeared, commanding him to go into ſuch a Street, and to ſuch an Houſe, and there enquire for one *Saul* of *Tarſus*, who was now at Prayer, and had ſeen him in a Viſion coming to him, to lay his Hands upon him, that he might receive his Sight. *Ananias* ſtartled at the Name of the Man, having heard of his bloody

bloody Temper and Practices, and upon what Errand he was now come down to the City. But our Lord, to take off his Fears, told him, that he miſtook the Man, that he had now taken him to be a *choſen Veſſel*, to preach the Goſpel both to *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and before the greateſt Potentates upon Earth; acquainting him with what great Things he ſhould both do and ſuffer for his Sake, what Chains and Impriſonments, what Racks and Scourges, what Hunger and Thirſt, what Shipwracks and Death, he ſhould undergo. Upon this *Ananias* went, laid his Hands upon him, told him that our Lord had ſent him to him, that he might receive his Sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghoſt; which was no ſooner done, but thick Films, like Scales, fell from his Eyes, and his Sight returned. And the next Thing he did was to be baptized, and ſolemnly initiated into the *Chriſtian* Faith. After which he joined himſelf to the Diſciples of that Place, to the equal Joy and Wonder of the Church; that the *Wolf* ſhould ſo ſoon lay down its Fierceneſs, and put on the meek Nature of a *Lamb*; that he who had lately been ſo violent a Perſecutor, ſhould now become not a Profeſſor only, but a Preacher of that Faith, which before he had routed and deſtroyed.

St. *Paul* ſtaid not long at *Damaſcus* after his Converſion, but having received an immediate Intimation from Heaven, probably in the Ecſtaſy wherein he was caught up thither, he waited for no other Counſel or Direction in the Caſe, leſt he ſhould ſeem to derive his Miſſion and Authority from Men, and *being not diſobedient to the heavenly Viſion*, he preſently retired out of the City; and the ſooner probably, to decline the Odium of the

Jews, and the Effects of that Rage and Malice which he was ſure would purſue and follow him. He withdrew into the Parts of *Arabia* (thoſe Parts of it that lay next to the Region of *Damaſcus*; nay *Damaſcus* itſelf was ſometimes accounted Part of *Arabia*, as we ſhall note by and by from *Tertullian*) where he ſpent the Firſt-fruits of his Miniſtry, preaching up and down for three Years together. After which he returned back to *Damaſcus*, preached openly in the Synagogues, and convinced the *Jews* of *Chriſt*'s Meſſiahſhip, and the Truth of his Religion. Angry and enraged hereat, they reſolved his Ruin, which they knew no better Way to effect, than by exaſperating and incenſing the Civil Powers againſt him. *Damaſcus* was a Place, not more venerable for its Antiquity (if not built by, at leaſt it gave Title to *Abraham*'s Steward, hence called, *Eliezer of Damaſcus*) than it was conſiderable for its Strength, Stateline's and Situation: It was the nobleſt City of all *Syria* (as *Juſtin* of old, and an *Arabian* Geographer has ſince informed us, and the Prophet *Iſaiah* calls it, *the Head of* Syria) ſeated in a moſt healthful Air, in a moſt fruitful Soil, watered with moſt pleaſant Fountains and Rivers, rich in Merchandize, adorned with ſtately Buildings, goodly and magnificent Temples, and fortified with ſtrong Guards and Garriſons: In all which Reſpects *Julian* calls it the *holy and great* Damaſcus, *the Eye of the whole Eaſt*. It was ſituate between *Libanus* and Mount *Hermon*, and though properly belonging to *Syria*, yet (as *Tertullian* tells us) was anciently reckoned to *Arabia*. Accordingly at this Time it was under the Government of *Aretas* (Father-in-Law to *Herod Antipas* the Tetrarch, whoſe Daughter the

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ſaid *Herod* had married, but afterwards turned off, which became the Occaſion of a War between thoſe two Princes) King of *Arabia Petræa*, a Prince tributary to the *Roman* Empire. By him there was a Governor, who had Juriſdiction over the whole *Syria Damaſcena*, placed over it, who kept conſtant Reſidence in the City, as a Place of very great Importance. To him the *Jews* made their Addreſs, with crafty and cunning Inſinuations, perſuading him to apprehend St. *Paul*, poſſibly under the Notion of a Spy, there being War at this Time between the *Romans* and that King. Hereupon the Gates were ſhut, and extraordinary Guards ſet, and all Engines that could be laid to take him. But the Diſciples, to prevent their cruel Deſigns, at Night put him into a Basket, and let him down over the City Wall. And the Place, we are told, is ſtill ſhewed to Travellers, not far from the Gate, thence called *St. Paul's Gate* at this Day.

Having thus made his Eſcape, he ſet forwards for *Jeruſalem*, where when he arrived, he addreſſed himſelf to the Church: But they, having known the former Temper and Principles of the Man, univerſally ſhunned his Company; till *Barnabas* brought him to *Peter*, who was not yet caſt into Priſon, and to *James* our Lord's Brother, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, acquainting them with the Manner of his Converſion, and by them he was familiarly entertained. Here he ſtaid fifteen Days, preaching *Chriſt*, and confuting the *Helleniſt Jews* with Courage and Reſolution: But Snares were here again laid to intrap him, as Malice can as well ceaſe to be, as to be reſtleſs and active. Whereupon he was warned by God in a Viſion, that his Teſtimony would not find Acceptance in that Place,

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that therefore he ſhould leave it, and betake himſelf to the *Gentiles*. Accordingly being conducted by the Brethren to *Cæſarea*, he ſet ſail for *Tarſus*, his native City, from whence not long after he was fetched by *Barnabas* to *Antioch*, to aſſiſt him in propagating *Chriſtianity* in that Place; in which Employment they continued there a whole Year. And now it was that the Diſciples of our Religion were at this Place firſt called *Chriſtians*; according to the Manner of all other Inſtitutions, who were wont to take their Denominations from the firſt Authors and Founders of them. Before this they were uſually ſtiled *Nazarenes*, as being the Diſciples and Followers of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, a Name by which the *Jews* in Scorn call them to this Day, with the ſame Intent that the *Gentiles* of old uſed to call them *Galileans*. The Name of *Nazarenes* was henceforward fixed upon thoſe *Jewiſh* Converts, who mixed the Law and the Goſpel, and compounded a Religion out of *Judaiſm* and *Chriſtianity*. The fixing this honourable Name upon the Diſciples of the crucified *Jeſus* was done at *Antioch* (as an ancient Hiſtorian informs us) about the Beginning of *Claudius* his Reign, ten Years after *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion; nay, he farther adds, that *Euodius*, lately ordained Biſhop of that Place, was the Perſon that impoſed this Name upon them, ſtyling them *Chriſtians*, who before were called *Nazarenes* and *Galileans*. I may not omit what a learned Man has obſerved, that the *Greek* Word uſed by St. *Luke* ſignifying *they were called*, implies the Thing to have been done by ſome publick and ſolem Act, and Declaration of the whole Church, ſuch being the Uſe of the Word in the Imperial Edicts and Proclamations of thoſe Times, the Emperors being ſaid to *ſtyle themſelves*, when

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they publickly proclaimed by what Titles they would be called. When any Province ſubmitted itſelf to the *Roman* Empire, the Emperor was wont by publick Edict to *entitle himſelf* to the Government and Juriſdiction of it, and the People to ſeveral great Privileges and Immunities. In a grateful Senſe whereof the People uſually made this Time the ſolemn Date of their common *Epocha* or Computation. Thus (as the ſame Hiſtorian informs us) it was in the particular Caſe of *Antioch*, and thence their publick *Æra* was called *the Aſcription of the People at* Antioch. Such being the general Acceptation of the Word, St. *Luke* (who was himſelf a Native of this City) makes uſe of it to expreſs that ſolemn Declaration, whereby the Diſciples of the Religion entitled themſelves to the Name of *Chriſtians*.

It happened about this Time that a terrible Famine, foretold by *Agabus*, afflicted ſeveral Parts of the *Roman* Empire, but eſpecially *Judea*: The Conſideration whereof made the *Chriſtians* at *Antioch* compaſſionate the Caſe of their ſuffering Brethren, and accordingly raiſed conſiderable Contributions for their Relief and Succour, which they ſent to *Jeruſalem* by *Barnabas* and *Paul*, who having diſpatched their Errand in that City, went back to *Antioch*. Where while they were joining in the publick Exerciſes of their Religion, it was revealed to them by the Holy Ghoſt, that they ſhould ſet apart *Paul* and *Barnabas* to preach the Goſpel in other Places. Which was done accordingly, and they by Prayer, Faſting, and Impoſition of Hands, were immediately deputed for that Service. Hence they departed to *Seleucia*, and thence ſailed to *Cyprus*, where at *Salamis*, a great City in that Iſland, they preached in the Synagogues of

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the *Jews*. Hence they removed to *Paphos*, the Reſidence of *Sergius Paulus* the Proconſul of the Iſland, a Man of great Wiſdom and Prudence, but miſerably ſeduced by the wicked Artifices of *Bar-Jeſus* a *Jewiſh* Impoſtor, who calling himſelf *Elymas*, or the *Magician*, vehemently oppoſed the Apoſtles, and kept the Proconſul from embracing of the Faith. Nay, one who pretends to be ancient enough to know it, ſeems to intimate, that he not only ſpake, but wrote againſt St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, and the Faith of *Chriſt*. However, the Proconſul called for the Apoſtles, and St. *Paul* firſt takes *Elymas* to task, and having ſeverely checked him for his malicious oppoſing of the Truth, told him, that the Divine Vengeance was now ready to ſeize upon him; upon which he was immediately ſtruck blind. The Vengeance of God obſerving herein a kind of juſt Proportion, that he ſhould be puniſhed with the Loſs of his bodily Eyes, who had ſo wilfully and maliciouſly ſhut the Eyes of his Mind againſt the Light of the Goſpel, and had endeavoured to keep not only himſelf, but others under ſo much Blindneſs and Darkneſs. This Miracle turned the Scale with the Proconſul, and quickly brought him over a Convert to the Faith.

After this Succeſs in *Cyprus*, he went to *Perga* in *Pamphilia*, where taking *Titus* along with him in the room of *Mark*, who was returned to *Jeruſalem*, they went to *Antioch* the Metropolis of *Piſidia*: Where entering into the *Jewiſh* Synagogue on the *Sabbath-day*, after ſome Sections of the Law were read, they were invited by the Rulers of the Synagogue to diſcourſe a little to the People. Which St. *Paul* did in a large and eloquent Sermon, wherein he put them in Mind of the many great

great and particular Bleſſings which God had heaped upon the *Jews*, from the firſt Original of that Nation; that he had crowned them all with the ſending of his Son to be the *Meſſiah* and the Saviour; that though the *Jews* had ignorantly crucified this juſt, innocent Perſon, yet that God, according to his own Predictions, had raiſed him up from the Dead; that through him they preached Forgiveneſs of Sins; and that by him alone it was that Men, if ever, muſt be juſtified and acquitted from that Guilt and Condemnation, which all the pompous Ceremonies and Miniſters of the *Moſaic* Law could never do away: That therefore they would do well to take heed, leſt by their oppoſing this Way of Salvation, they ſhould bring upon themſelves that prophetical Curſe, which God had threatened to the *Jews* of old, for their great Contumacy and Neglect. This Sermon wanted not its due Effects; the Proſelite *Jews* deſired the Apoſtles to diſcourſe again to them of this Matter, the next Sabbath-day; the Apoſtles alſo perſuaded them to continue firm in the Belief of theſe Things. The Day was no ſooner come, but the whole City almoſt flocked to their Auditories; which, when the *Jews* ſaw, actuated by a Spirit of Envy, they began to blaſpheme, and to contradict the Apoſtles; who, nothing daunted, told them that our Lord had charged them firſt to preach the Goſpel to the *Jews*, which, ſince they ſo obſtinately rejected, they were to addreſs themſelves to the *Gentiles*; who, hearing this, rejoiced at the News, and magnify'd the Word of God; and as many of them as were thus prepared and diſpoſed towards eternal Life, heartily cloſed with it, and embraced it; the Apoſtles preaching not there only, but through the whole Country round about.

The *Jews*, more exaſperated than before, reſolved to be rid of their Company; and to that End perſuaded ſome of the more devout and honourable Women, to deal with their Husbands, Perſons of prime Rank and Quality in the City, by whoſe Means they were driven out of thoſe Parts. Whereat *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſhaking off the Duſt of their Feet, as a Teſtimony againſt their Ingratitude and Infidelity, departed from them.

The next Place they went to was *Iconium*, where at firſt they found kind Entertainment, and good Succeſs, God ſetting a Seal to their Doctrine by the Teſtimony of his Miracles. But here the *Jewiſh* Malice began again to ferment, exciting the People to Sedition and Mutiny againſt them; inſomuch that hearing of a Deſign to ſtone them, they ſeaſonably withdrew to *Lyſtra*, where they firſt made their Way by a miraculous Cure. For St. *Paul* ſeeing an impotent Cripple that had been lame from his Mother's Womb, cured him with the ſpeaking of a Word. The People, who beheld the Miracle, had ſo much natural Logick, as to infer, that there was a Divinity in the Thing, though miſtaken in the Author, they applied it to the Inſtruments, crying out, That the Gods in human Shape were come down from Heaven; *Paul*, as chief Speaker, they termed *Mercury*, the God of Speech and Eloquence; *Barnabas*, by reaſon of Age and Gravity, they called *Jupiter*, the Father of their Gods; accordingly the *Syriac* Interpreter here renders *Jupiter* by *the Lord, or the Sovereign of the Gods*. The Fame of this being ſpread over the City, the Prieſt of *Jupiter* brought Oxen dreſſed up with Garlands after the *Gentile* Rites, to the Houſe where the Apoſtles were, to do Sacrifice to them. Which they no ſooner underſtood,

derſtood, but in Deteſtation of thoſe undue Honours offered to them, they rent their Clothes, and told them that they were Men of the ſame Make and Temper, of the ſame Paſſions and Infirmities with themſelves; that the Deſign of their Preaching was to convert them from theſe vain Idolatries and Superſtitions, to the Worſhip of the true God, the great Parent of the World, who though heretofore he had left Men to themſelves, to go on in their own Ways of idolatrous Worſhip, yet had he given ſufficient Evidence of himſelf in the conſtant Returns of a gracious and benign Providence in crowning the Year with fruitful Seaſons, and other Acts of common Kindneſs and Bounty to Mankind.

A ſhort Diſcourſe, but very rational and convictive, which it may not be amiſs a little more particularly to conſider, and the Method which the Apoſtle uſes to convince theſe blind Idolaters. He proves divine Honours to be due to God alone, as the ſovereign Being of the World; and that there is ſuch a ſupreme infinite Being, he argues from his Works both of *Creation* and *Providence*. Creation, *He is the living God that made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, and all Things that are therein.* Providence, *He left not himſelf without Witneſs, in that he did Good, and gave Rain from Heaven, and fruitful Seaſons, filling our Hearts with Food and Gladneſs:* Than which, no Argument can be more apt and proper to work upon the Minds of Men. *That which may be known of God is manifeſt to the* Gentiles, *for God hath ſhewed it unto them: For the inviſible Things of him, from the Creation of the World, even his eternal Power and Godhead, are as clearly ſeen and underſtood*

derſtood by the Things that are made; it being impoſſible, impartially to ſurvey the ſeveral Parts of the Creation, and not ſee in every Place evident Footſteps of an infinite Wiſdom, Power and Goodneſs. Who can look up unto the Heavens, and not there diſcern an Almighty Wiſdom, beautifully garniſhing thoſe upper Regions, diſtinguiſhing the Circuits, and perpetuating the Motions of the heavenly Lights? Placing the Sun in the middle of the Heavens, that he might equally diſpenſe and communicate his Light and Heat to all Parts of the World, and not burn the Earth with the too near Approach of his ſcorching Beams; by which Means the Creatures are refreſhed and cheared, the Earth impregnated with Fruits and Flowers, by the benign Influence of a vital Heat, and the Viciſſitudes and Seaſons of the Year regularly diſtinguiſhed by their conſtant and orderly Revolutions. Why are the great Orbs of Heaven kept in continual Motion, always going in the ſame Tract, but becauſe there's a ſuperior Power that keeps theſe great Wheels agoing? Who is it that *poiſes the Balancings of the Clouds*; *that divides a Water-courſe for the overflowing of Waters, and a Way for the Lightning of the Thunder?* Who can *bind the ſweet Influence of* Pleiades, *or looſe the Bands of* Orion? Or, who can *bring forth* Mazaroth *in his Seaſon, or guide* Arcturus *with his Sons?* Do theſe come by Chance, or by the ſecret Appointment of infinite Wiſdom? Who can conſider the admirable Thinneſs and Purity of the Air, its immediate Subſerviency to the great Ends of the Creation, its being the Treaſury of vital Breath to all living Creatures, without which the next Moment muſt put a Period to our Days, and

and not reflect upon that divine Wiſdom that contrived it? If we come down upon the Earth, there we diſcover a divine Providence, ſupporting it with the Pillars of an inviſible Power, *ſtretching the North over the empty Space*, and *hanging the Earth upon nothing*; filling it with great Variety of admirable and uſeful Creatures, and maintaining them all according to their Kinds, at his own Coſt and Charges. It is he that clothes the Graſs with a delightful Verdure, that *crowns the Year with his loving Kindneſs, and makes Valleys ſtand thick with Corn*; *that cauſes the Graſs to grow for the Cattle, and Herb for the Service of Man, that he may bring forth Food out of the Earth, and Wine that maketh glad the Heart of Man, and Oil to make his Face to ſhine, and bread which ſtrengtheneth Man's Heart*; that beautifies the Lilies that neither toil nor ſpin, and that with a Glory that outſhines *Solomon* in all his Pomp and Grandeur. From Land let us ſhip our Obſervations to Sea, and there we may deſcry the wiſe effects of infinite Underſtanding: A wide Ocean, fitly diſpoſed for the mutual Commerce and Correſpondence of one Part of Mankind with another; filled with great and admirable Fiſhes, and enriched with the Treaſures of the Deep. What but an Almighty Arm can ſhut in the Sea with Doors, binding it by a perpetual Decree that it cannot paſs, and tie up its wild raging Waves with no ſtronger Cordage than Ropes of Sand? Who, but he, commands the Storm, and ſtills the tempeſt? and brings the Mariner, when at his Wit's-End, in the Midſt of the greateſt Dangers, to his deſired Haven? *They that go down to the Sea in Ships, and do Buſineſs in great Waters*; *theſe ſee the Works of*

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the Lord, and his Wonders in the Deep. So impoſſible is it for a Man to ſtand in any Part of the Creation, wherein he may not diſcern Evidences enough of an infinitely wiſe, gracious and Omnipotent Being. Thus much I thought good to add, to illuſtrate the Apoſtle's Argument; whence he ſtrongly infers, that 'tis very reaſonable that we ſhould worſhip and adore this great Creator and Benefactor, and not transfer the Honours due to him alone, upon Men of frail and ſinful Paſſions, and much leſs upon dumb Idols, unable either to make or to help themſelves. An Argument which though very plain and plauſible, and adapted to the meaneſt Underſtandings, yet was all little enough to reſtrain the People from offering Sacrifice to them. But how ſoon was the Wind turned into another Corner? The old Spirit of the *Jews* did ſtill haunt and purſue them; who coming from *Antioch* and *Iconium*, exaſperated and ſtirred up the Multitude. And they, who juſt before accounted them as *Gods*, uſed them now worſe, not only than ordinary Men, but Slaves. For in a mighty Rage they fall upon St. *Paul*, ſtone him, as they thought, dead, and then drag him out of the City: Thither the *Chriſtians* of that Place coming, probably to inter him, he ſuddenly revived, and roſe up among them, and the next Day went thence to *Derbe*.

Here they preached the Goſpel, and then returned to *Lyſtra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch* of *Piſidia*, confirming the *Chriſtians* of thoſe Places in the Belief and Profeſſion of *Chriſtianity*, earneſtly perſuading them to perſevere, and not to be diſcouraged with thoſe Troubles and Perſecutions which they muſt expect would attend the Profeſſion

feſſion of the Goſpel. And that all this might ſucceed the better, with Faſting and Prayer, they ordained Governors and Paſtors in every Church, and having recommended them to the Grace of God, departed from them. From hence they paſſed through *Piſidia*, and thence came to *Pamphilia*, and having preached to the People at *Perga*, they went down to *Attalia*. And thus having at this Time finiſhed the whole Circuit of their Miniſtry, they returned back to *Antioch* in *Syria*, the Place whence they had firſt ſet out. Here they acquainted the Church with the various Tranſactions and Succeſſes of their Travels, and how great a Door had hereby been opened to the Converſion of the Gentile World.

While St. *Paul* ſtaid at *Antioch* there aroſe that famous Controverſy about the Obſervatton of the *Moſaic* Rites, ſet on Foot and brought in by ſome *Jewiſh* Converts, that came down thither, whereby great Diſturbances and Diſtractions were made in the Minds of the People: For the compoſing whereof, the Church of *Antioch* reſolved to ſend *Paul* and *Barnabas* to conſult with the Apoſtles and Church at *Jeruſalem*. In their way thither, they declared to the Brethren, as they went along what Succeſs they had had in the Converſion of the *Gentiles*. Being come to *Jeruſalem*, they firſt addreſſed themſelves to *Peter*, *James* and *John*, the Pillars and principal Perſons in that Place; by whom they were kindly entertained, and admitted to the *Right-Hand of the Fellowſhip*. And perceiving, by the Account which St. *Paul* gave them, that the Goſpel of the Uncircumciſion was committed to him, as that of the Circumciſion was to *Peter*; they ratified it by a Compact and Agreement, that *Peter* ſhould preach to the

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Jews, and *Paul* unto the *Gentiles*. Hereupon a Council was ſummoned, wherein *Peter* having declared his Senſe of Things, *Paul* and *Barnabas* acquainted them what Things God, by their Miniſtry, had done among the *Gentiles*. A plain Evidence, that though uncircumciſed, they were accepted by God, as well as the *Jews*, with all their legal Rites and Privileges. The Iſſue of the Debate was, That the *Gentiles* were not under the Obligation of the Law of *Moſes*, and that therefore ſome Perſons of their own ſhould be joined with *Paul* and *Barnabas*, to carry the Canons and Decrees of the Council down to *Antioch*, for their fuller Satisfaction in this Matter. But of this Affair we ſhall give the Reader a more diſtinct and particular Account, in another Place.

St. *Paul* and his Companions having received the decretal Epiſtle, returned back to *Antioch*; where they had not been long before *Peter* came thither to them: And, according to the Decree of the Council, freely and inoffenſively converſed with the *Gentiles*, 'till ſome of the *Jews* coming down thither from *Jeruſalem*, he withdrew his Converſation, as if it were a Thing unwarrantable and unlawful. By which Means the Minds of many were diſſatisfied, and their Conſciences very much enſnared: Whereat St. *Paul* being exceedingly troubled, publickly rebuked him for it, and that, as the Caſe required, with great Sharpneſs and Severity. It was not long after, that St. *Paul* and *Barnabas* reſolved upon viſiting the Churches, which they had lately planted among the *Gentiles*: To which End *Barnabas* determined to take his Couſin *Mark* along with them; this *Paul* would by no Means agree to, he having deſerted them in their former Journey. A little ſpark, which

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St. LUKE CHAP. IV. Ver. 30. 31.
Jesus escapeth to Capernaum in Galilee from the Violence of the Jews.

yet kindled a great Feud and Diſſention between theſe too good Men, and aroſe to that height, that in ſome Diſcontent they parted from each other. So natural is it for the beſt of Men ſometimes to indulge an unwarrantable Paſſion, and ſo far to eſpouſe the Intereſt of a private and particular Humour, as rather to hazard the great Law of Charity, and violate the Bands of Friendſhip, than to recede from it. The Effect was, *Barnabas* taking his Nephew, went for *Cyprus*, his native Country; St. *Paul* made choice of *Silas*, and the Succeſs of his Undertaking being firſt recommended to the Divine Care and Goodneſs, they ſet forwards on their Journey.

Their firſt Paſſage was into *Syria* and *Cilicia*, confirming the Churches as they went along: And to that End they left with them Copies of the ſynodical Decrees lately ordained in the Council at *Jeruſalem*. Hence we may ſuppoſe it was that he ſet ſail for *Crete*, where he preached and propagated *Chriſtianity*, and conſtituted *Titus* to be the firſt Biſhop and Paſtor of that Iſland, whom he left there, to ſettle and diſpoſe thoſe Affairs, which the Shortneſs of his own ſtay in thoſe Parts would not ſuffer him to do. Hence he returned back unto *Cilicia*, and came to *Lyſtra*, where he found *Timothy*, whoſe Father was a *Greek*, but his Mother a *Jewiſh* Convert, by whom he had been brought up under all the Advantages of a pious and religious Education, and eſpecially an incomparable Skill and Dexterity in the holy Scriptures. St. *Paul* deſigned him for the Companion of his Travels, and a ſpecial Inſtrument in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel; and knowing that his being uncircumciſed would be a mighty Prejudice in the

Opinion and Eſtimation of the *Jews*, cauſed him to be circumciſed; being willing in lawful and indifferent Matters (ſuch was Circumciſion now become) to accommodate himſelf to Mens Humours and Apprehenſions, for the ſaving of their Souls.

From hence with his Company he paſſed through *Phrygia*, and the Country of *Galatia*, where he was entertained by them with as mighty a Kindneſs and Veneration, as if he had been an Angel immediately ſent from Heaven. And being, by Revelation, forbidden to go into *Aſia*, by a ſecond Viſion he was commanded to direct his Journey for *Macedonia*. And here it was that St. *Luke* joined himſelf to his Company, and became ever after his inſeparable Companion. Sailing from *Troas*, they arrived at the Iſland *Samothracia*, and thence to *Neapolis*, from whence they went to *Philippi*, the chief City of that Part of *Macedonia*, and a *Roman* Colony; where he ſtaid ſome conſiderable Time to plant the *Chriſtian* Faith, and where his Miniſtry had more particular Succeſs on *Lydia*, a Purple-Seller, born at *Thyatira*, baptized together with her whole Family; and with her the Apoſtles ſojourned during his Reſidence in that Place. A little without this City there was a *Proſeucha*, as the *Syriac* renders it, an *Oratory* or *Houſe of Prayer*, whereto the Apoſtle and his Company uſed frequently to retire, for the Exerciſe of their Religion, and for preaching the Goſpel to thoſe that reſorted thither. The *Jews* had three Sorts of Places for their publick Worſhip: The Temple at *Jeruſalem*, which was like the Cathedral or Mother-Church, where all Sacrifices and Oblations were

were offered, and where all Males were bound three Times a Year perſonally to pay their Devotions; their Synagogues (many whereof they had almoſt in every Place, not unlike our parochial Churches) where the Scriptures were read and expounded, and the People taught their Duty. Moſes *of old Time hath in every City them that preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath-Day*; and then they had their *Proſeuchæ* or Oratories, which were like Chapels of Eaſe to the Temple and the Synagogues, whither the People were wont to come ſolemnly to offer up their Prayers to Heaven. They were built (as *Epiphanius* informs us) without the City, in the open Air, and uncovered, being large ſpacious Places, after the Manner of *Fora* or Market-Places, and theſe they called *Proſeuchæ*. And that the *Jews* and *Samaritans* had ſuch Places of Devotion, he proves from this very Place at *Philippi*, where St. *Paul* preached: For they had them not in *Judea* only, but even at *Rome* itſelf, where *Tiberius* (as *Philo* tells *Caius* the Emperor) ſuffered the *Jews* to inhabit the *Tranſtyberin* Region, and undiſturbedly to live according to the Rites of their Inſtitutions, and alſo to have their *Proſeuchæ*, and to meet in them, eſpecially upon their holy Sabbaths, that they might be familiarly inſtructed in the Laws and Religion of their Country. Such they had alſo in other Places, eſpecially where they had not, or were not ſuffered to have Synagogues for their public Worſhip. But to return.

As they were going to this *Oratory*, they were often followed by a *Pythoneſs*, a Maid-Servant, acted by a Spirit of Divination, who openly cried out, That *theſe Men were the Servants of the moſt*

high God, who came to shew the Way of Salvation to the World. So easily can Heaven extort a Testimony from the Mouth of Hell. But St. *Paul*, to shew how little he needed *Satan* to be his Witness, commanded the *Damon* to come out, which immediately left her. The evil Spirit thus thrown out of Possession, presently raised a Storm against the Apostles; for the Masters of the Damsel, who used, by her diabolical Arts, to raise great Advantages to themselves, being sensible that now their gainful Trade was spoil'd, resolved to be revenged on them that had spoiled it. Accordingly they laid hold on them, and dragg'd them before the Seat of Judicature, insinuating to the Governors, that these Men were *Jews*, and sought to introduce different Customs and Ways of Worship, contrary to the Laws of the *Roman* Empire. The Magistrates and People were soon agreed, the one to give Sentence, the other to set upon the Execution. In fine, they were stript, beaten, and then commanded to be thrown into Prison, and the Gaoler charged to keep them with all possible Care and Strictness; who, to make sure of his charge, thrust them into the inner Dungeon, and made their Feet fast in the Stocks. But a good Man can turn a Prison into a Chapel, and make a Den of Thieves to be an House of Prayer: Our Feet cannot be bound so fast to the Earth, but that still our Hearts may mount up to Heaven. At Midnight the Apostles were over-heard by their Fellow-prisoners, praying and singing Hymns to God. But after the still Voice came the Tempest: An Earthquake suddenly shook the Foundations of the Prison, the Doors flew open, and their Chains fell off. The Gaoler awaking with this amazing Accident, concluded within himself, that

that the Priſoners were fled, and to prevent the Sentence of publick Juſtice, was going to lay violent Hands upon himſelf; which St. *Paul* eſpying, called out to him to hold his Hand, and told him they were all there: Who thereupon came in to them with a greater Earthquake in his own Conſcience, and falling down before them, asked them, *What he ſhould do to be ſaved?* They told him there was no other way of Salvation for him or his, than an hearty and ſincere embracing of the Faith of *Chriſt*. What a happy Change does *Chriſtianity* make in the Minds of Men! How plain does it ſmooth the rougheſt Tempers, and inſtil the ſweeteſt Principles of Civility and good Nature! He, who but a little before had tyrannized over the Apoſtles with the moſt mercileſs and cruel Uſage, began now to treat them with all the Arts of Kindneſs and Charity, bringing them out of the Dungeon, and waſhing their Stripes and Wounds; and being more fully inſtructed in the Principles of *Chriſtianity*, was, together with his whole Family, immediately baptized by them. Early in the Morning the Magiſtrates ſent Officers privately to releaſe them; which the Apoſtles refuſed, telling them, that they were not only innocent Perſons, but *Romans*; that they had been illegally condemned and beaten, that therefore their Delivery ſhould be as publick as the Injury, and an open Vindication of their Innocency, and that they themſelves, that had ſent them thither, ſhould fetch them thence; for the *Roman* Government was very tender of the Lives and Liberties of its own Subjects, thoſe eſpecially that were free Denizons of *Rome*, every Injury offered to a *Roman* being looked upon as an Affront againſt the

Majeſty

Majeſty of the whole People of *Rome*. Such a one might not be beaten, but to be ſcourged or bound, without being firſt legally heard and tried, was not only againſt the *Roman*, but the Laws of all Nations; and the more publick any Injury was, the greater was its Aggravation, and the Laws required a more ſtrict and ſolemn Reparation. St. *Paul*, who was a *Roman*, and very well underſtood the Laws and Privileges of *Rome*, inſiſted upon this, to the great ſtartling and affrighting of the Magiſtrates, who, ſenſible of their Error, came to the Priſon, and intreated them to depart. Whereupon going to *Lydia*'s Houſe, and having ſaluted and encouraged the Brethren, they departed from that Place.

Leaving *Philippi*, they came next to *Theſſalonica*, the Metropolis of *Macedonia*; where *Paul*, according to his Cuſtom, preſently went to the *Jewiſh* Synagogue, for three Sabbath-Days, reaſoning and diſputing with them, proving, from the Predictions of the *Old Teſtament*, that the *Meſſiah* was to ſuffer and to riſe again, and that the bleſſed *Jeſus* was this *Meſſiah*. Great Numbers, eſpecially of religious Proſelites, were converted by his preaching; while, like the Sun that melts wax, but hardens Clay, it wrought a quite contrary Effect in the unbelieving *Jews*, who preſently ſet themſelves to blow up the City into a Tumult and an Uproar, and miſſing St. *Paul* (who had withdrawn himſelf) they fell foul upon *Jaſon*, in whoſe Houſe he lodged; repreſenting to the Magiſtrates, that they were Enemies to *Cæſar*, and ſought to undermine the Peace and Proſperity of the *Roman* Empire. At Night *Paul* and *Silas* were conducted by the Brethren to *Beræa*; where

where going to the Synagogue, they found the People of a more noble and generous, a more pliable and ingenuous Temper, ready to entertain the *Chriſtian* Doctrine, but yet not willing to take it merely upon the Apoſtle's Word, till they had firſt compared his preaching with what the Scriptures ſaid of the *Meſſiah* and his Doctrine. And the Succeſs was anſwerable, in thoſe great Numbers that came over to them. But the *Jewiſh* Malice purſued them ſtill; for hearing at *Theſſalonica* what Entertainment they had found in this Place, they preſently came down, to exaſperate and ſtir up the People. To avoid which, St. *Paul*, leaving *Silas* and *Timothy* behind him, thought good to withdraw himſelf from that Place.

From *Beræa* he went to *Athens*, one of the moſt renowned Cities in the World, excelling all others (ſays an ancient Hiſtorian) in Antiquity, Humanity and Learning. Indeed, it was the great Seat of Arts and Learning, and, as *Cicero* will have it, the Fountain whence Civility, Learning, Religion, Arts and Laws were derived into all other Nations; ſo univerſally flocked to by all that had but the leaſt Kindneſs for the Muſes, or good Manners, that he who had not ſeen *Athens*, was accounted a *Block*; he, who having ſeen it, was not in love with it, a dull ſtupid *Aſs*; and he, who after he had ſeen it, could be willing to leave it, fit for nothing but to be a *Pack-Horſe*. Here, among the ſeveral Sects of Philoſophers, he had more particular Conteſts with the *Stoicks* and *Epicurians*, who, beyond all the reſt, ſeemed Enemies to *Chriſtianity*. The *Epicureans*, becauſe they found their pleaſant and jovial Humour, and their looſe and exorbitant Courſe of Life, ſo much checked

checked and controuled by the ſtrict and ſevere Precepts of *Chriſt*, and that *Chriſtianity* ſo plainly and poſitively aſſerted a Divine Providence that governs the World, and that will adjudge to Men ſuitable Rewards and Puniſhments in another World. The *Stoicks*, on the other Hand, though pretending to Principles of great and uncommon Rigour and Severity, and ſuch as had neareſt Affinity to the Doctrines of the *Chriſtian* Religion, yet found themſelves aggrieved with it; that meek and humble Temper of Mind, that Modeſty and Self denial which the Goſpel ſo earneſtly recommends to us, and ſo ſtrictly requires of us, being ſo directly contrary to the immoderate Pride and Ambition of that Sect, who beyond all Proportions of Reaſon were not aſhamed to make their Wiſemen equal to, and in ſome Things to exceed the Gods themſelves.

While St. *Paul* ſtaid at *Athens* in Expectation of *Silas* and *Timothy* to come to him, he went up and down to take a more curious View and Survey of the City; which he found miſerably overgrown with Superſtition and Idolatry; as, indeed, *Athens* was noted, by all their own Writers, for far greater Numbers of Deities and Idols than all *Greece* beſides. They were, as *Strabo* notes, not more fond of Strangers and Novelties in other Things, than forward to comply with Novelties in Religion, ready to entertain any foreign Deities and Rites of Worſhip; no Divinity that was elſewhere adored, came amiſs to them. Whence *Athens* is, by one of their Orators, ſtiled the great Sum and Center of Piety and Religion: And he there aggravates the Impiety of *Epicurus*, in ſpeaking unworthily and irreverently of the Gods, from the Place where he did it; at *Athens*, a Place ſo pious, ſo devoted

to

to them. Indeed, herein juſtly commendable, that they could not brook the leaſt diſhonourable Reflection upon any Deity; and therefore *Apollonius Tyanæus* tells *Timaſion*, that the ſafeſt way was to ſpeak well of all the Gods, and eſpecially at *Athens*, where altars were dedicated even to *Unknown Gods*. And ſo St. *Paul* here found it, for among the ſeveral Shrines and Places of Worſhip and Devotion, he took more particular Notice of one Altar inſcribed, *To the Unknown God:* The intire Inſcription, whereof the Apoſtle quotes only Part of the laſt Words, is thought to have been this;

To the Gods of Aſia, Europe, *and* Africa,
to the Strange and Unknown GOD.

St. *Hierom* repreſents it in the ſame Manner, only makes it *Gods* in the plural Number; which, becauſe, ſays he, St. *Paul* needed not, he only cited it in the Singular; which ſurely he affirms without any juſt Ground and Warrant; though it cannot be denied, but that Heathen Writers made frequent Mention of the Altars of *Unknown Gods*, that were at *Athens*, as there want not others who ſpeak of ſome erected there to an *Unknown God*. This Notion the *Athens* might probably borrow from the *Hebrews*, who had the Name of God in great Secrecy and Veneration. This being one of the Titles given him by the Prophet, *a hidden God*, or, *a God that hides himſelf*. Sure I am, that *Juſtin Martyr* tells us, that one of the principal Names given to God by ſome of the *Heathens* was, *One altogether hidden*. Hence the *Egyptians* probably derived their great God *Ammon*, or, more truly, *Amun*, which ſignifies *occult* or *hidden*: Accordingly, in this Paſſage of St. *Paul*, the *Syriac* Interprerer renders it, *the Altar of the Hidden God*.

The *Jews* were infinitely ſuperſtitious in concealing the Name of God, not thinking it lawful ordinarily to pronounce it. This made the *Gentiles*, Strangers, at beſt, both to the Language and Religion of the *Jews*, at a great Loſs by what Name to call him, only ſtiling him, in general, an *uncertain, unſpeakable Deity*. Whence *Caligula*, in his ranting Oration to the *Jews*, told them, that Wretches, as they were, though they refuſed to own him, whom others had confeſſed to be a Deity, yet they could worſhip *their own nameleſs God*: And hence the Names of their Gods. Thus *Plutarch* tells us of the tutelar Deity of *Rome*, that it was not lawful to name it, or ſo much as to enquire what Sex it was of, whether God or Goddeſs; and for once revealing it, *Valerius Soranus*, though Tribune of the People, came to an untimely End, and was crucified; the vileſt and moſt diſhonourable kind of Death: Whereof, among other Reaſons he aſſigns this, that by concealing the Author of their publick Safety, not he only, but all the other Gods might have due Honour and Worſhip paid to them. Hence, in the publick Adorations, after the Invocation of particular Deities, they were wont to add ſome more general and comprehenſive Form: The Reaſon whereof was this, that not being aſſured many Times, what that particular Deity was, that was proper to this Purpoſe, or what Number of Gods there were in the World, they would not affront or offend any, by ſeeming to neglect and paſs them by. And this *Chryſoſtome* thinks to have been particularly deſigned in the Erection of this *Athenian* Altar, they were afraid leſt there might be ſome other Deity (beſides thoſe whom they particularly

cularly worſhipped) as yet unknown to them, though honoured and adored elſewhere; and therefore, for the more Security, they dedicated an Altar to the *Unknown God*. As for the particular Occaſion of erecting theſe Altars at *Athens* (omitting that of *Pan*'s appearing to *Philippedes*, mentioned by *Oecumenius*) the moſt probable ſeems to be this: When a great Plague raged at *Athens*, and ſeveral Means had been attempted for the Removal of it, they were adviſed by *Epimenides* the Philoſopher, to build an Altar, and dedicate it, *To the proper and peculiar Deity to whom it did appertain*, be he whom he would. A Courſe which proving ſucceſsful, no doubt gave Occaſion to them, by way of Gratitude, to erect more Shrines to this *Unknown God*. And accordingly *Laertius*, who lived long after St. *Paul*'s Time, tells us, that there were ſuch nameleſs Altars (he means ſuch as were not inſcribed to any particular Deity) in and about *Athens*, in his Days, as Monuments of that eminent Deliverance.

But whatever the particular Cauſe might be, hence it was, that St. *Paul* took Occaſion to diſcourſe of the true, but to them, *Unknown God*. For the Philoſophers had before treated him with a great deal of Scorn and Deriſion, asking, What that prating idle Fellow had to ſay to them? Others looking upon him as a Propagator of new and ſtrange Gods, becauſe he preached to them *Jeſus* and *Anaſtaſis*, or *the Reſurrection*, which they looked upon as two upſtart Deities, lately come into the World. Hereupon they brought him to the Place, where ſtood the famous Senate-Houſe of the *Areopagites*, and, according to the *Athenian* Humour, which altogether delighted in curious

Novelties, running up and down the *Forum*, and Places of publick Concourſe, to ſee any ſtrange Accident, or hear any new Report; (a Vice which their own great Orators, long ſince taxed them with;) they asked him, what that new and ſtrange Doctrine, which he preached to them, was? Whereupon, in a neat and elegant Diſcourſe he began to tell them, he had obſerved how much they were overrun with Superſtition; that their Zeal for Religion was indeed generous and commendable, but which miſerably over-ſhot its due Meaſures and Proportions; and that he had taken notice of an Altar among them, inſcribed, *To the Unknown God*; and therefore, in Compaſſion to their blind and miſguided Zeal, he would declare unto them the Deity which they ignorantly worſhipped; and that he was no other than the great God, the Creator of all Things, the ſupreme Governor and Ruler of the World, who was incapable of being confined within any Temple, or human Fabrick; that no Image could poſſibly be made as a proper Inſtrument to repreſent him truly; that he needed no Gifts or Sacrifices, being himſelf the Fountain from whence Life, Breath, and all other Bleſſings are derived to particular Beings; that from one common Original he had made the whole Race of Mankind, and had wiſely fixed and determined the Times and Bounds of their Habitation; and all to this End, that Man might be the more obliged to ſeek after him, and ſincerely to ſerve and worſhip him: A Duty which they might eaſily attain to (though otherwiſe ſunk into the deepeſt Degeneracy, and overſpread with the groſſeſt Darkneſs) he every-where affording ſuch palpable Evidences of his own Being and Providence,

dence, that he ſeemed to ſtand near and touch us, it being intirely from him that we derive our Life, Motion and Subſiſtence: A Thing acknowledged even by their own Poet, that *We alſo are his Off-ſpring.* If therefore God was our Creator, it was highly unreaſonable, to think that we could make any Image or Repreſentation of him: That it was too long already, that the divine Patience had born with the Manners of Men, and ſuffered them to go on in their blind Idolatries, that now he expected a general Repentance and Reformation from the World, eſpecially having, by the publiſhing of the Goſpel, put out of all Diſpute the Caſe of a future Judgment, and particularly appointed the holy *Jeſus* to be the Perſon that ſhould ſentence and judge the World; by whoſe Reſurrection he had given ſufficient Evidence and Aſſurance of it. No ſooner had he mentioned the Reſurrection, but ſome of the Philoſophers (no doubt *Epicureans*, who were wont to laugh at the Notion of a future State) mocked and derided him; others more gravely anſwered, that they would hear him again concerning this Matter. But his Diſcourſe, however ſcorned and ſlighted, did not wholly want its deſired Effect, and that upon ſome of the greateſt Quality and Rank among them; in the Number of whom was *Dionyſius*, one of the grave Senators and Judges of the *Areopagus*, and *Damaris*, whom the Ancients not improbably make his Wife.

This *Dionyſius* was bred at *Athens*, in all the learned Arts and Sciences; at twenty-five Years of Age, he is ſaid to have travelled into *Egypt*, to perfect himſelf in the Study of Aſtrology, for which that Nation had the Credit and Renown.

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Here beholding the miraculous Eclipſe that was at the Time of our Saviour's Paſſion, he concluded that ſome great Accident muſt needs be coming upon the World. Returning to *Athens*, he became one of the Senators of the *Areopagus*, diſputed with St. *Paul*, and was by him converted from his Errors and Idolatry; and being throughly inſtructed, was by him (as the Ancients inform us) made the firſt Biſhop of *Athens*. As for thoſe that tell us, that he went afterwards into *France* by the Direction of *Clemens* of *Rome*, planted *Chriſtianity* at, and became Biſhop of *Paris*, of his ſuffering Martyrdom there under *Domitian*, his carrying his Head for the Space of two Miles in his Hand, after it had been cut off, and the reſt of his Miracles done before, and after his Death, I have as little Leiſure into enquire to them, as I have Faith to believe them. Indeed the Foundation of all is juſtly denied, *viz.* that ever he was there; a Thing never heard of till the Times of *Charles the Great*, though ſince that, Volumes have been written of this Controverſy, both heretofore and of latter Times, among which *J. Sirmondus* the Jeſuite, and Monſieur *Launoy*, one of the learned Doctors of the *Sorbon*, have unanſwerably proved the *Athenian* and *Pariſian Dionyſius* to be diſtinct Perſons. For the Books that go under his Name, *M. Daille* has ſufficiently evinced them to be of a Date many hundred Years younger than St. *Denys*, though I doubt not but they may claim a greater Antiquity than what he allows them. But whoever was the Author, I am ſure *Suidas* has over-ſtretched the Praiſe of them beyond all Proportion, when he gives them this Character, *That whoever conſiders the Elegancy of his Diſcourſes, and the Profoundneſs*

neſs of his Notions and Speculations, muſt needs conclude that they are not the Iſſue of any human Underſtanding, but of ſome divine and immaterial Power. But to return to our Apoſtle.

After his Departure from *Athens*, he went to *Corinth*, the Metropolis of *Greece*, and the Reſidence of the Proconſul of *Achaia*; where he found *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* lately come from *Italy*, baniſhed out of *Rome* by a Decree of *Claudius*; and they being of the ſame Trade and Profeſſion, wherein he had been educated in his Youth, he wrought together with them, leſt he ſhould be unneceſſarily burthenſome unto any; which, for the ſame Reaſon, he did in ſome other Places. Hither, after ſome Time, *Silas* and *Timothy* came to him. In the Synagogues he frequently diſputed with the *Jews* and Proſelytes, reaſoning and proving, that *Jeſus* was the true *Meſſiah*. They, according to the Nature of the Men, made Head and oppoſed him, and what they could not conquer by Argument and Force of Reaſon, they endeavoured to carry by Noiſe and Clamour, mixed with Blaſphemies and Revilings, the laſt Refuges of an impotent and baffled Cauſe. Whereat, to teſtify his Reſentment, he ſhook his Garments, and told them, ſince he ſaw them reſolved to pull down Vengeance and Deſtruction upon their own Heads, he for his Part was guiltleſs and innocent, and would henceforth addreſs himſelf unto the *Gentiles*. Accordingly he left them, and went into the Houſe of *Juſtus*, a religious Proſelyte, where, by his preaching, and the many Miracles which he wrought, he converted great Numbers to the Faith: Amongſt which were *Criſpus* the chief Ruler of the Synagogue, *Gaius*, and *Stephanus*, who, together with their Families, embraced the Doctrine of the Goſpel,

ſpel, and were baptized into the *Chriſtian* Faith. But the conſtant Returns of Malice and Ingartitude are enough to tire the largeſt Charity and cool the moſt generous Reſolution: Therefore, that the Apoſtle might not be diſcouraged by the reſtleſs Attempts and Machinations of his Enemies, our Lord appeared to him in a Viſion, told him that notwithſtanding the bad Succeſs he had hitherto met with, there was a great Harveſt to be gathered in that Place, that he ſhould not be afraid of his Enemies, but go on to preach confidently and ſecurely, for that he himſelf would ſtand by him and preſerve him.

About this Time, as is moſt probable, he wrote his firſt Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*, *Silas* and *Timothy* being lately returned from thence, and having done the Meſſage for which he had ſent them thither. The main Deſign of the Epiſtle, is to confirm them in the Belief of the *Chriſtian* Religion, and that they ſhould perſevere in it, notwithſtanding all the Afflictions and Perſecutions which he had told them would enſue upon their Profeſſion of the Goſpel, and to inſtruct them in the main Duties of a Chriſtian and Religious Life. While the Apoſtle was thus employed, the Malice of the *Jews* was no leſs at work againſt him, and univerſally combining together, they brought him before *Gallio* the Proconſul of the Province, elder Brother to the famous *Seneca*: Before him they accuſed the Apoſtle as an *Innovator* in Religion, that ſought to introduce a new Way of Worſhip, contrary to what was eſtabliſhed by the *Jewiſh* Law, and permitted by the *Roman* Powers. The Apoſtle was ready to have pleaded his own Cauſe, but the Proconſul told them, that had it been a Matter of Right or Wrong, that had fallen under

An Angel appears to some Shepherds, and
acquaints them with ye Birth of Christ. Luke 2. 9.

under the Cognizance of the Civil Judicature, it had been very fit and reaſonable that he ſhould have heard and determined the Caſe, but ſince the Controverſy was only concerning the Punctilio's and Niceties of their Religion, it was very improper for him to be a Judge in ſuch Matters. And when they ſtill clamoured about it, he threw out their Indictment, and commanded his Officers to drive them out of Court. Whereupon ſome of the Townſmen ſeized upon *Soſthenes*, one of the Rulers of the *Jewiſh* Conſiſtory, a Man active and buſy in this Inſurrection, and beat him even before the Court of Judicature, the Proconſul not at all concerning himſelf about it. A Year and an half St. *Paul* continued in this Place, and before his Departure thence, wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*, to ſupply the Want of his coming to them, which in his former he had reſolved on, and for which, in a Manner, he had engaged his Promiſe. In this therefore he endeavours again to confirm their Minds in the Truth of the Goſpel, and that they ſhould not be ſhaken with thoſe Troubles which the wicked unbelieving *Jews* would not ceaſe to create them; a loſt and undone Race of Men, and whom the divine Vengeance was ready finally to overtake. And becauſe ſome Paſſages in his former Letter, relating to this Deſtruction, had been miſunderſtood, as if this Day of the Lord were juſt at hand, he rectifies thoſe Miſtakes, and ſhews what muſt precede our Lord's coming unto Judgment.

St. *Paul* having thus fully planted and cultivated the Church at *Corinth*, reſolved now for *Syria*. And taking along with him *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, at *Cenchrea*, the Port and Harbour of *Corinth*, *Aquila* (for of him it is certainly to be underſtood)

ſhaved his Head, in Performance of a *Nazarite* Vow he had formerly made, the Time whereof was now run out. In his Paſſage into *Syria* he came to *Epheſus*, where he preached a while in the Synagogue of the *Jews*: And though deſired to ſtay with them, yet having reſolved to be at *Jeruſalem* at the *Paſſover* (probably that he might have the fitter Opportunity to meet his Friends, and preach the Goſpel to vaſt Numbers that uſually flock'd to that great Solemnity) he promiſed that in his Return he would come again to them. Sailing thence, he landed at *Cæſarea*, and thence went up to *Jeruſalem*, where having viſited the Church, and kept the Feaſt, he went down to *Antioch*. Here having ſtaid ſome Time, he traverſed the Countries of *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, confirming, as he went, the new-converted *Chriſtians*, and ſo came to *Epheſus*; where, finding certain *Chriſtian* Diſciples, he enquired of them, whether, ſince their Converſion, they had received the miraculous Gifts and Powers of the Holy Ghoſt. They told him, that the Doctrine which they had received had nothing in it of that Nature, nor had they ever heard that any ſuch extraordinary Spirit had of late been beſtowed upon the Church. Hereupon he farther enquired, unto what they had been baptized (the *Chriſtian* Baptiſm being adminiſtred in the Name of the Holy Ghoſt?) They anſwered, they had received no more than *John*'s Baptiſm; which though it obliged Men to Repentance, yet did it explicitly ſpeak nothing of the Holy Ghoſt, or its Gifts and Powers. To this the Apoſtle replied, That though *John*'s Baptiſm did openly oblige to nothing but Repentance, yet that it did implicitly acknowledge the whole Doctrine concerning *Chriſt* and the *Holy Ghoſt*. Where-

to

to they aſſenting, were ſolemnly initiated by *Chriſtian* Baptiſm, and the Apoſtle laying his Hands upon them, they immediately received the Holy Ghoſt, in the Gift of Tongues, Prophecy, and other miraculous Powers conferred upon them.

After this he entered into the *Jewiſh* Synagogues, where, for the firſt three Months, he contended and diſputed with the *Jews*, endeavouring with great Earneſtneſs and Reſolution to convince them of the Truth of thoſe Things that concerned the *Chriſtian* Religion. But when inſtead of Succeſs, he met with nothing but Refractorineſs and Infidelity, he left the Synagogue, and taking thoſe with him whom he had converted, inſtructed them, and others that reſorted to him, in the School of one *Tyrannus*, a Place where Scholars were wont to be educated and inſtructed. In this Manner he continued for two Years together; in which Time the *Jews* and Proſelytes of the whole *Proconſular Aſia* had Opportunity of having the Goſpel preached to them. And becauſe Miracles are the cleareſt Evidence of a divine Commiſſion, and the moſt immediate Credentials of Heaven, thoſe which do nearlieſt affect our Senſes, and conſequently have the ſtrongeſt Influence upon our Minds, therefore God was pleaſed to ratify the Doctrine which St. *Paul* delivered by great and miraculous Operations; and thoſe of ſomewhat a more peculiar and extraordinary Nature; inſomuch that he did not only heal thoſe that came to him, but if Napkins or Handkerchiefs were but touched by him, and applied unto the Sick, their Diſeaſes immediately vaniſhed, and the Demons or evil Spirits departed out of thoſe that were poſſeſſed by them.

Epheſus, above all other Places in the World, was noted of old for the Study of Magick, and all other ſecret and hidden Arts, uſing certain obſcure and myſtical Spells and Charms, by which they endeavoured to heal Diſeaſes and drive away evil Spirits, and do Things beyond the Reach and Apprehenſions of common People. Beſides other Profeſſors of this black Art, there were at this Time at *Epheſus* certain *Jews*, who dealt in the Arts of *Exorciſm* and Incantation; a Craft and Myſtery which *Joſephus* affirms to have been derived from *Solomon*; who, he tells us, did not only find it out, but compoſed Forms of Exorciſm and Inchantment, whereby to cure Diſeaſes, and expel Demons, ſo as they ſhould never return again; and adds, *that this Art was ſtill in Force among the Jews*: Inſtances whereof, he tells us, he himſelf had ſeen, having beheld one *Eleazar* a *Jew*, in the Preſence of *Veſpaſian*, his Sons, and the great Officers of his Army, curing Demoniacks, by holding a Ring to their Noſe, under whoſe Seal was hid the Root of a certain Plant, preſcribed by *Solomon*, at the Scent whereof the Demon preſently took Leave and was gone, the Patient falling to the Ground, while the *Exorciſt*, by mentioning *Solomon*, and reciting ſome Charms made by him, ſtood over him, and charged the evil Spirit never to return. And to let them ſee that he was really gone, he commanded the Demon, as he went out, to overturn a Cup full of Water, which he had cauſed to be ſet in the Room before them. In the Number of theſe Conjurers now at *Epheſus*, there were the ſeven Sons of *Sceva*, one of the chief Heads of the Families of the Prieſts, who ſeeing what great Things were done by calling over

Demoniacks

Demoniacks the Name of *Chriſt*, attempted themſelves to do the like, conjuring the evil Spirit in the Name of that *Jeſus*, whom *Paul* preached, to depart; but the ſtubborn Demon would not obey the Warrant, telling them, he knew who *Jeſus* and *Paul* were, but did not underſtand what Authority they had to uſe his Name: And not content with this, forced the Demoniack violently to fall upon them, to tear their Clothes, and wound their Bodies, ſcarce ſuffering them to eſcape with the Safety of their Lives; an Accident that begot great Terror in the Minds of Men, and became the Occaſion of converting many to the Fath, who came to the Apoſtle, and confeſſed the former Courſe and Manner of their Lives. Several alſo, who had traded in curious Arts, and the myſterious Methods of Spels and Charms, freely brought their Books of Magick Rites (whoſe Price, had they been to be ſold, according to the Rates which Men who dealt in thoſe curſed Myſteries put upon them, would have amounted to the Value of above one thouſand five hundred Pounds) and openly burnt them before the People, themſelves adjudging them to thoſe Flames, to which they were condemned by the Laws of the Empire. For ſo we find the *Roman* Laws prohibiting any to keep Books of Magick Arts, and that where any ſuch were found, their Goods ſhould be forfeited, the Books publickly burned, the Perſons baniſhed, and if of a meaner Rank, beheaded. Theſe Books the penitent Converts did of their own Accord ſacrifice to the Fire, not tempted to ſpare them either by their former Love to them, or the preſent Price and Value of them. With ſo mighty an Efficacy did the Goſpel prevail over the Minds of Men.

About

About this Time it was that the Apoſtle writ his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*; for he had heard, that, ſince his Departure, corrupt Opinions had got in amongſt them, about the neceſſary Obſervation of the legal Rites, and that ſeveral Impoſtors were crept into that Church, who knew no better Way to undermine the Doctrine he had planted there, than by vilifying his Perſon, ſlighting him as an Apoſtle only at the ſecond-hand, not to be compared with *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, who had familiarly converſed with *Chriſt* in the Days of his Fleſh, and been immediately deputed by him. In this Epiſtle therefore he reproves them with ſome neceſſary Smartneſs and Severity, that they had been ſo ſoon led out of the right Way, wherein he had ſet them, and had ſo eaſily ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by the crafty Artifices of Seducers. He vindicates the Honour of his Apoſtolate, and the immediate receiving his Commiſſion from *Chriſt*, wherein he ſhews, that he came not behind the very beſt of thoſe Apoſtles. He largely confutes thoſe *Judaical* Opinions that had tainted and infected them, and, in the Concluſion, inſtructs them in the Rules and Duties of an holy Life. While the Apoſtle thus ſtaid at *Epheſus*, he reſolved with himſelf to paſs through *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, thence to *Jeruſalem*, and ſo to *Rome*. But for the preſent altered his Reſolution, and continued ſtill at *Epheſus*.

During his Stay in this Place, an Accident happened, that involved him in great Trouble and Danger. *Epheſus*, above all the Cities of the *Eaſt*, was renowned for the famous Temple of *Diana*, one of the ſtatelieſt Temples of the World. It was (as *Pliny* tells us) the very Wonder of Magnificence,

cence, built at the common Charges of all *Aſia* properly ſo called, two hundred and twenty Years (elſewhere he ſays four hundred) in building, which we are to underſtand of its ſucceſſive Rebuildings and Reparations, being often waſted and deſtroy'd. It was 425 Foot long, 220 broad, ſupported by 127 Pillars, 60 Foot high; for its Antiquity, it was in ſome Degree before the Time of *Bacchus*, equal to the Reigns of the *Amazons* (by whom it is generally ſaid to have been firſt built) as the *Epheſian* Ambaſſadors told *Tiberius*, till by Degrees it grew up into that Greatneſs and Splendor, that it was generally reckoned one of the Seven Wonders of the World. But that which gave the greateſt Fame and Reputation to it, was an Image of *Diana* kept there, made of no very coſtly Materials, but which the crafty Prieſts perſuaded the People was beyond all human Artifice or Contrivance, and that it was immediately formed by *Jupiter*, and *dropt down from Heaven*, having firſt killed, or baniſhed the Artiſts that made it (as *Suidas* informs us) that the Cheat might not be diſcovered; by which means they drew not *Epheſus* only, but the whole World into a mighty Veneration of it. Beſides there were within this Temple Multitudes of Silver Cabinets, or Chappelets, little Shrines, made in Faſhion of the Temple, wherein was placed the Image of *Diana*. For the making of theſe holy Shrines, great Numbers of Silver-ſmiths were employed and maintained, among whom one *Demetrius* was a leading Man; who foreſeeing that if the *Chriſtian* Religion ſtill got Ground, their gainful Trade would ſoon come to nothing, preſently called together the Men of his Profeſſion, eſpecially thoſe whom he himſelf ſet on work, told them, that now their Welfare

and

and Livelihood were concerned, and that the Fortunes of their Wives and Children lay at Stake; that it was plain that this *Paul* had perverted City and Country, and perſuaded the People that the Images which they made and worſhipped, were no real Gods; by which Means their Trade was not only like to fall to the Ground, but alſo the Honour and Magnificence of the great Goddeſs *Diana*, whom not *Aſia* only, but the whole World did worſhip and adore. Enraged with this Diſcourſe, they cried out with one Voice, that *Great was* Diana *of the* Epheſians. The whole City was preſently in an Uproar, and ſeizing upon two of St. *Paul*'s Companions, hurried them into the Theatre, probably with a Deſign to have caſt them to the wild Beaſts: St. *Paul* hearing of their Danger, would have ventured himſelf among them, had not the *Chriſtians*, nay, ſome even of the *Gentile* Prieſts, Governors of the popular Games and Sports, earneſtly diſſuaded him from it; well knowing that the People were reſolved, if they could meet with him, to throw him to the wild Beaſts, that were kept there for the Diverſion and Pleaſure of the People. And this doubtleſs he means, when elſewhere he tells us, that *he fought with Beaſts at* Epheſus, probably intending what the People deſigned, though he did not actually ſuffer; though the brutiſh Rage, the ſavage and inhuman Manners of this People did ſufficiently deſerve that the Cenſure and Character ſhould be fixed upon themſelves.

Great was the Confuſion of the Multitude, the major Part not knowing the Reaſon of the Concourſe. In which Diſtraction *Alexander*, a *Jewiſh* Convert, being thruſt forward by the *Jews*, to be queſtioned and examined about this Matter, he would

would accordingly have made his Apology to the People, intending no doubt to clear himſelf by caſting the whole Blame upon St. *Paul*; (this being, very probably, that *Alexander* the Coperſmith, of whom our Apoſtle elſewhere complains, *That he did him much Evil, and greatly withſtood his Words, and whom he delivered over unto* Satan for his Apoſtaſy, for blaſpheming *Chriſt*, and reproaching *Chriſtianity*) but the Multitude perceiving him to be a *Jew*, and thereby ſuſpecting him to be one of St. *Paul*'s Aſſociates, began to raiſe an Out-cry for near two Hours together, wherein nothing could be heard, but *Great is* Diana *of the* Epheſians. The Noiſe being a little over, the Recorder, a diſcreet and prudent Man, came out and calmly told them, That it was ſufficiently known to all the World, what a mighty Honour and Veneration the City of *Epheſus* had for the great Goddeſs *Diana*, and the famous Image which fell from Heaven, that therefore there needed not this Stir to vindicate and aſſert it; that they had ſeized Perſons, who were not guilty either of Sacrilege or Blaſphemy towards their Goddeſs; that if *Demetrius* and his Company had any juſt Charge againſt them, the Courts were ſitting, and they might prefer their Indictment; or, if the Controverſy were about any other Matter, it might be referred to ſuch a proper Judicature as the Law appoints for the Determination of ſuch Caſes: That therefore they ſhould do well to be quiet, having done more than they could anſwer, if called in queſtion (as 'tis like they would) there being no Cauſe ſufficient to juſtify that Day's riotous Aſſembly. With which prudent Diſcourſe he appeaſed and diſmiſſed the Multitude.

It was about this Time that St. *Paul* heard of ſome Diſturbance in the Church at *Corinth*, hatched and fomented by a Pack of falſe heretical Teachers, crept in among them, who endeavoured to draw them into Parties and Factions, by perſuading one Party to be for *Peter*, another for *Paul*, a third for *Apollos*, as if the Main of Religion conſiſted in being of this or that Determination, or in a warm active Zeal to decry and oppoſe whoever is not of our narrow Sect. 'Tis a very weak and ſlender Claim, when a Man holds his Religion by no better a Title than that he has joined himſelf to this Man's Church, or that Man's Congregation, and is zealouſly earneſt to maintain and promote it to be childiſhly and paſſionately clamorous for one Man's Mode and Way of Adminiſtration, or for ſome particular Humour or Opinion, as if Religion lay in nice and curious Diſputes, or in ſeparating from our Brethren, and not rather *Righteouſneſs, Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghoſt*. By this Means Schiſms and Factions broke into the *Corinthian* Church, whereby many wild and extravagant Opinions, and ſome of them ſuch as undermined the fundamental Articles of *Chriſtianity*, were planted, and taken Root there; as the envious Man never fiſhes more ſucceſsfully than in troubled Waters. To cure theſe Diſtempers, St. *Paul* (who had received an Account of all theſe Proceedings by Letters which *Apollos*, and ſome others, had brought to him from the Church of *Corinth*) writes his firſt Epiſtle to them; wherein he ſmartly reproves them for their Schiſms and Parties, conjures them to Peace and Unity, corrects thoſe groſs Corruptions that were introduced among them, and particularly reſolves thoſe many

many Caſes and Controverſies, wherein they had requeſted his Advice and Counſel. Shortly after *Apollos* deſigning to go for *Crete*, by him, and *Zenas*, St. *Paul* ſends his Epiſtle to *Titus*, whom he had made Biſhop of that Iſland, and had left there for the Propagation of the Goſpel. Herein he fully inſtructs him in the Execution of his Office, how to carry himſelf, and what Directions he ſhould give to others, to all particular Ranks and Relations of Men, eſpecially thoſe who were to be advanced to Places of Office and Authority in the Church.

A little before St. *Paul*'s Departure from *Epheſus*, we may not improbably ſuppoſe, that *Apollonius Tyanæus*, the famous Philoſopher and Magician of the *Heathen* World (a Man remarkable for the Strictneſs of his Manners, and his ſober and regular Courſe of Life, but eſpecially for the great Miracles ſaid to have been done by him; whom therefore the *Heathens* generally ſet up as the great Corrival of our Saviour; though ſome of his own Party, and particularly *Euphratus* the Philoſopher, who lived with him at the ſame Time at *Rome*, accuſed him for doing his ſtrange Feats by *Magick*) came to *Epheſus*: The Enemy of Mankind probably deſigning to obſtruct the Propagation of *Chriſtianity*, by ſetting up one who by the Arts of Magick might, at leaſt in the Vogue and Eſtimation of the People, equal, or eclipſe the Miracles of St. *Paul*. Certain it is, if we compare Times and Actions ſet down by the Writer of his Life, we ſhall find that he came hither about the Beginning of *Nero*'s Reign, and he particularly ſets down the ſtrange Things that were done by him, eſpecially his clearing the City of a grie-

vous Plague, for which the People of *Epheſus* had him in ſuch Veneration, that they erected a Statue to him as to a particular Deity, and did divine Honour to it. But whether this was before St. *Paul*'s going thence, I will not take upon me to determine; it ſeems moſt probable to have been done afterwards.

It was not long after the Tumult at *Epheſus*, when St. *Paul* having called the Church together, and conſtituted *Timothy* Biſhop of that Place, took his Leave, and departed by *Troas* for *Macedonia*. And at this Time it was, that, as he himſelf tells us, he *preached the Goſpel round about unto* Illyricum, ſince called *Sclavonia*, ſome Parts of *Macedonia* bordering on that Province. From *Macedonia* he returned back into *Greece*, where he abode three Months, and met with *Titus*, lately come with great Contributions from the Church at *Corinth*: By whoſe Example he ſtirred up the Liberality of the *Macedonians*, who very freely, and ſomewhat beyond their Ability, contributed to the poor *Chriſtians* at *Jeruſalem*. From *Titus* he had an Account of the preſent State of the Church at *Corinth*; and by him, at his Return, together with St. *Luke*, he ſent his ſecond Epiſtle to them: Wherein he endeavours to ſet right what his former Epiſtle had not yet effected, to vindicate his Apoſtleſhip from that Contempt and Scorn, and himſelf from thoſe Slanders and Aſperſions, which the Seducers, who had found themſelves laſh'd by his firſt Epiſtle, had caſt upon him, together with ſome other particular Caſes relating to them. Much about the ſame Time he writ his firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*, whom he had left at *Epheſus*, wherein at large he counſels him, how to carry himſelf in the

the Diſcharge of that great Place and Authority in the Church, which he had committed to him; inſtructs him in the particular Qualifications of thoſe whom he ſhould make Choice of, to be Biſhops and Miniſters in the Church; how to order the Deaconeſſes, and to inſtruct Servants; warning him withal of that peſtilent Generation of Heretics and Seducers, that would ariſe in the Church. During his three Months ſtay in *Greece*, he went to *Corinth*, where he wrote his famous Epiſtle to the *Romans*, which he ſent by *Phœbe*, a Deaconeſs of the Church of *Cenchrea*, nigh *Corinth*. Therein his main Deſign is fully to ſtate and determine the great Controverſy between the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, about the Obligation of the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Jewiſh* Law, and thoſe main and material Doctrines of *Chriſtianity*, which did depend upon it, ſuch as of *Chriſtian* Liberty, the Uſe of indifferent Things, *&c.* and, which is the main End of all Religion, inſtructs them in, and preſſes them to the Duties of an holy and good Life, ſuch as the *Chriſtian* Doctrine does naturally tend to oblige Men to.

St. *Paul* being now reſolved for *Syria*, to convey the Contributions to the Brethren at *Jeruſalem*, was a while diverted from that Reſolution, by a Deſign he was told of which the *Jews* had to kill and rob him by the Way. Whereupon he went back into *Macedonia*, and ſo came to *Philippi*, and thence went to *Troas*, where having ſtaid a Week, on the *Lord's-day* the Church met together to receive the holy Sacrament. Here St. *Paul* preached to them, and continued his Diſcourſe till Midnight; the longer, probably, being the next Day to depart from them. The Length of his Diſcourſe, and the Time of the Night had cauſed

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ſome of his Auditors to be overtaken with Sleep and Drowzineſs, among whom a young Man called *Eutychus*, being faſt aſleep, fell down from the third Story, and was taken up dead, but was by St. *Paul* preſently reſtored to Life and Health. How indefatigable was the Induſtry of our Apoſtle! how cloſe did he tread in his Maſter's Steps, who *went about doing good!* He compaſſed Sea and Land, preached and wrought Miracles where-ever he came: In every Place, like a wiſe Maſter-builder, he either laid a Foundation, or raiſed a Superſtructure. He was *inſtant in Seaſon and out of Seaſon*, and ſpared not his Pains, either Night or Day, that he might do good to the Souls of Men. The Night being thus ſpent in holy Exerciſes, St. *Paul* in the Morning took his Leave, and went on Foot to *Aſſos*, a Seaport Town, whither he had ſent his Company by Sea. Thence they ſet ſail to *Mytilene*; from thence to *Samos*, and having ſtaid ſome little Time at *Trogyllium*, the next Day came to *Myletus*, not ſo much as putting in at *Epheſus*, becauſe the Apoſtle was reſolved, if poſſible, to be at *Jeruſalem* at the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*.

At *Myletus* he ſent to *Epheſus*, to ſummon the Biſhops and Governors of that Church who being come, he put them in mind with what Uprightneſs and Integrity, with what Affection and Humility, with how great Trouble and Danger, with how much Faithfulneſs to their Souls he had been converſant among them, and had preached the Goſpel to them, ever ſince his firſt coming into thoſe Parts: That he had not failed to acquaint them both publickly and privately with whatever might be uſeful and profitable to them, urging both upon *Jews* and *Gentiles* Repentance and Reformation of Life, and an hearty Entertainment

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of the Faith of *Chriſt*: That now he was reſolved to go to *Jeruſalem*, where he did not know what particular Sufferings would befal him; more than this, that it had been foretold him in every Place by thoſe who were endued with the prophetical Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, that Afflictions and Impriſonment would attend him there: But that he was not troubled at this, no nor unwilling to lay down his Life, ſo he might but ſucceſsfully preach the Goſpel, and faithfully ſerve the Lord in that Place and Station wherein he had ſet him: That he knew that henceforth they ſhould ſee his Face no more, but that this was his Encouragement and Satisfaction, that they themſelves could bear him witneſs, that he had not, by concealing from them any Parts of the *Chriſtian* Doctrine, betray'd their Souls: That as for themſelves, whom God had made Biſhops and Paſtors of his Church, they ſhould be careful to feed, guide and direct thoſe *Chriſtians* under their Inſpection, and be infinitely tender of the Good of Souls, for whoſe Redemption *Chriſt* laid down his own Life: That all the Care they could uſe was no more than neceſſary, it being certain, that after his Departure, heretical Teachers would break in among them, and endanger the Ruin of Mens Souls; nay, that even among themſelves, there would ſome ariſe, who by ſubtile and crafty Methods, by corrupt and pernicious Doctrines, would gain Proſelytes to their Party, and thereby make Rents and Schiſms in the Church: That therefore they ſhould watch, remembering with what Tears and Sorrow he had, for three Years together, warned them of theſe Things: That now he recommended them to the Divine Care and Goodneſs, and to the Rules and Inſtructions of the Goſpel, which if adhered to, would

would certainly diſpoſe and perfect them for that State of Happineſs which God had prepared for good Men in Heaven. In ſhort, that he had all along dealt faithfully and uprightly with them, they might know from hence, that in all his Preaching he had no crafty or covetous Deſigns upon any Man's Eſtate or Riches, having (as themſelves could witneſs) induſtriouſly laboured with his own Hands, and by his own Work maintained both himſelf and his Company: Herein leaving them an Example, what Pains they ought to take to ſupport the Weak, and relieve the Poor, rather than to be themſelves chargeable unto others; according to that incomparable Saying of our Saviour (which ſurely St. *Paul* had received from ſome of thoſe that had converſed with him in the Days of his Fleſh) *It is more bleſſed to give, than to receive.* This *Concio ad Clerum*, or *Viſitation Sermon* being ended, the Apoſtle kneeled down, and concluded all with Prayer: Which done, they all melted into Tears, and with the greateſt Expreſſions of Sorrow attended him to the Ship, tho' that which made the deepeſt Impreſſion upon their Minds was, that he had told them, *That they ſhould ſee his Face no more.*

Departing from *Myletus*, they arrived at *Coos*, thence came to *Rhodes*, thence to *Patara*, thence to *Tyre*; where meeting with ſome *Chriſtians*, he was adviſed by thoſe among them who had the Gift of Prophecy, that he ſhould not go up to *Jeruſalem*: With whom he ſtaid a Week, and then going all together to the Shore, he kneeled down and prayed with them; and having mutually embraced one another, he went on board, and came to *Ptolemais*, where only ſaluting the Brethren, they came next Day unto *Ceſarea*. Here they lodged

S[t] LUKE 15 Verse 13

the Prodigal Son goes into a far country and wastes his substance in Riots &[c] Excesses.

lodged in the Houſe of *Philip* the Evangeliſt, one of the ſeven Deacons that were at firſt ſet apart by the Apoſtles, who had four Virgin-Daughters, all endued with the Gift of Prophecy. During their Stay in this Place, *Agabus*, a *Chriſtian* Prophet, came down hither from *Judea*, who taking *Paul*'s Girdle, bound with it his own Hands and Feet, telling them, that by this external Symbol the Holy Ghoſt did ſignify and declare, that St. *Paul* ſhould be thus ſerved by the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*, and be by them delivered over into the Hands of the *Gentiles*. Whereupon they all paſſionately beſought him, that he would divert his Courſe to ſome other Place. The Apoſtle asked them, what they meant, by theſe compaſſionate Diſſuaſives, to add more Affliction to his Sorrow? That he was willing, and reſolved not only to be impriſoned, but, if need were, to die at *Jeruſalem* for the Sake of *Chriſt* and his Religion. Finding his Reſolution fixed and immoveable, they importuned him no farther, but left the Event to the Divine Will and Pleaſure. All Things being in Readineſs, they ſet forwards on their Journey, and being come to *Jeruſalem*, were kindly and joyfully entertained by the *Chriſtians* there.

The Day after their Arrival, St. *Paul* and his Company went to the Houſe of St. *James* the Apoſtle, where the reſt of the Biſhops and Governors of the Church were met together; after mutual Salutations, he gave them a particular Account with what Succeſs God had bleſſed him in propagating *Chriſtianity* among the *Gentiles*; for which they all heartily bleſſed God, but withal told him, that he was now come to a Place where there were many

Thouſands of *Jewiſh* Converts, who all retained a mighty Zeal and Veneration for the Law of *Moſes*, and who had been informed of him, that he taught the *Jews*, whom he had converted in every Place, to renounce Circumciſion and the Ceremonies of the Law: That as ſoon as the Multude heard of his Arrival, they would come together to ſee how he behaved himſelf in this Matter; and therefore, to prevent ſo much Diſturbance, it was adviſable, that there being four Men there at that Time, who were to accompliſh a Vow, (probably not the *Nazarite* Vow, but ſome other, which they had made for Deliverance from Sickneſs, or ſome other imminent Danger and Diſtreſs; for ſo *Joſephus* tells us, they were wont to do, in ſuch Caſes, and before they came to offer the accuſtomed Sacrifices, to abſtain, for ſome Time, from Wine, and to ſhave their Heads) he would join himſelf to them, perform the uſual Rites and Ceremonies with them, and provide ſuch Sacrifices for them, as the Law required in that Caſe; and that in Diſcharge of their Vow, they might ſhave their Heads: Whereby it would appear, that the Reports which were ſpread concerning him, were falſe and groundleſs, and that he himſelf did obſerve the Rites and Orders of the *Moſaical* Inſtitution. That as for the *Gentile* Converts, they required no ſuch Obſervances at their Hands, nor expected any Thing more from them in theſe indifferent Matters, than what had been before determined by the apoſtolical Synod in that Place. St. *Paul* (who, in ſuch Things, was willing *to become all Things to all Men, that he might gain the more*) conſented to the Counſel which they gave him, and taking the Perſons along with him

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to the Temple, told the Prieſts, that the Time of a Vow which they had made, being run out, and having purified themſelves, as the Nature of the Caſe required, they were come to make their Offerings according to the Law.

The ſeven Days wherein thoſe Sacrifices were to be offered, being now almoſt ended, ſome *Jews* that were come from *Aſia* (where, probably, they had oppoſed St. *Paul*) now finding him in the Temple, began to raiſe a Tumult and Uproar; and laying hold of him, called out to the reſt of the *Jews* for their Aſſiſtance, telling them, that this was the Fellow that every where vented Doctrines derogatory to the Prerogative of the *Jewiſh* Nation, deſtructive to the Inſtitutions of the Law, and to the Purity of that Place, which he had profaned by bringing in uncircumciſed *Greeks* into it; poſitively concluding, that becauſe they had ſeen *Trophimus*, a *Gentile* Convert of *Epheſus*, with him in the City, therefore he had brought him alſo into the Temple: So apt is Malice to make any Premiſes, from whence it may infer its own Concluſion. Hereupon the whole City was preſently in an Uproar, and ſeizing upon him, they dragged him out of the Temple, the Doors being ſhut againſt him. Nor had they failed there to put a Period to all his Troubles, had not *Claudius Lyſias*, Commander of the *Roman* Garriſon in the Tower of *Antonia*, come with ſome Soldiers to his Reſcue and Deliverance; and ſuppoſing him to be a more than ordinary Malefactor, commanded a double Chain to be put upon him, though as yet altogether ignorant, either who he was, or what his Crime: And therein he could receive little Satisfaction from the clamorous Multitude, who

called for nothing but his Death, following the Cry with ſuch Crowds and Numbers, that the Soldiers were forced to take him in their Arms, to ſecure him from the preſent Rage and Violence of the People. As they were going up into the Caſtle, St. *Paul* asked the Governor, whether he might have the Liberty to ſpeak to them, who finding him to ſpeak *Greek*, enquired of him, whether he was not that *Egyptian*, which a few Years before had raiſed a Sedition in *Judea*, and headed a Party of four thouſand debauched and profligate Wretches. The Apoſtle replied, that he was a *Jew* of *Tarſus*, a Freeman of a rich and honourable City, and therefore begged of him, that he might have Leave to ſpeak to the People. This the Captain readily granted; and ſtanding near the Door of the Caſtle, and making Signs that they would hold their Peace, he began to addreſs himſelf to them in the *Hebrew* Language; which, when they heard, they became a little more calm and quiet, while he diſcourſed to them to this Effect:

He gave them an Account of himſelf from his Birth, of his Education in his Youth, of the mighty Zeal which he had ſhewn for the Rites and Cuſtoms of their Religion, and with what a paſſionate Earneſtneſs he perſecuted and put to Death all the *Chriſtians* that he met with, whereof the High-prieſt and the *Sanhedrim* could be ſufficient Witneſſes. He next gave them an entire and punctual Relation of the Way and Manner of his Converſion, and how that he had received an immediate Command from God himſelf, to depart *Jeruſalem*, and preach unto the *Gentiles*. At this Word the Patience of the *Jews* could hold no longer,

longer, but they unanimouſly cried out, to have him put to Death, it not being fit that ſuch a Villain ſhould live upon the Earth. And the more to expreſs their Fury, they threw off their Clothes, and caſt Duſt into the Air, as if they immediately deſigned to ſtone him. To avoid which, the Captain of the Guard commanded him to be brought within the Caſtle, and that he ſhould be examined by whipping, till he confeſſed the Reaſon of ſo much Rage againſt him. While the Lictor was binding him, in order to it, he asked the Centurion that ſtood by, whether they could juſtify the Scourging a Citizen of *Rome*, and that before any Sentence legally paſſed upon him. This the Centurion preſently intimated to the Governor of the Caſtle, bidding him have a care what he did, for the Priſoner was a *Roman*. Whereat the Governor himſelf came, and asked him, whether he was a free Denizon of *Rome?* And being told that he was, he replied, that it was a great Privilege, a Privilege which he himſelf had purchaſed at a conſiderable Rate. To which St. *Paul* anſwered, that it was his Birth-right, and the Privilege of the Place where he was born and bred: Hereupon they gave over their Deſign of whipping him, the Commander himſelf being a little ſtartled, that he had bound and chained a Denizon of *Rome*.

The next Day the Governor commanded his Chains to be knocked off; and, that he might throughly ſatisfy himſelf in this Matter, commanded the *Sanhedrim* to meet, and brought down *Paul* before them; where being ſet before the Council, he told them, that in all the Paſſages of his Life he had been careful to act according to the ſevereſt Rules of Conſcience and of his Duty.

Men

Men and Brethren, I have lived in all good Conſcience before God, until this Day. Behold here the great Security of a good Man, and what inviſible Supports Innocency affords under the greateſt Danger. With how generous a Confidence does Virtue and Honeſty guard the Breaſt of a good Man! as, indeed, nothing elſe can lay a firm Baſis and Foundation for Satisfaction and Tranquillity, when any Miſery or Calamity does overtake us. Religion and a good Conſcience beget Peace and a Heaven in a Man's Boſom, beyond the Power of the little Accidents of this World to ruffle and diſcompoſe. Whence *Seneca* compares the Mind of a wiſe and good Man, to the State of the upper Region, which is always Serene and Calm. The High-prieſt *Ananias* being offended at the holy and ingenuous Freedom of our Apoſtle, as if by aſſerting his own Innocency, he had reproached the Juſtice of their Tribunal, commanded thoſe that ſtood next him, to ſtrike him on the Face; whereto the Apoſtle ſharply replied, That God would ſmite him, Hypocrite as he was, who, under a Pretence of doing Juſtice, had illegelly commanded him to be puniſhed, before the Law condemned him for a Malefactor. Whereupon they that ſtood by, asked him, how he durſt thus affront ſo ſacred and venerable a Perſon, as *God's High-prieſt?* He calmly returned, That *he did not know* [or own] Ananias *to be an High-prieſt* [of God's Appointment:] However being a Perſon in Authority, it was not lawful to revile him, God himſelf having commanded that *no Man ſhould ſpeak evil of the Ruler of the People.* The Apoſtle, who, as he never laid aſide the Innocency of the *Dove*, ſo knew how, when Occaſion was, to make uſe of the Wiſdom of the *Serpent*;

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perceiving the Council to conſiſt partly of *Sadducees*, and partly of *Phariſees*, openly told them, that he was a *Phariſee*, and the Son of a *Phariſee*, and that the main Thing he was queſtioned for, was his Belief of a future Reſurrection. This quickly divided the Council, the *Phariſees* being zealous Patrons of that Article, and the *Saducees* as ſtifly denying that there is either Angel (that is, of a ſpiritual and immortal Nature, really ſubſiſting of itſelf, for otherwiſe they cannot be ſuppoſed to have utterly denied all Sorts of Angels, ſeeing they owned the *Pentateuch*, wherein there is frequent mention of them) or Spirit, or that human Souls do exiſt in a ſeparate State, and conſequently that there is no Reſurrection. Preſently the Doctors of the Law, who were *Phariſees*, ſtood up to acquit him, affirming he had done nothing amiſs; that it was poſſible he had received ſome Intimation from Heaven by an Angel, or the Revelation of the Holy Spirit; and if ſo, then in oppoſing his Doctrine, they might fight againſt God himſelf.

Great were the Diſſentions in the Council, about this Matter, inſomuch that the Governor fearing St. *Paul* would be torn in Pieces, commanded the Soldiers to take him from the Bar, and return him back to the Caſtle. That Night, to comfort him after all Frights and Fears, God was pleaſed to appear to him in a Viſion, encouraging him to Conſtancy and Reſolution, aſſuring him, that as he had born Witneſs to his Cauſe at *Jeruſalem*, ſo in deſpight of all his Enemies, he ſhould live to bear his Teſtimony even at *Rome* itſelf. The next Morning the *Jews*, who could as well ceaſe to be, as not to be miſchievous and malicious, finding

finding that theſe dilatory Proceedings were not like to do the Work, reſolved upon a quicker Diſpatch. To this End, above forty of them entered into a wicked Confederacy, which they ratified by Oaths and Execrations, never to eat or drink till they had killed him; and having acquainted the *Sanhedrim* with their Deſign, they entreated them to importune the Governor, that he might again, the next Day be brought down before them, under Pretence of a more ſtrict Trial of his Caſe, and that they themſelves would lie in Ambuſh by the Way, and not fail to diſpatch him: But that divine Providence that peculiarly ſuperintends the Safety of good Men, *diſappoints the Devices of the Crafty.* The Deſign was diſcovered to St. *Paul*, by a Nephew of his, and by him imparted to the Governor, who immediately commanded two Parties of Foot and Horſe to be ready by Nine of the Clock that Night, and Proviſion to be made for St. *Paul*'s Carriage to *Fœlix* the *Roman* Governor of that Province; to whom he alſo wrote, ſignifying whom he had ſent, how the *Jews* had uſed him, and that his Enemies alſo ſhould appear before him to manage the Charge and Accuſation. Accordingly he was by Night conducted to *Antipatris*, and afterwards to *Cæſarea*; where the Letters being delivered to *Fœlix*, the Apoſtle was preſented to him; and finding that he belonged to the Province of *Cilicia*, he told him, that as ſoon as his Accuſers were arrived he ſhould have an Hearing, commanding him, in the mean Time, to be ſecured in the Place called *Herod's-Hall.*

Not many Days after, down comes *Ananias* the High-prieſt, with ſome others of the *Sanhedrim*, to *Cæſarea*, accompanied with *Tertullus* their Advocate,

vocate, who in a ſhort, but neat Speech, ſet off with all the flattering and inſinuating Arts of Eloquence, began to implead our Apoſtle, charging him with Sedition, Hereſy, and the Profanation of the Temple: That they would have ſaved him the Trouble of this Hearing, by judging him according to their own Law, had not *Lyſias* the Commander violently taken him from them, and ſent both him and them down thither. To all which, the *Jews* that were with him, gave their Vote and Teſtimony. St. *Paul* having Leave from *Fælix* to defend himſelf, and having told him how much he was ſatisfied that he was to plead before one, who for ſo many Years had been Governor of that Nation, diſtinctly anſwered to the ſeveral Parts of the Charge.

And firſt for Sedition, he point-blank denied it, affirming, that they found him behaving himſelf quietly and peaceably in the Temple, not ſo much as diſputing there, nor ſtirring up the People either in the Synagogues, or any other Place of the City: And though this was plauſibly pretended by them, yet were they never able to make it good. As for the Charge of Hereſy, that he was a *Ring-leader of the Sect of the* Nazarenes, he ingenuouſly acknowledged, that after the Way which they counted Hereſy, ſo he worſhipped God, the ſame Way in Subſtance wherein all the Patriarchs of the *Jewiſh* Nation had worſhipped God before him, taking nothing into his Creed, but what the authentick Writings of the *Jews* themſelves did own and juſtify; that he firmly believed, what the better Part of themſelves was ready to grant, another Life and a future Reſurrection; in the Hope and Expectation whereof, he was careful to live

unblamable, and conſcientiouſly to do his Duty both to God and Men. As for the third Part of the Charge, his *profaning the Temple*, he ſhews how little Foundation there was for it; that the Deſign of his coming to *Jeruſalem* was to bring charitable Contributions to his diſtreſſed Brethren; that he was indeed in the Temple, but not as ſome *Aſiatic Jews* falſly ſuggeſted, either with Tumult or with Multitude, but only purifying himſelf according to the Rites and Cuſtoms of the *Moſaic* Law: And that if any would affirm to the contrary, they ſhould now come into open Court, and make it good. Nay, that he appealed to thoſe of the *Sanhedrim*, that were there preſent, whether he had not been acquitted by their own great Council at *Jeruſalem*, where nothing of Moment had been laid to his Charge, except by them of the *Sadducean* Party, who quarrelled with him only for aſſerting the Doctrine of the Reſurrection. *Fœlix* having thus heard both Parties argue, refuſed to make any final Determination in the Caſe, till he had more fully adviſed about it, and ſpoken with *Lyſias*, Commander of the Garriſon, who was beſt able to give an Account of the Sedition and the Tumult; commanding, in the mean Time, that St. *Paul* ſhould be under Guard, but yet, in ſo free a Cuſtody, that none of his Friends ſhould be hindered from viſiting him, or performing any Office of Kindneſs and Friendſhip to him.

It was not long after this, before his Wife *Druſilla* (a *Jeweſs*, Daughter of the elder *Herod*, and whom *Tacitus*, I fear by a Miſtake, for his former Wife *Druſilla*, Daughter to *Juba* King of *Mauritania*, makes Niece to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*) came

came to him to *Cæſarea*; who being preſent, he ſent for St *Paul* to appear before the ∃, and gave him leave to diſcourſe concerning the Doctrine of *Chriſtianity*. In his Diſcourſe he took Occaſion particularly to inſiſt upon the great Obligation which the Laws of *Chriſt* laid upon Men, to Juſtice and Righteouſneſs toward one another, to Sobriety and Chaſtity both towards themſelves and others; withal urging that ſevere and impartial Account that muſt be given in the Judgment of the other World, wherein Men ſhall be arraigned for all the Actions of their paſt Lives, and be eternally rewarded according to their Works. A Diſcourſe wiſely adapted by the Apoſtle to *Fœlix*'s State and Temper. But Corroſives are very uneaſy to a guilty Mind; Men naturally hate that which *brings their Sins to their Remembrance*, and ſharpens the Sting of a violated Conſcience. The Prince was ſo affected with the Apoſtle's Reaſonings, that he fell a trembling, and cauſed the Apoſtle to break off abruptly, telling him he would hear the reſt at ſome other Seaſon: And good Reaſon there was, that *Fœlix*'s Conſcience ſhould be ſenſibly alarmed with theſe Reflexions, being a Man notoriouſly infamous for Rapine and Violence. *Tacitus* tells us of him, that he made his Will the Law of his Government, practiſing all Manner of Cauelty and Injuſtice; and then for Incontinency, he was given over to Luxury and Debauchery; for the compaſſing whereof he ſcrupled not to violate all Laws, both of God and Man: Whereof this very Wife *Druſilla* was a famous Inſtance. For being married, by her Brother, to *Azis* King of the *Emiſenes*, *Fœlix*, who had heard of her incomparable Beauty, by the Help of *Simon*

the Magician, a *Jew* of *Cyprus*, raviſhed her from her Husband's Bed, and in Defiance of all Law and Right, kept her for his own Wife. To theſe Qualities he had added Bribery and Covetouſneſs, and therefore frequently ſent for St. *Paul* to diſcourſe with him, expecting that he ſhould have given him a conſiderable Sum for his Releaſe; and the rather probably, becauſe he had heard that St. *Paul* had lately brought up great Sums of Money to *Jeruſalem*. But finding no Offers made, either by the Apoſtle or his Friends, he kept him a Priſoner for two Years together, ſo long as himſelf continued Procurator of that Nation, when being diſplaced by *Nero*, he left St. *Paul* ſtill in Priſon, on purpoſe to gratify the *Jews*, and engage them to ſpeak better of him, after his Departure from them.

To him ſucceeded *Portius Feſtus* in the Procuratorſhip of the Province, at whoſe firſt coming to *Jeruſalem*, the High-prieſt and *Sanhedrim* preſently began to prefer to him an Indictment againſt St. *Paul*, deſiring, that in order to his Trial, he might be ſent for up from *Cæſarea*, deſigning, under this Pretence, that ſome Aſſaſſins ſhould lie in the Way to murder him. *Feſtus* told them, that he himſelf was going ſhortly for *Cæſarea*, and that if they had any Thing againſt St. *Paul*, they ſhould come down thither and accuſe him. Accordingly being come to *Cæſarea*, and ſitting in open Judicature, the *Jews* began to renew the Charge which they had heretofore brought againſt St. *Paul*: Of all which he cleared himſelf, they not being able to make any Proof againſt him. However, *Feſtus* being willing to oblige the *Jews* in the Entrance upon his Government,

ment, asked him, whether he would go up and be tried before him at *Jeruſalem?* The Apoſtle well underſtanding the Conſequences of that Propoſal, told him that he was a *Roman*, and therefore ought to be judged by their Laws, that he ſtood now at *Cæſar*'s own Judgment-Seat, (as indeed what was done by the Emperor's Procurator, in any Province, the Law reckoned as done by the Emperor himſelf,) and though he ſhould ſubmit to the *Jewiſh* Tribunal, yet he himſelf ſaw, that they had nothing which he could prove againſt him; that if he had done any Thing which really deſerved capital Puniſhment, he was willing to undergo it; but if not, he ought not to be delivered over to his Enemies, who were beforehand reſolved to take away his Life: However, as the ſafeſt Courſe, he ſolemnly made his Appeal to the *Roman* Emperor, who ſhould judge between them. Whereupon *Feſtus* adviſing with the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*, received his Appeal, and told him he ſhould go to *Cæſar*. This Way of appealing was frequent among the *Romans*, introduced to defend and ſecure the Lives and Fortunes of the Populace from the unjuſt Incroachments, and over rigorous Severities of the Magiſtrates, whereby it was lawful in Caſes of Oppreſſion to appeal to the Emperor for Redreſs and Reſcue; a Thing more than once and again ſettled by the Sanction of the *Valerian* Laws. Theſe Appeals were wont to be made in Writing, by appellatory Libels given in, wherein was contained an Account of the Appellant, the Perſon againſt whom, and from whoſe Sentence he did appeal. But where the Caſe was done in open Court, it was enough for a Criminal verbally to declare, that he did appeal. In great and weighty Caſes, Appeals were made to the Prince

Prince himſelf, and that not only at *Rome*, but in the Provinces of the Empire, all Proconſuls and Governors of Provinces being ſtrictly forbidden to execute, ſcourge, bind, or put any Badge of Servility upon a Citizen, or any that had the Privilege of a Citizen of *Rome*, who had made his Appeal, or any ways to hinder him from going thither to obtain Juſtice at the Hands of the Emperor, who had as much Regard for the Liberty of his Subjects (ſays the Law itſelf) as they could have in their Good-will and Obedience to him. And this was exactly St. *Paul*'s Caſe, who knowing that he ſhould have no fair and equitable Dealing at the Hands of the Governor, when once he came to be ſway'd by the *Jews*, his ſworn and inveterate Enemies, appealed from him to the Emperor; the Reaſon why *Feſtus* durſt not deny his Demand, it being a Privilege ſo often, and ſo plainly ſettled and confirmed by the *Roman* Laws.

Some Time after, King *Agrippa*, who ſucceeded *Herod* in the Tetrarchate of *Galilee*, and his Siſter *Berenice*, came to *Cæſarea*, to make a Viſit to the new-come Governor. To him *Feſtus* gave an Account of St. *Paul*, and the great Stir and Trouble that had been made about him, and how, for his Safety and Vindication he had immediately appealed to *Caſar*. *Agrippa* was very deſirous to ſee and hear him; and accordingly, the next Day, the King and his Siſter, accompanied with *Feſtus* the Governor, and other Perſons of Quality, came into the Court with a pompous and magnificent Retinue, where the Priſoner was brought forth before him. *Feſtus* having acquainted the King and the Aſſembly, how much he had been ſolicited by the *Jews*, both at *Cæſarea* and *Jeruſalem*, concerning the Priſoner at the Bar,

that

that as a notorious Malefactor he might be put to death, but that having appealed to *Cæsar*, he was resolved to send him to *Rome*, but yet was willing to have his Case again discussed before *Agrippa*, that so he might be furnished with some material Instructions to send along with him, since it was very absurd to send a Prisoner, without signifying what Crimes were charged upon him.

Hereupon *Agrippa* told the Apostle, he had Liberty to make his own Defence. To whom, after Silence made, he particularly addressed his Speech; he tells him, in the first Place, what a Happiness he had, that he was to plead before one so exactly versed in all the Rites and Customs, the Questions and the Controversies of the *Jewish* Law; that the *Jews* themselves knew what had been the Course and Manner of his Life; how he had been educated under the Institutions of the *Pharisees*, the strictest Sect of the whole *Jewish* Religion, and had been particularly disquieted and arraigned for what had been the constant Belief of all their Fathers, what was sufficiently credible in itself, and plainly enough revealed in the Scripture, the Resurrection of the Dead. He next gave him an Account with what a bitter and implacable Zeal he had formerly persecuted *Christianity*; told him the whole Story and Method of his Conversion, and that in Compliance with a particular Vision from Heaven, he had preached Repentance and Reformation of Life, first to the *Jews*, and then after to the *Gentiles*: That it was not for any other Things than these, that the *Jews* apprehended him in the Temple, and designed to murder him; but being rescued and upheld by a divine Power, he continued in this Testimony to this Day, asserting nothing but what was perfectly agreeable

to

to *Moſes* and the Prophets, who had plainly foretold that the *Meſſiah* ſhould both be put to death and riſe again, and by his Doctrine enlighten both the *Jewiſh* and the *Gentile* World. But while he was thus diſcourſing, *Feſtus* openly cried out, that he talked like a Madman; that his over much Study had put him beſide himſelf. The Apoſtle calmly replied, he was far from being tranſported with idle and diſtracted Humours, that he ſpake nothing but what was moſt true and real in itſelf, and what very well became that grave ſober Auditory. And then again addreſſing himſelf to *Agrippa*, told him, that theſe Things having been open and publick, he could not but be acquainted with them; that he was confident that he believed the Prophets, and muſt needs therefore know that thoſe Prophecies were fulfilled in *Chriſt*. Hereat *Agrippa* replied, That he had, in ſome Degree, perſuaded bim to embrace the *Chriſtian* Faith. To which the Apoſtle returned, that he heartily pray'd, that not only he, but the whole Auditory were, not only in ſome Meaſure, but altogether, though not Priſoners, yet as much *Chriſtians* as he himſelf was. This done, the King and Governor, and the reſt of the Council withdrew a while, to confer privately about this Matter: And finding, by the Accuſations brought againſt him, that he was not guilty, by the *Roman* Laws, of any capital Offence, no, nor of any that deſerved ſo much as Impriſonment; *Agrippa* told *Feſtus*, that he might have been releaſed, if he had not appealed unto *Cæſar*: For the Appeal being once made, the Judge had then no Power either to abſolve or condemn, the Cauſe being entirely reſerved to the Cognizance of that Superior, to whom the Criminal had appealed.

Saint Thomas.

It was now finally reſolved that St. *Paul* ſhould be ſent to *Rome*; in order whereunto he was, with ſome other Priſoners of Remark, committed to the Charge of *Julius*, Commander of a Company belonging unto the Legion of *Auguſtus*; accompanied in his Voyage by St. *Luke*, *Ariſtarchus*, *Trophimus*, and ſome others. In *September*, *Anno Chr.* LVI. or as others, LVII. they went on board a Ship of *Adramyttium*, and ſailed to *Sidon*, where the Captain civilly gave the Apoſtle Leave to go a-ſhore to viſit his Friends, and refreſh himſelf: Hence to *Cyprus*, till they came to the *Fair-Havens*, a Place near *Myra*, a City of *Lyſia*. Here, Winter coming on, and St. *Paul* foreſeeing it would be a dangerous Voyage, perſuaded them to put in, and winter. But the Captain preferring the Judgment of the Maſter of the Ship, and eſpecially becauſe of the Incommodiouſneſs of the Harbour, reſolved, if poſſible, to reach *Phœnice*, a Port of *Crete*, and to winter there. But it was not long before they found themſelves diſappointed of their Hopes; for the calm *Southerly* Gale that blew before, ſudddenly changed into a ſtormy and bluſtring *Nor-Eaſt* Wind, which ſo bore down all before it, that they were forced to let the Ship drive at the Pleaſure of the Wind; but as much as might be, to prevent ſplitting, or running a-ground, they threw out a great part of their Lading, and the Tackle of the Ship. Fourteen Days they remained in this deſperate and uncomfortable Condition, neither Sun nor Stars appearing for a great part of the Time; the Apoſtle putting them in mind how ill adviſed they were in not taking his Counſel; howbeit they ſhould be of good Chear, for that the God whom he ſerved and worſhipped,

had the laſt Night purpoſely ſent an Angel from Heaven, to let him know, that notwithſtanding the preſent Danger they were in, yet he ſhould be brought ſafe before *Nero*; that they ſhould be ſhipwreck'd indeed, and caſt upon an Iſland, but that for his Sake God had ſpared all the Ship, not one whereof ſhould miſcarry; and that he did not doubt, but that it would accordingly come to paſs. On the fourteenth Night, upon ſounding, they found themſelves nigh ſome Coaſt; and therefore, to avoid Rocks, thought good to come to an Anchor, till the Morning might give them better Information. In the mean Time the Seamen (who beſt underſtood the Danger) were preparing to get into the Skiff, to ſave themſelves; which St. *Paul* eſpying, told the Captain, that unleſs they all ſtaid in the Ship, none could be ſafe; whereupon the Soldiers cut the Ropes, and let the Skiff fall off into the Sea. Between this and Day-break the Apoſtle adviſed them to eat and refreſh themſelves, having all this while kept no ordinary and regular Diet, aſſuring them they ſhould all eſcape. Himſelf firſt taking Bread, and having bleſſed God for it before them all, the reſt followed his Example, and chearfully fell to their Meat, which done, they lightned the Ship of what remained, and endeavoured to put into a Creak, which they diſcovered not far off: But falling into a Place where two Seas met, the Fore-part of the Ship ran a-ground, while the hinder-part was beaten in pieces with the Violence of the Waves. Awakened with the Danger they were in, the Soldiers cried out to kill the Priſoners, to prevent their Eſcape; which the Captain, deſirous to ſave St. *Paul*, and probably in Confidence of what he had told them, refuſed

refuſed to do; commanding, that every one ſhould ſhift for himſelf: The Iſſue was, that partly by ſwimming, partly on Planks, partly on Pieces of the broken Ship, they all, to the Number of two hundred threeſcore and ſixteen (the whole Numbet in the Ship) got ſafe to Shore.

The Iſland upon which they were caſt was *Melita* (now *Malta*) ſituate in the *Lybian* Sea, between *Syracuſe* and *Africk*. Here they found Civility among *Barbarians*, and the plain Acknowledgments of a divine Juſtice imprinted upon the naked and untutored Notions of Mens Minds. The People treated them with great Humanity, entertaining them with all neceſſary Accommodations; but while St. *Paul* was throwing Sticks upon the Fire, a Viper, diſlodged by the Heat, came out of the Wood, and faſtned on his Hand. This the People no ſooner eſpied, but preſently concluded, that ſurely he was ſome notorious Murderer, whom though the divine Vengeance had ſuffered to eſcape the Fury of the Sea, yet had it only reſerved him for a more publick and ſolemn Execution: But when they ſaw him ſhake it off into the Fire, and not preſently ſwell, and drop down, they changed their Opinions, and concluded him to be ſome God. So eaſily are light and credulous Minds tranſported from one Extreme to another. Not far off lived *Publius*, a Man of great Eſtate and Authority, and Governor of the Iſland, by him they were courteouſly entertained three Days at his own Charge; and his Father lying at that Time ſick of a Fever and a Dyſentery, St. *Paul* went in, and having prayed, and laid his Hands upon him, healed him; as he did alſo many of the Inhabitants, who by this Miracle

were encouraged to bring their Diſeaſed to him: Whereby great Honours were heaped upon him, and both he and his Company furniſhed with Proviſions neceſſary for the reſt of their Voyage. Nay *Publius* himſelf is ſaid by ſome to have been hereby converted to the Faith, and by St. *Paul* to have been conſtituted Biſhop of that Iſland, and that this was he that ſucceeded St. *Denys* the *Areopagite* in the See of *Athens*, and was afterwards crowned with Martyrdom.

After three Months ſtay in this iſland, they went aboard the *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, a Ship of *Alexandria*, bound for *Italy*. At *Syracuſe* they put in, and ſtaid three Days; thence ſailed to *Rhegium*, and ſo to *Puteoli*, where they landed, and finding ſome *Chriſtians* there, ſtaid a Week with them, and then ſet forward on their Journey to *Rome*. The *Chriſtians* at *Rome* having heard of their Arrival, ſeveral of them came Part of the Way to meet them, ſome as far as the *Three Taverns*, a Place thirty-three Miles from *Rome*, others as far as *Appii Forum*, fifty-one Miles diſtant thence. Great was their mutual Salutation, and the Encouragement which the Apoſtle received by it; glad, no doubt, to ſee that *Chriſtians* found ſo much Liberty at *Rome*. By them he was conducted in a kind of Triumph into the City, where, when they were arrived, the reſt of the Priſoners were delivered to the Captain of the Guard, and by him diſpoſed in the common Goal, while St. *Paul* (probably at *Julius* his Requeſt and Recommendation) was permitted to ſtay in a private Houſe, only with a Soldier to ſecure and guard him.

The firſt Thing St. *Paul* did after he came to *Rome*, was to ſummon the Heads of the *Jewiſh* Con-

Conſiſtory there, whom he acquainted with the Cauſe and Manner of his Coming; that though he had been guilty of no Violation of the Law of their Religion, yet had he been delivered by the *Jews* into the Hands of the *Roman* Governors, who would have acquitted him once and again as innocent of any capital Offence, but by the Perverſeneſs of the *Jews* he was forced, not with an Intention to charge his own Nation (already ſufficiently odious to the *Romans*) but only to vindicate and clear himſelf, to make his Appeal to *Cæſar*; that being come, he had ſent for them, to let them know, that it was for his conſtant aſſerting the *Reſurrection*, the Hope of all true *Iſraelites*, that he was bound with that Chain which they ſaw upon him. The *Jews* replied, that they had received no Advice concerning him, nor had any of the Nation that came from *Judea*, brought any Charge againſt him; only for the Religion which he had eſpouſed, they deſired to be a little better informed about, it being every where decried both by *Jew* and *Gentile*. Accordingly, upon a Day appointed, he diſcourſed to them from Morning to Night concerning the Religion and Doctrine of the Holy *Jeſus*, proving from the Promiſes and Predictions of the *Old Teſtament*, that he was the true *Meſſiah*. His Diſcourſe ſucceeded not with all alike, ſome being convinced, others perſiſting in their Infidelity: And as they were departing in ſome Diſcontent with each other, the Apoſtle told them, it was now too plain, God had accompliſhed upon them the prophetical Curſe, of being left to their own wilful Hardneſs and Impenitency, to be blind at Noon-day, and to run themſelves againſt all Means and Methods into irrecoverable Ruin: That ſince the Caſe was thus

with

with them, they must expect, that henceforth he should turn his Preaching to the *Gentiles*, who would be most ready to entertain what they had so scornfully rejected, the glad Tidings of the Gospel.

It was not, probably, long after this, that he was brought to his first Hearing before the Emperor, where those Friends, whom he most expected should stand by him, plainly deserted him, afraid it seems of appearing in so tickliſh a Cause before so unreasonable a Judge, who governed himself by no other Measures than the brutiſh and extravagant Pleasure of his Lust or Humour. But God stood by him, and encouraged him; as indeed divine Consolations are many Times then nearest to us, when human Assistances are farthest from us. This Cowardice of theirs the Apostle had a Charity large enough to cover, heartily praying, that it might not be brought in against them in the Accounts of the great Day. Two Years he dwelt at *Rome* in an House which he had hired for his own Use, wherein he constantly employed himself in preaching and writing for the Good of the Church. He preached daily, without Interruption, to all that came to him, and with good Success; yea, even upon some of the better Rank and Quality, and those belonging to the Court itself. Among which the *Roman Martyrologie* reckons *Torpes*, an Officer of prime Note in *Nero*'s Palace, and afterwards a Martyr for the Faith; and *Chryſoſtome* (if *Baronius* cites him right) tells us of *Nero*'s Cupbearer, and one of his Concubines, supposed by some to have been *Poppæa Sabina*; of whom *Tacitus* gives this Character, that she wanted nothing to render her one of the most accomplished Ladies in the World, but a chaſt

chaſt and virtuous Mind: And I know not how far it may ſeem to countenance her Converſion, at leaſt Inclination to a better Religion than that of *Paganiſm*, that *Joſephus* ſtiles her a pious Woman, and tells us, that ſhe effectually ſolicited the Cauſe of the *Jews* with her Husband *Nero*; and what Favours *Joſephus* himſelf received from her at *Rome*, he relates in his own Life.

Amongſt others of our Apoſtle's Converts at *Rome* was *Oneſimus*, who had formerly been Servant to *Philemon*, a Perſon of Eminency in *Coloſſe*; but had run away from his Maſter, and taken Things of ſome Value with him. Having rambled as far as *Rome*, he was now converted by St. *Paul*, and by him returned with recommendatory Letters to *Philemon* his Maſter, to beg his Pardon, and that he might be received into Favour, being now of a much better Temper, more faithful and diligent, and uſeful to his Maſter than he had been before: As indeed *Chriſtianity*, where it is heartily entertained, makes Men good in all Relations, no Laws being ſo wiſely contrived for the Peace and Happineſs of the World, as the Laws of the Goſpel, as may appear from this particular Caſe of Servants; what admirable Rules, what ſevere Laws does it lay upon them for the Diſcharge of their Duties! it commands them to honour their Maſters as their Superiors, and to take heed of making their Authority light and cheap, by familiar and contemptible Thoughts and Carriages; to obey them in all honeſt and lawful Things, and that *not with Eye-ſervice as Men-pleaſers, but in Singleneſs of Heart as unto God*; that they be faithful to the Truſt committed to them, and manage their Maſter's Intereſt with as much Care and Conſcience as if it were their own; that they entertain

tain their Reproofs, Counſels, and Corrections, with all Silence and Sobriety, not returning any rude ſurly Anſwers; and this Carriage to be obſerved, not only to Maſters of a mild and gentle, but of a croſs and peeviſh Diſpoſition, that *whatever they do, they do it heartily, not as to Men only, but to the Lord; knowing that of the Lord they ſhall receive the Reward of the Inheritance, for that they ſerve the Lord* Chriſt. Imbibed with theſe excellent Principles, *Oneſimus* is again returned unto his Maſter; for the *Chriſtian* Religion, though it improves Mens Tempers, does not cancel their Relations, it teaches them to abide in their Callings. and *not to deſpiſe their Maſters, becauſe they are Brethren, but rather do them Service, becauſe they are faithful:* And being thus improved, St. *Paul* the more confidently begged his Pardon. And indeed had not *Philemon* been a *Chriſtian,* and by the Principles of his Religion both diſpoſed and obliged to Mildneſs and Mercy, there had been great Reaſon why St. *Paul* ſhould be thus importunate with him for *Oneſimus*'s Pardon, the Caſe of Servants in thoſe Days being very hard; for all Maſters were looked upon as having an unlimited Power over their Servants, and that not only by the *Roman,* but by the Laws of all Nations, whereby, without asking the Magiſtrate's Leave, or any publick and formal Trial, they might adjudge and condemn them to what Work or Puniſhment they pleaſed, even to the taking away of Life itſelf. But the Severity and Exorbitancy of this Power was afterwards ſomewhat curb'd by the Laws of ſucceeding Emperors, eſpecially after the Empire ſubmitted itſelf to *Chriſtianity,* which makes better Proviſion for Perſons in that Capacity and Relation,

Relation, and in caſe of unjuſt and over-rigorous Uſage, enables them to appeal to a more righteous impartial Tribunal, where Maſter and Servant ſhall both ſtand upon even Ground, *where he that doeth Wrong ſhall receive for the Wrong which he hath done; and there is no Reſpect of Perſons.*

The *Chriſtians* at *Philippi* having heard of St. *Paul*'s Impriſonment at *Rome*, and not knowing what Straits he might be reduced to, raiſed a Contribution for him, and ſent it by *Epaphroditus* their Biſhop, who being now come to *Rome*, he ſhortly after fell dangerouſly ſick: But being recovered, and upon the Point to return, by him St. *Paul* ſent his Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, wherein he gives them ſome Account of the State of Affairs at *Rome*, gratefully acknowledges their Kindneſs to him, and warns them of thoſe dangerous Opinions, which the *Judaizing* Teachers began to vent among them. The Apoſtle had heretofore for ſome Years lived at *Epheſus*, and perfectly underſtood the State and Condition of that Place; and therefore now by *Tychicus* writes his Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, endeavouring to countermine the Principles and Practices both of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*; to confirm them in the Belief and Obedience of the *Chriſtian* Doctrine; to repreſent the infinite Riches of the divine Goodneſs, in admitting the *Gentile* World to the unſearchable Treaſures of *Chriſtianity*; eſpecially preſſing them to expreſs the Life and Spirit of it in the general Duties of Religion, and in the Duties of their particular Stations. Much about the ſame Time, or a little after, he wrote his Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, where he had never been, and ſent it by *Epaphras*, who for ſome Time had been his Fellow-priſoner at *Rome*. The Deſign of

it is, for the greateſt Part, the ſame with that to the *Epheſians*, to ſettle and confirm them in the Faith of the Goſpel, againſt the Errors both of *Judaiſm*, and the ſuperſtitious Obrervances of the *Heathen* World, ſome whereof had taken Root amongſt them.

It is not improbable but that about this, or rather ſome conſiderable Time before, St. *Paul* wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*. I know *Euſebius*, and the Antients, and moſt Moderns after them, will have it written a little before his Martyrdom, induced thereto by that Paſſage in it, that he was then *ready to be offered, and that the Time of his Departure was at Hand.* But ſurely 'tis moſt reaſonable to think, that it was written at his firſt being at *Rome*, and that at his firſt coming thither, preſently after his Trial before *Nero*. Accordingly the Paſſage before-mentioned may import no more, than that he was in imminent Danger of his Life, and had received the Sentence of Death in himſelf, not hoping to eſcape out of the Paws of *Nero*: But that *God had delivered him out of the Mouth of the Lion, i. e.* the great Danger he was in at his coming thither: Which exactly agrees to his Caſe at his firſt being at *Rome*, but cannot be reconciled with his laſt coming thither; together with many more Circumſtances in this Epiſtle, which render it next door to certain. In it he appoints *Timothy* ſhortly to come to him, who accordingly came, whoſe Name is joined together with his in the Front of ſeveral Epiſtles, to the *Philippians*, *Coloſſians*, and to *Philemon*. The only Thing that can be levelled againſt this is, that in his Epiſtle to *Timothy*, he tells him, that he had ſent *Tychicus* to *Epheſus*, by whom 'tis plain that the Epiſtles

ſtles to the *Epheſians* and *Philippians* were diſpatched; and that therefore this to *Timothy* muſt be written after them. But I ſee no Inconvenience to affirm, that *Tychicus* might come to *Rome* preſently after St. *Paul*'s arrival there, be by him immediately ſent back to *Epheſus* upon ſome emergent Affair of that Church; and, after his return to *Rome*, be ſent with thoſe two Epiſtles. The Deſign of this Epiſtle was to excite the holy Man to a mighty Zeal and Diligence, Care and Fidelity in his Office, and to antidote the People againſt thoſe poiſonous Principles that in thoſe Parts eſpecially began to debauch the Minds of Men.

As for the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, 'tis very uncertain when, or whence, and (for ſome Ages doubted) by whom 'twas written. *Euſebius* tells us, it was not received by many, becauſe rejected by the Church of *Rome*, as none of St. *Paul*'s genuine Epiſtles. *Origen* affirms the Style of it to be more fine and elegant, and to contain in it a richer Vein of purer *Greek*, than is uſually found in St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles; as every one that is able to judge of a Style, muſt needs confeſs: That the Sentences indeed are grave and weighty, and ſuch as breathe the Spirit and Majeſty of an Apoſtle: That therefore 'twas his Judgment, that the Matter contained in it had been dictated by ſome Apoſtle, but that it had been put into Phraſe, Form, and Order, by ſome other Perſon that did attend upon him: That if any Church owned it for St. *Paul*'s, they were not to be condemned, it not being without Reaſon by the Ancients aſcribed to him; though God only knew who was the true Author of it. He farther tells us, that Report had handed it down to his Time, that it had been com-

poſed partly by *Clemens* of *Rome*, partly by *Luke* the Evangeliſt. *Tertullian* adds, that it was writ by *Barnabas*. What ſeems moſt likely in ſuch Variety of Opinions is, that St. *Paul* originally wrote it in *Hebrew*, it being to be ſent to the *Jews* his Countrymen, and by ſome other Perſon, probably St. *Luke*, or *Clemens Romanus*, tranſlated into *Greek*; eſpecially ſince both *Euſebius* and St. *Hierom* obſerved of old ſuch a great Affinity both in Style and Senſe between this and *Clement*'s Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, as thence poſitively to conclude him to be the Tranſlator of it. It was written, as we may conjecture, a little after he was reſtored to his Liberty, and probably while he was yet in ſome Parts of *Italy*, whence he dates his Salutations. The main Deſign of it is to magnify *Chriſt* and the Religion of the Goſpel, above *Moſes* and the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy and Miniſtration, that by this Means he might the better eſtabliſh and confirm the Convert-*Jews* in the firm Belief of *Chriſtianity*, notwithſtanding thoſe Sufferings and Perſecutions that came upon them; endeavouring throughout to arm and fortify them againſt Apoſtaſy from that noble and excellent Religion, wherein they had ſo happily engaged themſelves. And great need there was for the Apoſtle ſeverely to urge them to it, heavy Perſecutions both from *Jews* and *Gentiles* preſſing in upon them on every Side, beſides thoſe Trains of ſpecious and plauſible Inſinuations that were laid to reduce them to their ancient Inſtitutions. Hence the Apoſtle calls Apoſtaſy *the Sin which did ſo eaſily beſet them*; to which there were ſuch frequent Temptations, and into which they were ſo prone to be betrayed in thoſe ſuffering Times. And the more to deter them from

from it, he once and again ſets before them the dreadful State and Condition of Apoſtates; thoſe who have been once enlightened, and baptized into the *Chriſtian* Faith, taken the Promiſes of the Goſpel, and been made Partakers of the miraculous Gift of the Holy Ghoſt, theſe Powers which, in the World to come, or this new State of Things, were to be conferred upon the Church, if after all this *theſe Men fall away*, and renounce *Chriſtianity*, 'tis very hard, and even *impoſſible to renew them again unto Repentance:* For by this Means *they trod under Foot*, and *crucified the Son of God afreſh, and put him to an open Shame*, profaned *the blood of the Covenant*, and *did Deſpite to the Spirit of Grace.* So that *to ſin* thus *wilfully after they had received the Knowledge of the Truth, there* could *remain* for them *no more Sacrifice for Sins*, nothing *but a certain fearful looking for of Judgment and fiery Indignation, which ſhould devour* theſe *Adverſaries:* And *a fearful Thing it was* in ſuch Circumſtances *to fall into the Hands of the living God*, who had particularly ſaid of this Sort of Sinners, *that if any Man drew back, his Soul ſhould have no Pleaſure in him.* Hence it is that every where in this Epiſtle he mixes Exhortations to this Purpoſe, that *they would give earneſt Heed to the Things which they had heard, leſt at any Time they ſhould let them ſlip*; that *they would hold faſt the Confidence, and the Rejoycing of the Hope firm unto the End*, and *beware leſt by an evil Heart of Unbelief they departed from the living God*; that they would *labour to enter into his Reſt, leſt any Man fall after the Example of Unbelief*; that *leaving the* firſt *Principles of the Doctrine of* Chriſt, *they would go on to Perfection, ſhewing Diligence to the full Aſſurance of Hope unto the End, not being ſlothful, but Fol-*

lowers

lowers of them, who through Faith and Patience inherit the Promiſes; that they would *hold faſt the Profeſſion of the Faith without wavering, not forſaking the aſſembling of themſelves together* (*as the Manner of ſome was*) nor *caſt away their Confidence, which had great Recompence of Reward*; that *they had need of Patience, that after they had done the Will of God, they might receive the Promiſe*; that they *would not be of them who drew back unto Perdition, but of them that believed to the ſaving of the Soul*; that *being encompaſſed about with ſo great a Cloud of Witneſſes*, who with the moſt unconquerable Conſtancy and Reſolution had all holden on in the Way to Heaven, *they would lay aſide every Weight, and the Sin which did ſo eaſily beſet them, and run with Patience the Race that was ſet before them*; eſpecially *looking unto* Jeſus *the Author and Finiſher of their Faith, who endured the Croſs, and deſpiſed the Shame*, that therefore *they ſhould conſider him that endured ſuch Contradiction of Sinners againſt himſelf, leſt they ſhould be wearied and faint in their Minds*, for that *they had not yet reſiſted unto Blood, ſtriving againſt Sin*; *looking diligently leſt any Man ſhould fail of the Grace of God, leſt any Root of Bitterneſs ſpringing up ſhould trouble them, and thereby many be defiled.* By all which, and much more that might be obſerved to this Purpoſe, it is evident, what our Apoſtle's great Deſign was in this excellent Epiſtle.

Our Apoſtle being now, after two Years Cuſtody, perfectly reſtored to Liberty, remember'd that he was *the Apoſtle of the Gentiles*, and had therefore a larger Dioceſe than *Rome*, and accordingly prepared himſelf for a greater Circuit; tho' which Way he directed his Courſe, is not abſolutely certain. By ſome he is ſaid to have returned back

back into *Greece*, and the Parts of *Aſia*, upon no other Gtound, that I know of, than a few Intimations in ſome of his Epiſtles, that he intended to do ſo. By others he is thought to have preached both in the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Parts, which is not inconſiſtent with the Time he had after his Departure from *Rome*. But of the latter we have better Evidence; for *Clemens*, who was cotemporary and Fellow-labourer with St. *Paul*, in his famous Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, expreſly tells us, that being a Preacher both in the *Eaſt* and the *Weſt*, he taught Righteouſneſs to the whole World, and went to *the utmoſt Bounds of the Weſt*: Which makes me the more wonder at the Confidence of one (otherwiſe a Man of great Parts and Learning) who ſo peremptorily denies that ever our Apoſtle preached in the *Weſt*, merely becauſe there are no Monuments left, in primitive Antiquity, of any particular Churches founded by him: As if all the particular Paſſages of Life, done at ſo vaſt a Diſtance, muſt needs have been recorded, or thoſe Records have come down to us, when it is ſo notoriouſly known, that almoſt all the Writings and Monuments of thoſe firſt Ages of *Chriſtianity*, are long ſince periſhed; or, as if we were not ſufficiently aſſured of the Thing in general, though not of what Particular he did there. Probably it is, that he went into *Spain*; a Thing which himſelf tells us he had formerly once and again reſolved on: Certain it is that the Antients do generally aſſert it, without ſeeming in the leaſt to doubt it. *Theodoret* and others tell us, that he preached not only in *Spain*, but that he went to other Nations, and brought the Goſpel into the *Iſles of the Sea*, by which he undoubtedly means *Britain*, and therefore elſewhere reckons the *Gauls* and *Britains* among

among the Nations, which the Apoſtles, and particularly the *Tent-maker* perſuaded to embrace the Law of *Chriſt*. Nor is he the only Man that has ſaid it, others having given in their Teſtimony and Suffrage in this Caſe.

To what other Parts of the World St. *Paul* preached the Goſpel, we find no certain Footſteps in Antiquity, nor any farther Mention of him, till his Return to *Rome*, which probably was about the eighth or ninth Year of *Nero*'s Reign. Here he met with *Peter*, and was together with him thrown into Priſon, no doubt in the general Perſecution raiſed againd the *Chriſtians*, under the Pretence that they had fired the City. Beſides the general, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe there were particular Cauſes of his Impriſonment. Some of the Ancients make him engaged with *Peter* in procuring the Fall of *Simon Magus*, and that that derived the Emperor's Fury and Rage upon him: St. *Chryſoſtome* gives this Account; that having converted one of *Nero*'s Concubines, a Woman of whom he was infinitely fond, and reduced her to a Life of great Strictneſs and Chaſtity, ſo that now ſhe wholly refuſed to comply with his wanton and impure Embraces; the Emperor ſtormed hereat, calling the Apoſtle a Villain and Impoſtor, a wretched Perverter and Debaucher of others, giving Orders that he ſhould be caſt into Priſon; and when he ſtill perſiſted to perſuade the Lady to continue her chaſte and pious Reſolutions, commanded him to be put to Death.

How long he remained in Priſon, is not certainly known; at laſt his Execution was reſolved on; what his preparatory Treatment was, whether he was ſcourged, as Malefactors were wont to be, in order

St. LUKE CHAP. V. Ver. 8.

Peter astonished at the Draught of Fishes threw himself at Jesus's Feet.

order to their Death, we find not. As a *Roman* Citizen, by the *Valerian* and *Porcian* Law, he was exempted from it: Though by the Law of the Twelve Tables, notorious Malefactors, condemned by the *Centuriate* Aſſembles, were firſt to be ſcourged, and then put to Death: And *Baronius* tells us, that in the Church of St. *Mary beyond the Bridge*, in *Rome*, the Pillars are yet extant to which both *Peter* and *Paul*, are ſaid to have been bound and ſcourged. As he was led to Execution, he is ſaid to have converted three of the Soldiers that were ſent to conduct and guard him; who, within a few Days after by the Emperor's Command, became Martyrs for the Faith. Being come to the Place, which was the *Aquæ Salviæ*, three Miles from *Rome*; after ſome ſolemn Preparation, he chearfully gave his Neck to the fatal Stroke. As a *Roman* he might not be put upon the Croſs, too infamous a Death for any but the worſt of Slaves and Malefactors, and therefore beheading was accounted a more noble kind of Death, not among the *Romans* only, but among other Nations, as being fitter for Perſons of better Quality, and more ingenuous Education: And from this Inſtrument of his Execution, the Cuſtom, no doubt, firſt aroſe, that in all Pictures and Images of this Apoſtle, he is conſtantly repreſented with a Sword in his Right-hand. Tradition reports (juſtified herein, by the Suffrage of many of the Fathers) that when he was beheaded, a Liquor more like Milk than Blood, flowed from his Veins, and ſpirted upon the Clothes of his Executioner; and St. *Chryſoſtom* adds, that it became a Means of converting his Executioner, and many more to the Faith; and that the Apoſtle ſuffered in the

ſixty-eighth Year of his Age. Some Queſtion there is, whether he ſuffered at the ſame Time with *Peter*: Many of the Antients poſitively affirm, that both ſuffered on the ſame Day and Year; but others, though allowing the ſame Day, tell us, that St *Paul* ſuffered not till the Year after; nay, ſome interpoſe the Diſtance of ſeveral Years. A Manuſcript Writing of the Lives and Travels of *Peter* and *Paul*, brought amongſt other venerable Monuments of Antiquity out of *Greece*, will have *Paul* to have ſuffered no leſs than five Years after *Peter*, which he juſtifies by the Authority of no leſs than *Juſtin Martyr* and *Irenæus*. But what Credit is to be given to this nameleſs Author, I ſee not, and therefore lay no Weight upon it, nor think it fit to be put into the Balance with the Teſtimonies of the Antients. Certainly, if he ſuffered not at the very ſame Time with *Peter*, it could not be long after, not above a Year at moſt. The beſt is, which of them ſoever ſtarted firſt, they both came at laſt to the ſame End of the Race, to thoſe Palms and Crowns which are reſerved for all good Men in Heaven, but moſt eminently for the Martyrs of the *Chriſtian* Faith.

He was buried in the *Via Oſtienſis*, about two Miles from *Rome*, over whoſe Grave, about the Year CCCXVIII. *Conſtantine the Great*, at the Inſtance of Pope *Sylveſter*, built a ſtately Church, within a Farm which *Lucina*, a noble *Chriſtian* Matron of *Rome* had long before ſettled upon that Church: He adorned it with an hundred of the beſt Marble Columns, and beautified it with the moſt exquiſite Workmanſhip; the many rich Gifts and Endowments which he beſtowed upon it, being particularly ſet down in the Life of *Sylveſter*.

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This Church, as being too little and narrow for the Honour of ſo great an Apoſtle, *Valentinian*, or rather *Theodoſius* the Emperor, (the one but finiſhing what the other began) by a Reſcript, directed to *Salluſtus* Prefect of the City, cauſed it to be taken down, and a larger and more noble Church to be built in the room of it; it was farther beautified (as appears from an antient Inſcription) by *Placidia* the Empreſs, at the Perſuaſion of *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*. What other Additions of Wealth, Honour or Statelineſs it has received ſince, concerns not me to enquire.

Though we have drawn St. *Paul* at large, in the Account we have given of his Life, yet may it be of uſe to repreſent him in little, in a brief Account of his Perſon, Parts, and thoſe Graces and Virtues, for which he was more peculiarly eminent and remarkable. For his Perſon, we find it thus deſcribed: He was low, and of little Stature, and ſomewhat ſtooping, his Complexion fair, his Countenance grave, his Head ſmall, his Eyes carrying a kind of Beauty and Sweetneſs in them, his Eye-brows a little hanging over, his Noſe long, but gracefully bending, his Beard thick, and like the Hair of his Head, mixed with gray Hairs. Somewhat of this Deſcription may be learnt from *Lucian*, when in the Perſon of *Trypho*, one of St. *Paul*'s Diſciples, he calls him by way of Deriſion, *high-noſed, bald-pated Galilean*, that was caught up through the Air unto the third Heaven. He ſeems to have enjoyed no very firm and athletick Conſtitution, being often ſubject to Diſtempers; St. *Hierom* particularly reports, that he was frequently afflicted with the Head-ach, and that this was thought by many to have been *the Thorn in*

the Fleſh, the Meſſenger of Satan ſent to buffet him; and that probably he intended ſome ſuch Thing, by *the Temptation in his Fleſh*, which he elſewhere ſpeaks of; which, however, it may in general ſignify thoſe Afflictions that came upon him, yet does it primarily denote thoſe Diſeaſes and Infirmities that he was obnoxious to.

But how mean ſoever the Cabinet was, there was a Treaſure within more precious and valuable, as will appear, if we ſurvey the Accompliſhments of his Mind. For as to natural Abilities and Endowments, he ſeems to have had a clear and ſolid Judgment, quick Invention, and a prompt and ready Memory; all which were abundantly improved by Art, and the Advantages of a moſt liberal Education. The Schools of *Tarſus* had ſharpned his diſcurſive Faculty by Logick and the Arts of Reaſoning, inſtructed him in the Inſtitutions of Philoſophy, and enriched him with the Furniture of all kinds of human Learning. This gave him great Advantage above others, and even raiſed him to a mighty Reputation for Parts and Learning, inſomuch that St. *Chryſoſtome* tells us of a Diſpute between a *Chriſtian* and a *Heathen*, wherein the *Chriſtian* endeavoured to prove againſt the *Gentile*, that St. *Paul* was more learned and eloquent that *Plato* himſelf. How well he was verſed, not only in the Law of *Moſes*, and the Writings of the Prophets, but even in the claſſic and foreign Writers, he has left us ſufficient Ground to conclude, from thoſe excellent Sayings, which here and there he quotes out of *Heathen* Authors: Which as at once it ſhews, that 'tis not unlawful to bring the Spoils of *Egypt* into the Service of the Sanctuary, and to make uſe of the Advantages of foreign

foreign Studies, and human Literature, to divine and excellent Purpoſes, ſo does it argue his being greatly converſant in the Paths of human Learning, which, upon every Occaſion he could ſo readily command. Indeed he ſeemed to have been furniſhed out on purpoſe to be the *Doctor of the Gentiles*, to contend with, and confute the Grave and the Wiſe, the Acute and the Subtile, the Sage and the Learned of the *Heathen* World, and to wound them (as *Julian*'s Word was) with Arrows drawn out of their own Quiver: Though we do not find, that in his Diſputes with the *Gentiles* he made much Uſe of Learning and Philoſophy; it being more agreeable to the Deſigns of the Goſpel, to confound the Wiſdom and Learning of the World, by the plain Doctrine of the Croſs.

Theſe were great Accompliſhments, and yet but a Shadow to that divine Temper of Mind that was in him, which diſcovered it ſelf through the whole Courſe and Method of his Life: He was humble to the loweſt Step of Abaſure and Condeſcenſion, none ever thinking better of others, or more meanly of himſelf; though when he had to deal with envious and malicious Adverſaries, who by villifying his Perſon, ſought to obſtruct his Miniſtry, he knew how to magnify his Office, and to let them know, that he was *no whit inferior to the chieſeſt Apoſtle*; yet, out of this Caſe he conſtantly declared to all the World, that he looked upon himſelf as an Abortive, and an untimely Birth, as *the leaſt of the Apoſtles, not meet to be called an Apoſtle*; and, as if this was not enough, he makes Words on Purpoſe to expreſs his Humility, ſtiling himſelf *leſs than the leaſt of all Saints*, yea, *the very chief of Sinners*. How freely,

freely, and that at every Turn, does he confeſs what he was before his Converſion, a Blaſphemer, a Perſecutor, and injurious both to God and Men? Though honoured with peculiar Acts of the higheſt Grace and Favour, taken up to an immediate Converſe with God in Heaven, yet did not this ſwell him with a ſupercilious Loftineſs over the reſt of his Brethren: Intruſted he was with great Power and Authority in the Church, but never affected *Dominion over Mens Faith*, nor any other Place, than to be an *Helper of their Joy*, nor ever made uſe of his Power, but to the *Edification*, not *Deſtruction* of any. How ſtudiouſly did he decline all Honours and Commendations that were heaped upon him; when ſome in the Church of *Corinth* cried him up beyond all Meaſure, and under the Patronage of his Name began to ſet up for a Party, he ſeverely rebuking them, told them, that it was *Chriſt*, not he that was crucified for them; that they had *not been baptized into his Name*, which he was ſo far from, that he did not remember that he had baptized above three or four of them, and was heartily glad he had baptized no more, leſt a Foundation might have been laid for that Suſpicion; that this *Paul*, whom they ſo much extolled, was no more than a *Miniſter of Chriſt*, whom our Lord had appointed to plant and build up his Church.

Great was his Temperance and Sobriety, ſo far from going beyond the Bounds of Regularity, that he abridged himſelf of the Conveniencies of lawful and neceſſary Accommodations; frequent were his Hungrings and Thirſtings, not conſtrained only, but voluntary; it is probably thought that he very rarely drank any Wine, certain, that by Ab-

Abſtinence and Mortification, he *kept under and ſubdued his Body*, reducing the Extravagancy of the ſenſual Appetites to a perfect Subjection to the Laws of Reaſon. By this Means he eaſily got above the World, and its Charms and Frowns, and his Mind continually converſant in Heaven, his Thoughts were fixed there, his Deſires always aſcending thither, what he taught others, he practiſed himſelf; his *Converſation was in Heaven*, and his *Deſires were to depart, and to be with* Chriſt: this World did neither arreſt his Affections, nor diſturb his Fears, he was not taken with its Applauſe, nor frighted with its Threatnings; he *ſtudied not to pleaſe Men*, nor valued the Cenſures and Judgments which they paſſed upon him; he was not greedy of a great Eſtate, or Titles of Honour, or rich Preſents from Men, not *ſeeking theirs, but them*; Food and Raiment was his Bill of Fare, and for more than this he never cared, accounting that the leſs he was clogged with theſe Things, the lighter he ſhould march to Heaven, eſpecially travelling through a World over-run with Troubles and Perſecutions. Upon this Account it is probable he kept himſelf always within a ſingle Life, though there want not ſome of the Antients, who expreſly reckon him in the Number of the married Apoſtles, as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Ignatius*, and ſome others: 'Tis true that this Paſſage is not to be found in the genuine Epiſtle of *Ignatius*, but yet it is extant in all thoſe that are owned and publiſhed by the Church of *Rome*, though they have not been wanting to baniſh it out of the World, having expunged St. *Paul*'s Name out of ſome antient Manuſcrips, as the learned Biſhop *Uſher* has, to their Shame, ſufficiently diſcovered to the World. But for the Main

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of the Queſtion we can readily grant it, the Scripture ſeeming moſt to favour it, that though he aſſerted his Power and Liberty to marry as well as the reſt, yet that he lived always a ſingle Life.

His Kindneſs and Charity was truly admirable; he had a compaſſionate Tenderneſs for the Poor, and a quick Senſe of the Wants of others. To what Church ſoever he came, it was one of his firſt Cares to make Proviſion for the Poor, and to ſtir up the Bounty of the Rich and Wealthy; nay, himſelf worked often with his own Hands, not only to maintain himſelf, but to help and relieve them. But infinitely greater was his Charity to the Souls of Men, fearing no Dangers, refuſing no Labours, going through good and evil Report, that he might gain Men over to the Knowledge of the Truth, reduce them out of the crooked Paths of Vice and Idolatry, and ſet them in the right Way to eternal Life; nay, ſo inſatiable was his Thirſt after the Good of Souls, that he affirms, that rather than his Countrymen, the *Jews*, ſhould miſcarry by not believing and entertaining the Goſpel, he could be content, nay wiſhed that *himſelf might be accurſed before* Chriſt, *for their Sakes*, *i. e.* that he might be anathematized and cut off from the Church of *Chriſt*, and not only loſe the Honour of the Apoſtolate, but be reckoned in the Number of the abject and execrable Perſons, ſuch as thoſe are who are ſeparated from the Communion of the Church: An Inſtance of ſo large and paſſionate a Charity, that leſt it might not find room in Men's Belief, he uſhered it in with this ſolemn Appeal and Atteſtation, that *he ſaid the Truth in* Chriſt, *and lyed not, his Conſcience bearing him Witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt.*

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And as he was infinitely ſollicitous to gain Men over to the beſt Religion in the World, ſo was he not leſs careful to keep them from being ſeduced from it; ready to ſuſpect every Thing that might *corrupt their Minds from the Simplicity that is in* Chriſt. *I am jealous over you with a godly Jealouſy*, as he told the Church of *Corinth*: An Affection, of all others the moſt active and vigilant, and which is wont to inſpire Men with the moſt paſſionate Care and Concernment for the Good of thoſe, for whom we have the higheſt Meaſures of Love and Kindneſs. Nor was his Charity to Men greater than his Zeal for God, endeavouring, with all his Might, to promote the Honour of his Maſter. Indeed Zeal ſeems to have had a deep Foundation in the natural Forwardneſs of his Temper: How exceeding zealous was he, while in the *Jewiſh* Religion, for the Traditions of his Fathers, how earneſt to vindicate and aſſert the Divinity of the *Moſaic* Diſpenſation, and to perſecute all of a contrary Way, even to Rage and Madneſs? And when afterwards turned into a right Channel, it ran with as ſwift a Current, carrying him out againſt all Oppoſition to ruin the Kingdom and the Power of Darkneſs, to beat down Idolatry, and to plant the World with right Apprehenſions of God and the true Notions of Religion. When at *Athens* he ſaw them ſo much overgrown with the groſſeſt Superſtition and Idolatatry, giving the Honour that was alone due to God, to Statues and Images, his Zeal began to ferment, and to boil up into Paroxiſms of Indignation, and he could not but let them know the Reſentments of his Mind, and how much herein they diſhonoured God, the great Parent and Maker of the World.

This Zeal muſt needs put him upon a mighty Diligence and Induſtry in the Execution of his Office, warning, reproving, entreating, perſuading, *preaching in Seaſon and out of Seaſon*, by Night and by Day, by Sea and Land; no Pains too much to be taken; no Dangers too great to be overcome. For thirty-five Years after his Converſion, he ſeldom ſtaid long in one Place; from *Jeruſalem* he travelled into *Arabia*, *Aſia*, and *Greece*, round about to *Illyricum*, to *Rome* and even to the utmoſt Bounds of the *Weſtern* World, *fully preaching the Goſpel of* Chriſt. *Nicephorus* compares him to a Bird in the Air, that in a few Years flies round the World; *Iſidore* the *Peluſiot* to a winged Husbandman, that flew from Place to Place, to cultivate the World with the moſt excellent Rules and Inſtitutions of Life: And while the other Apoſtles did, as 'twere chuſe this or that particular Province, as the main Sphere of their Miniſtry, St. *Paul* over-ran the whole World to its utmoſt Bounds and Corners, planting all Places where he came, with the divine Doctrines of the Goſpel. Nor in this Courſe was he tired out with the Dangers and Difficulties that he met with, or the Troubles and Oppoſitions that were raiſed againſt him. All which did but reflect the greater Luſtre upon his Patience, whereof indeed (as *Clement* obſerves) he became a moſt eminent Pattern and Example; enduring the greateſt Troubles and Perſecutions, with a Patience triumphant and unconquerable; as it will eaſ[illegible]r, if we take but a Survey of what Tri[illegible]erings he underwent; ſome Part whereo[illegible]ummed up by himſelf: *In Labours a[illegible] Stripes above Meaſure, in Priſons frequ[illegible], in Deaths oft; thrice beaten with Rods, once ſtoned, thrice ſuffered Ship-*

Shipwreck, a Night and a Day in the Deep: In Journeyings often, in Perils of Waters, in Perils of Robbers, in Perils by his own Countrymen, in Perils by Heathens, *in Perils in the City, in Perils in the Wilderneſs, in Perils in the Sea, in Perils among falſe Brethren; in Wearineſs, in Painfulneſs, in Watchings often, in Hunger and Thirſt; in Faſtings often, in Cold and Nakedneſs: And beſides theſe Things that were without, that which daily came upon him, the Care of all the Churches.* An Account, though very great, yet far ſhort of what he endured, and wherein, as *Chryſoſtom* obſerves, he does modeſtly keep himſelf within his Meaſures; for had he taken the Liberty fully to have enlarged himſelf, he might have filled hundreds of Martyrologies with his Sufferings: A thouſand Times was his Life at Stake; in every Suffering he was a Martyr, and what fell but in Parcels upon others, came all upon him; while they skirmiſhed only with ſingle Parties, he had the whole Army of Sufferings to contend with. All which he generouſly underwent with a Soul as calm and ſerene as the Morning Sun; no Spite or Rage, no Fury, no Storms could ruffle and diſcompoſe his Spirits: Nay, thoſe Sufferings which would have broken the Back of an ordinary Patience, did but make him riſe up with the greater Eagerneſs and Reſolution for the doing of his Duty.

His Patience will yet farther appear from the Conſideration of another, the laſt of thoſe Virtues we ſhall take notice of in him, his Conſtancy and Fidelity in the Diſcharge of his Place, and in the Profeſſion of Religion. Could the Powers and Policies of Men and Devils, Spite and Oppoſitions,

Torments and Threatnings have been able to baffle him out of that Religion wherein he had engaged himſelf, he muſt have ſunk under them, and left his Station; but his Soul was ſteel'd with a Courage and Reſolution that was impenetrable, and which no Temptation, either from Hopes or Fears could make any more Impreſſion upon, than an Arrow can that's ſhot againſt a Wall of Marble. He wanted not Solicitations on either Hand, both from the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and queſtionleſs might, in ſome Degree, have made his own Terms, would he have been falſe to his Truſt, and have quitted that Way. that was then every where ſpoken againſt. But alas! theſe Things weighed little with our Apoſtle, who *counted not his Life to be dear unto him, ſo that he might finiſh his Courſe with Joy, and the Miniſtry which he had received of the Lord* Jeſus: And therefore, when under thhe Sentence of Death, in his own Apprehenſions could triumphingly ſay, *I have fought a good Fight, I have finiſhed my Courſe, I have kept the Faith:* And indeed he kept it inviolably, undauntedly to the laſt Minute of his Life. The Sum is, he was a Man in whom the divine Life did eminently manifeſt and diſplay itſelf; he lived piouſly and devoutly, ſoberly, and temperately, juſtly and righteouſly, careful *always to keep a Conſcience void of Offence towards God and Man.* This he tells us was his Support under Sufferings, this the Foundation of his Confidence towards God, and his firm Hopes of Happineſs in another World: *This is our Rejoycing, the Teſtimony of our Conſcience, that in Simplicity and godly Sincerity we have had our Converſation in the World.*

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It is not the leaſt Inſtance of his Care and Fidelity in his Office, that he did not only preach and plant *Chriſtianity* in all Places whither he came; but what he could not perſonally do, he ſupplyed by Writing. Fourteen Epiſtles he left upon Record, by which he was not only inſtrumental in propagating the *Chriſtian* Religion at firſt, but has been uſeful to the World ever ſince, in all Ages of the Church. We have all along, in the Hiſtory of his Life, taken particular Notice of them, in due Place and Order; we ſhall here only make ſome general Obſervations and Remarks upon them, and that as to the Stile and Way wherein they are written, their Order, and the Subſcriptions that are added to them. For the Apoſtle's Stile and Manner of Writing, it is plain and ſimple, and though not ſet off with the elaborate Artifices and affected Additionals of human Eloquence, yet grave and majeſtical; and that, by the Confeſſion of his very Enemies, *his Letters* (ſay they) *are weighty and powerful.* Nor are there wanting in them ſome Strains of Rhetorick, which ſufficiently teſtify his Ability that Way, had he made it any Part of his Study and Deſign. Indeed St. *Hierom* is ſometimes too rude and bold in his Cenſures of St. *Paul*'s Stile and Character. He tells us, that being an *Hebrew* of the *Hebrews*, and admirably skill'd in the Language of his Nation, he was greatly defective in the *Greek* Tongue, (though a late great Critick is of another Mind, affirming him to have been as well, or better skilled in *Greek*, than in *Hebrew*, or in *Syriac*) wherein he could not ſufficiently expreſs his Conceptions in a way becoming the Majeſty of his Senſe and the Matter he delivered, nor tranſmit

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the Elegancy of his native Tongue into another Language: That hence he became obſcure and intricate in his Expreſſions, guilty many Times of Soleciſms, and ſcarce tolerable Syntax, and that therefore 'twas not his Humility, but the Truth of the Thing that made him ſay, that *he came not with the Excellency of Speech, but in the Power of God.* A Cenſure, from any other than St. *Hierom*, that would have been juſtly wondered at; but we know the Liberty that he takes to cenſure any, though the Reverence due to ſo great an Apoſtle might, one would think, have challenged a more modeſt Cenſure at his Hands: However, elſewhere he cries him up as a great Maſter of Compoſition; that as oft as he heard him, he ſeemed to hear not Words but Thunder; that in all his Citations he made uſe of the moſt prudent Artifices, uſing ſimple Words, and which ſeemed to carry nothing but Plainneſs along with them, but which way ſoever a Man turned, breathed Force and Thunder: He ſeems entangled in his Cauſe, but catches all that comes near him; turns his Back, as if intending to fly, when it is only that he may overcome.

St. *Peter* long ſince obſerved, that in *Paul*'s Epiſtles there were *ſome Things hard to be underſtood*; which ſurely is not altogether owing to the Profoundneſs of his Senſe, and the Myſteriouſneſs of the Subject that he treats of, but in ſome Degree to his Manner of Expreſſion; his frequent *Hebraiſms*, (common to him with all the holy Writers of the *New Teſtament*) his peculiar Forms and Ways of Speech, his often inſerting *Jewiſh* Opinions, and yet but tacitly touching them; his uſing ſome Words in a new and uncommon Senſe;

but

but above all, his frequent and abrupt Tranſitions, ſuddenly ſtarting aſide from one Thing to another, whereby his Reader is left at a Loſs, not knowing which Way to follow him, not a little contrbuting to the perplex'd Obſcurity of his Diſcourſes. *Irenæus* took notice of old, that St *Paul* makes frequent uſe of theſe *Hyperbata*, by Reaſon of the Swiftneſs of his Arguings, and the great Fervour and Impetuoſity that was in him, leaving many Times the deſigned Frame and Texture of his Diſcourſe, not bringing in what ſhould have immediately connected the Senſe and Order, till ſome Diſtance after; which, indeed, to Men of a more nice and delicate Temper, and who will not give themſelves Leave patiently to trace out his Reaſonings, muſt needs create ſome Obſcurity. *Origen* and St. *Hierom* ſometimes obſerve, that beſides this, he uſes many of his native Phraſes of the *Cilician* Dialect, which being in a great Meaſure foreign and exotic to the ordinary *Greek*, introduces a kind of Strangeneſs into his Diſcourſe, and renders it leſs intelligible. *Epiphanius* tells us, that by theſe Methods he acted like a skilful Archer, hitting the Mark, before his Adverſaries were aware of it; by Words miſplaced making the Frame of his Diſcourſe ſeem obſcure and entangled, while in itſelf it was not only moſt true, but elaborate, and not difficult to be underſtood; that to careleſs and trifling Readers it might ſometimes ſeem diſſonant and incoherent, but to them that are diligent, and will take their Reaſon along with them, it would appear full of Truth, and to be diſpoſed with great Care and Order.

As for the Order of theſe Epiſtles, we have already given a particular Account of the Time when,

when, and the Places where they were written. That which is here conſiderable, is the Order, according to which they are diſpoſed in the ſacred Canon. Certain it is, that they are not placed according to the juſt Order of Time, wherein they were written; the two Epiſtles to the *Theſſalonians*, being on all hands agreed to have been firſt written, though ſet almoſt laſt in Order. Moſt probable therefore it is, that they were placed according to the Dignity of thoſe to whom they were ſent; the Reaſon why thoſe to Churches have the Precedency of thoſe to particular Perſons; and among thoſe to Churches, that to the *Romans* had the firſt Place and Rank aſſigned to it, was becauſe of the Majeſty of the Imperial City, and the Eminency and honourable Reſpect which that Church derived thence; and whether the ſame Reaſon do not hold in others, though I will not poſitively aſſert, yet I think none will over-confidently deny. The laſt Enquiry concerns the Subſcriptions, added to the Epiſtles, which, were they authentic, would determine ſome Doubts concerning the Time and Place of their writing: But alas! they are of no juſt Value and Authority, not the ſame in all Copies, different in the *Syriac* and *Arabic* Verſions; nay, wholly wanting in ſome antient *Greek* Copies of the *New Teſtament*, and were, doubtleſs at firſt, added at beſt, upon probable Conjectures. When at any Time they truly repreſent the Place whence, or the Perſon by whom the Epiſtle was ſent, 'tis not that they are to be relied upon in it, but becauſe the Thing is either intimated or expreſſed in the Body of the Epiſtle. I ſhall add no more but this Obſervation, that St. *Paul* was wont to ſubſcribe every Epiſtle with his own Hand, *which is my Token in every Epiſtle*;

Epiſtle; ſo I write. Which was done (ſays one of the Antients) to prevent Impoſtures, that his Epiſtles might not be interpolated and corrupted; and that if any vented Epiſtles under his Name, the Cheat might be diſcovered by the Apoſtle's own Hand not being to them: And this brings me to the laſt Conſideration, that ſhall conclude this Chapter.

That there were ſome even in the moſt early Ages of *Chriſtianity*, who took upon them (for what Ends I ſtand not now to enquire) to write Books, and publiſh them under the Name of ſome Apoſtle, is notoriouſly known to any, though but never ſo little converſant in Church Antiquities. Herein St. *Paul* had his Part and Share, ſeveral ſuppoſititious Writings being fathered and thruſt upon him. We find a Goſpel aſcribed by ſome of the Antients to him, which ſurely aroſe from no other Cauſe, but that in ſome of his Epiſtles he makes mention of *my Goſpel*; which, as St. *Hierom* obſerves, can be meant of no other than the Goſpel of St. *Luke*, his conſtant Attendant, and from whom he chiefly derived his Intelligence. If he wrote another Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, precedent to thoſe two extant at this Day, as he ſeems to imply in a Paſſage of the firſt Epiſtle, *I have wrote to you in an Epiſtle, not to keep Company, &c.* a Paſſage not conveniently applicable to any Part either in that or the other Epiſtle; nay, a Verſe or two after the firſt Epiſtle is directly oppoſed to it; all that can be ſaid in the Caſe is, that it long ſince periſhed, the Divine Providence not ſeeing it neceſſary to be preſerved for the Service of the Church. Frequent Mention there is alſo of an Epiſtle of his to the *Laodiceans*, ground

ed upon a miſtaken Paſſage in the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians:* But, beſides that, the Apoſtle does not there ſpeak of an Epiſtle written to the *Laodiceans*, but of one from them; *Tertullian* tells us, that by the Epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*, is meant that to the *Epheſians*, and that *Marcion* the Heretick was the firſt that changed the Title; and therefore in his Enumeration of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, he omits that to the *Epheſians*, for no other Reaſon, doubtleſs, but that according to *Marcion*'s Opinion, he had reckoned it up under the Title of that to the *Laodiceans:* Which yet is more clear, if we conſider that *Epiphanius*, citing a Place quoted by *Marcion* out of the Epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*, it is the very ſame Words found in that to the *Epheſians* at this Day. However, ſuch an Epiſtle is ſtill extant, forged, no doubt, before St. *Hierom*'s Time, who tells us, that it was read by ſome, but exploded and rejected by all. Beſides theſe, there was his *Revelation*, called alſo his *Aſcenſion*, grounded on his Ecſtaſy or Rapture into Heaven, firſt forged by the *Cainian* Hereticks, and in great Uſe and Eſteem among the *Gnoſticks*. *Gozomen* tells us, that this *Apocalypſe* was owned by none of the Antients, though much commended by ſome Monks in his Time; and he farther adds, that in the Time of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, it was ſaid to have been found in a Cheſt of Marble under-ground in St. *Paul*'s Houſe at *Tarſus*, and that by a particular Revelation: A Story, which upon Enquiry he found to be as falſe, as the Book itſelf was ſpurious and forged. The *Acts* of St. *Paul* are mentioned both by *Origen* and *Euſebius*, but not as a Writing of approved and unqueſtionable Credit and Authority.

rity. The Epiſtles that are ſaid to have paſſed between St. *Paul* and *Seneca*, how early ſoever they ſtarted in the Church, yet the Falſhood and Fabulouſneſs of them is now too notoriouſly known, to need any farther Account or Deſcription of them.

Though our Lord and his Apoſtles delivered the *Chriſtian* Religion, eſpecially as to the main and eſſential Parts of it, in Words as plain as Words could expreſs it, yet were there Men of perverſe and *corrupt Minds, and reprobate concerning the Faith*, who, from different Cauſes, ſome ignorantly or wilfully miſtaking the Doctrines of *Chriſtianity*, others to ſerve ill Purpoſes and Deſigns, began to introduce Errors and unſound Opinions into the Church, and to debauch the Minds of Men from the Simplicity of the Goſpel; hereby diſquieting the Thoughts, and alienating the Affections of Men, and diſturbing the Peace and Order of the Church. The firſt Ringleader of this heretical Crew was *Simon Magus*, who not being able to attain his Ends of the Apoſtles, by getting a Power to confer miraculous Gifts, whereby he deſigned to advance and enrich himſelf, reſolved to be revenged of them, ſcattering the moſt poiſonous Tares among the good Wheat that they had ſown, bringing in the moſt pernicious Principles, and as the natural Conſequence of that, patronizing the moſt debauched and villainous Practices, and this under a Pretence of ſtill being *Chriſtians*. To enumerate the ſeveral *Dogmata* and damnable Hereſies, firſt broached by *Simon*, and then vented and propagated by his Diſciples and Followers, who, though paſſing under different Titles, yet all centered at laſt in the Name of *Gnoſticks*, (a Term which we ſhall ſometimes

uſe for Conveniency, though it took not Place till after St. *Paul*'s Time) were as needleſs, as 'tis alien to my Purpoſe. I ſhall only take Notice of a few of more ſignal Remark, and ſuch as St. *Paul*, in his Epiſtles, does eminently reflect upon.

Amongſt the Opinions and Principles of *Simon* and his Followers, this was one, That God did not create the World, that it was made by Angels; that divine Honours were due to them, and they to be adored as ſubordinate Mediators between God and us. This our Apoſtle ſaw growing up apace, ſtruck betimes at the Root, in that early Caution he gave to the *Coloſſians*, to *let no Man beguile them in a voluntary Humility and worſhipping of Angels, intruding into thoſe Things which he hath not ſeen, vainly puft up by his fleſhly Mind, and not holding the Head, i. e.* hereby diſclaiming *Chriſt*, the Head of the Church. But notwithſtanding this Warning, this Error ſtill continued, and ſpread itſelf in thoſe Parts for ſeveral Ages, till expreſly condemned by the *Laodicean* Council. Nay, *Theodoret* tells us, that in his Time there were ſtill Oratories erected to the Archangel *Michael*, in thoſe Places, wherein they were wont to meet and pray to Angels. Another *Gnoſtick* Principle was, that Men might freely and indifferently eat what had been offered in Sacrifice to Idols, yea ſacrifice to the Idol itſelf, it being lawful, confidently to abjure the faith in Time of Perſecution. The firſt Part hereof St. *Paul* does largely and frequently diſcuſs up and down his Epiſtles; the latter, wherein the Sting and Poiſon was more immediately couched, was craftily adapted to thoſe Times of Suffering, and greedily ſwallowed by many, hereby drawn into Apoſtaſy. Againſt this

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our Apoſtle antidotes the *Chriſtians*, eſpecially the *Jewiſh* Converts, among whom the *Gnoſticks* had mixed themſelves, that they would not ſuffer themſelves to be drawn aſide by *an evil Heart of Unbelief in departing from the living God:* That notwithſtanding Sufferings and Perſecutions, they would *hold faſt the Profeſſion of the Faith without wavering, not forſaking the aſſembling of themſelves together, as the Manner of ſome is* (the *Gnoſtick* Heretick) remembring how ſeverely God has threatned Apoſtates, that *if any Man draw back, his Soul ſhall have no Pleaſure in him*, and *what a fearful Thing it is thus to fall into the Hands of the living God.*

Beſides this, *Simon* and his Followers made the Gate yet wider, maintaining an univerſal Licence to Sin; that Men were free to do whatever they had a Mind to; that to preſs the Obſervance of good Works, was a Bondage inconſiſtent with the Liberty of the Goſpel; that ſo Men did but believe in him, and his *Helen*, they had no Reaſon to regard Law or Prophet, but might do what they pleaſed, they ſhould be ſaved by his Grace, and not according to good Works. *Irenæus* adds, (what a Man might eaſily have inferred, had he never been told it) that they lived in all Luſt and Filthineſs; as indeed, whoever will take the Pains to peruſe the Account that is given of them, will find that they wallowed in the moſt horrible and unheard of Beaſtialities. Theſe Perſons St. *Paul* does as particularly deſcribe, as if he had named them, having once and again, with Tears warned the *Philippians* of them, that *they were Enemies of the Croſs of* Chriſt, *whoſe End is Deſtruction, whoſe God is their Belly, and whoſe Glory*

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is in their Shame, who mind earthly Things. And elſewhere to the ſame Effect, that they would *mark them that cauſed Diviſions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which they had learned, and avoid them; for they that were ſuch, ſerved not our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *but their own Belly; by good Words and fair Speeches deceiving the Hearts of the Simple.* This we doubt not he had in his Eye, when he gave thoſe Caveats to the *Epheſians*, that *Fornication and all Uncleanneſs, and inordinate Deſires, ſhould not be once named amongſt them, as became Saints, nor Filthineſs, nor unclean Talkings*; being aſſured, by the *Chriſtian* Doctrine, that *no Whoremonger, nor unclean Perſon*, &c. could be ſaved; that therefore *they ſhould let no Man deceive them with vain Words; theſe being the very Things for which the Wrath of God came upon the Children of Diſobedience*, and accordingly it concerned them *not to be Partakers with them.* Plainly intimating, that this impure *Gnoſtick* Crew (whoſe Doctrines and Practices he does here no leſs truly than lively repreſent) had begun by crafty and inſinuating Arts to ſcrew itſelf into the Church of *Epheſus*, cheating the People with ſubtile and flattering Inſinuations, probably perſuading them that theſe Things were but indifferent, and a Part of that *Chriſtian* Liberty, wherein the Goſpel had inſtated them. By theſe and ſuch like Principles and Practices (many whereof might be reckoned up) they corrupted the Faith of *Chriſtians*, diſtracted the Peace of the Church, ſtained and defiled the Honour and Purity of the beſt Religion in the World.

But the greateſt and moſt famous Controverſy that of all others exerciſed the *Chriſtian* Church, was

was concerning the Obligation that *Chriſtians* were under to obſerve the Law of *Moſes* as neceſſary to their Juſtification and Salvation. Which, becauſe a Matter of ſo much Importance, and which takes up ſo great a Part of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, and the clearing whereof will reflect a great Light upon them, we ſhall conſider more at large: In order whereunto three Things eſpecially are to be enquired after; the true State of the Controverſy; what the Apoſtles determined in this Matter; and, what Reſpect the moſt material Paſſages in St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles about Juſtification and Salvation bear to this Controverſy. Firſt we ſhall enquire into the true State and Nature of the Controverſy; and for this we are to know, that when *Chriſtianity* was publiſhed in the World, it mainly prevailed among the *Jews*, they being generally the firſt Converts to the Faith. But having been brought up in a mighty Reverence and Veneration for the *Moſaic* Inſtitutions, and looking upon that Oeconomy as immediately contrived by God himſelf, delivered by Angels, ſettled by their great Maſter *Moſes*, received with the moſt ſolemn and ſenſible Appearances of divine Power and Majeſty, ratified by Miracles, and entertained by all their Forefathers as the peculiar Prerogative of that Nation for ſo many Ages and Generations, they could not eaſily be brought off from it, or behold the Goſpel but with an evil Eye, as an Enemy that came to ſupplant and undermine this antient and excellent Inſtitution. Nay, thoſe of them that were prevailed upon by the convictive Power and Evidence of the Goſpel, to embrace the *Chriſtian* Religion, yet could not get over the Prejudice of Education, but muſt ſtill continue their Obſervance of thoſe legal Rites and Cuſtoms, wherein they had

had been brought up. And not content with this, they began magiſterially to impoſe them upon others, even all the *Gentile* Converts, as that without which they could never be accepted by God in this, or rewarded by him in another World. This Controverſy was firſt ſtarted at *Antioch*, a Place not more remarkable for its own Greatneſs than the vaſt Number of *Jews* that dwelt there, enjoying great Immunities granted them by the King of *Syria*. For after that *Antiochus Epiphanes* had deſtroyed *Jeruſalem*, and laid waſte the Temple, the *Jews* generally flocked hither, where they were courteouſly entertained by his Succeſſors, the Spoils of the Temple reſtored to them for the enriching and adorning their Synagogue, and they made, equally with the *Greeks*, Freemen of that City. By which Means their Numbers increaſed daily, partly by the Reſort of others from *Judea*, partly by a numerous Converſion of Proſelytes, whom they gained over to their Religion. Accordingly *Chriſtianity*, at its firſt ſetting out, found a very ſucceſsful Entertainment in this Place. And hither it was that ſome of the *Jewiſh* Converts being come down from *Jeruſalem*, taught the *Chriſtians*, that unleſs they obſerved Circumciſion, and the whole Law of *Moſes*, they could not be ſaved. *Paul* and *Barnabas*, then at *Antioch*, obſerving the ill Influence that this had upon the Minds of Men, (diſturbing many at preſent, and cauſing the Apoſtaſy of ſome afterwards) began vigorouſly to oppoſe this growing Error; but not able to conjure down this Spirit that had been raiſed up, they were diſpatched by the Church at *Antioch* to conſult the Apoſtles and Governors at *Jeruſalem* about this Matter: Whither being come, they found the Quarrel eſpouſed, among others, by ſome Converts

St. Luke Chap. II. Ver. 28.

The Child Jesus presented in the Temple on the eigth Day to be Circumcised.

verts of the Sect of the *Phariſees* (of all others the moſt zealous Aſſertors of the *Moſaic* Rites) ſtiffly maintaining, that beſides the Goſpel or the *Chriſtian* Religion, it was neceſſary for all Converts, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, to keep to Circumciſion, and the Law of *Moſes*. So that the State of the Controverſy between the Orthodox and thoſe *Judaizing Chriſtians* was plainly this; *Whether Circumciſion and the Obſervation of the* Moſaic *Law*; *or, only the Belief and Practice of* Chriſtianity, *be neceſſary to Salvation?* The latter Part of the Queſtion was maintained by the Apoſtles, the former aſſerted by the *Judaizing* Zealots, making the Law of *Moſes* equally neceſſary with the Law of *Chriſt*; and no doubt pretending, that whatever theſe Men might preach at *Antioch*, yet the Apoſtles were of another Mind; whoſe Sentence and Reſolution it was therefore thought neceſſary ſhould be immediately known.

We are then next to conſider what Determination the Apoſtolick Synod at *Jeruſalem* made of this Matter. For a Council of the Apoſtles and Rulers being immediately convened, and the Queſtion by *Paul* and *Barnabas* brought before them, the Caſe was canvaſſed and debated on all Hands; and at laſt it was reſolved upon by their unanimous Sentence and Suffrage, that the *Gentile* Converts were under no Obligation to the *Jewiſh* Law; that God had abundantly declared his Acceptance of them, though Strangers to the *Moſaical* Oeconomy; that they were ſufficiently ſecured of their Happineſs and Salvation by the Grace of the Goſpel, wherein they might be juſtified and ſaved without Circumciſion or legal Ceremonies, a Yoke from which *Chriſt* had now ſet us free. But be-

cauſe the Apoſtles did not think it prudent in theſe Circumſtances, too much to ſtir the exaſperated Humour of the *Jews* (leſt by ſtraining the String too high at firſt, they ſhould endanger their revolting from the Faith) therefore they thought of ſome Indulgence in the Caſe; St. *James*, then Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and probably Preſident of the Council, propounding this Expedient, that for the preſent the *Gentile* Converts ſhould ſo far only comply with the Humour of the *Jews*, as to *abſtain from Meats offered to Idols, from Blood, from Things ſtrangled, and from Fornication.* Let us a little more diſtinctly ſurvey the Ingredients of this Impoſition: *Meats offered to Idols*, or as St. *James* in his Diſcourſe ſtiles them, *the Pollution of Idols*, the *Greek* Word properly denoting the Meats that were polluted by being conſecrated to Idols. Thus we read of *polluted Bread upon God's Altar*, *i. e.* ſuch probably as had been before offered to Idols. So that theſe Meats offered to Idols were Parts of thoſe Sacrifices which the Heathens offered to their Gods; of the remaining Portions whereof they uſually made a Feaſt in the Idol-temple, inviting their Friends thither, and ſometimes their *Chriſtian* Friends to come along with them. This God had particularly forbidden the *Jews* by the Law of *Moſes*, *Thou ſhalt worſhip no other God; leſt thou make a Covenant with the Inhabitants of the Land, and go a whoring after their Gods, and do ſacrifice unto their Gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his Sacrifice.* And the not obſerving this Prohibition coſt the *Jews* dear, when invited by the *Moabites* to the Service of their Gods, *they did eat with them, and bowed down to their Gods.* Sometimes theſe remaining Portions were ſold

ſold for common Uſe in the Shambles, and bought by *Chriſtians*. Both which gave great Offence to the zealous *Jews*, who looked upon it as a Participation in the Idolatries of the Heathen: Of both which our Apoſtle diſcourſes elſewhere at large, preſſing *Chriſtians* to abſtain from Idolatry, both as to the Idol Feaſts, and the Remainders of the Sacrifice: From the former, as more immediately unlawful; from the latter, the Sacrificial-Meats ſold in the Shambles, as giving Offence to weak and undiſcerning *Chriſtians*. For though in itſelf *an Idol was nothing in the World*, and conſequently no Honour could be done it by eating what was offered to it; yet was it more prudent and reaſonable to abſtain, partly becauſe Fleſh-meats have no peculiar Excellency in them to commend us to God; partly becauſe all Men not being alike inſtructed in the Knowledge of their Liberty, their Minds eaſily were puzled, and their Conſciences entangled, the *Gentiles* by this Means hardned in their idolatrous Practices, and weak Brethren offended; beſides, though theſe Things were in their own Nature indifferent, and in a Man's own Power to do, or to let alone, yet was it not convenient to make our Liberty a Snare to others, and to venture upon what was lawful, when it was plainly unedifying and inexpedient. *From Blood:* This God forbad of old, and that ſometime before the giving of the Law by *Moſes*, that *they ſhould not eat the Fleſh with the Blood, which was the Life thereof.* The Myſtery of which Prohibition was to inſtruct Men in the Duties of Mercy and Tenderneſs even to brute Beaſts, but (as appears from what follows after) primarily deſigned by God as a ſolemn Fence and Bar againſt

Murder, and the Effuſion of human Blood. A Law afterwards renewed unto the *Jews*, and inſerted into the Body of the *Moſaic* Precepts. *From Things ſtrangled:* That is, that they ſhould abſtain from eating of thoſe Beaſts that died without letting Blood, where the Blood was not throughly drained from them; a Prohibition grounded upon the Reaſon of the former, and indeed was greatly abominable to the *Jews*, being ſo expreſly forbidden in their Law. But it was not more offenſive to the *Jews*, than acceptable to the *Gentiles*, who were wont with great Art and Care to ſtrangle living Creatures, that they might ſtew or dreſs them with their Blood in them, as a Point of curious and exquiſite Delicacy. This and the foregoing Prohibition, Abſtinence from Blood, died not with the Apoſtles, nor were buried with other *Jewiſh* Rites, but were inviolably obſerved for ſeveral Ages in the *Chriſtian* Church, as we have elſewhere obſerved from the Writers of thoſe Times. Laſtly, *From Fornication:* This was a Thing commonly practiſed in the *Heathen* World, who generally beheld ſimple Fornication as no Sin, and that it was lawful for Perſons, not engaged in Wedlock, to make uſe of Women that expoſed themſelves. A Cuſtom juſtly offenſive to the *Jews*, and therefore to cure two Evils at once, the Apoſtles here ſolemnly declare againſt it. Not that they thought it a Thing indifferent, as the reſt of the prohibited Rites were, for it is forbidden by the natural Law (as contrary to that Chaſtneſs and Modeſty, that Order and Comelineſs which God has planted in the Minds of Men) but they joined it in the ſame Claſs with them, becauſe the *Gentiles* looked upon it as a Thing lawful and indifferent

different. It had been expreſly forbidden by the *Moſaic* Law, *There ſhall be no Whore of the Daughters of* Iſrael; and becauſe the *Heathens* had generally thrown down this Fence and Bar ſet by the Law of Nature, it was here again repaired by the firſt Planters of *Chriſtianity*, as by St. *Paul* elſewhere, *Ye know what Commandments we gave you by the Lord* Jeſus; *for this is the Will of God, even your Sanctification, that ye ſhould abſtain from Fornication: That every one of you ſhould know how to poſſeſs his Veſſel in Sanctification and Honour, not in the Luſt of Concupiſcence, even as the* Gentiles *which know not God.* Though after all I muſt confeſs myſelf inclinable to embrace *Heinſius*'s ingenious Conjecture, that by *Fornication* we are here to unſtand *the Harlot's Hire*, or the Offering which thoſe Perſons were wont to make. For among the *Gentiles* nothing was more uſual, than for the common Women, that proſtituted themſelves to lewd Embraces (thoſe eſpecially that attended at the Temple of *Venus*) to dedicate ſome Part of their Gain, and preſent it to the Gods. *Athanaſius* has a Paſſage very expreſs to this Purpoſe: "The "Women of Old were wont to ſit in the Idol-"Temples of *Phœnicia*, and to dedicate the Gain "which they got by the Proſtitution of their Bo-"dies, as a kind of Firſt-fruits to the Deities of "the Place; ſuppoſing that by Fornication they "ſhould pacify their Goddeſs, and by this Means "render her favourable and propitious to them." Where 'tis plain he uſes the *Greek* Word ſignifying *Fornication*, in this very Senſe, for that Gain or Reward of it, which they conſecrated to their Gods. Some ſuch Thing *Solomon* had in his Eye, when he brings in the Harlot thus courting the young Man, *I have Peace-offerings with me, this*

Day

Day have I paid my Vows. Theſe Preſents were either made in Specie, the very Money thus unrighteouſly gotten, or in Sacrifices bought with it, and offered at the Temple, the Remainders whereof were ſold among the ordinary ſacrificial Portions. This, as it holds the neareſt Correſpondence with the reſt of the Rites here forbidden, ſo could it not chuſe but be a mighty Scandal to the *Jews*, it being ſo particularly prohibited in their Law, *Thou ſhalt not bring the Hire of an Whore into the Houſe of the Lord thy God for any Vow, for it is an Abomination to the Lord.*

Theſe Prohibitions here laid upon the *Gentiles*, were by the Apoſtles intended only for a temporary Compliance with the *Jewiſh* Converts, till they could by Degrees be brought off from their Stiffneſs and Obſtinacy, and then the Reaſon of the Thing ceaſing, the Obligation to it muſt needs ceaſe and fail. Nay, we may obſerve that even while the Apoſtolocal Decree laſted in its greateſt Force and Power, in thoſe Places where there were few or no *Jewiſh* Converts, the Apoſtle did not ſtick to give Leave, that except in Caſe of Scandal, any kind of Meats, even the Portions of the Idol-ſacrifices might be indifferently bought and taken by *Chriſtians* as well as *Heathens*. Theſe were all which, in order to the Satisfaction of the *Jews*, and for the preſent Peace of the Church, the Apoſtles thought neceſſary to require of the converted *Gentiles*, but that for all the reſt they were perfectly free from legal Obſervances, and obliged only to the Commands of *Chriſtianity*. So that the Apoſtolical Deciſion that was made of this Matter was this; *That (beſides the temporary Obſervation of thoſe few indifferent Rites before-mentioned) the Belief and Practice of the* Chriſtian *Religion was*

perfectly

perfectly ſufficient to Salvation, without Circumciſion, and the Obſervation of the Moſaic *Law.* This ſynodical Determination allayed the Controverſy for a while, being joyfully received by the *Gentile-Chriſtians.* But, alas! the *Jewiſh* Zeal began again to ferment and ſpread itſelf; they could not with any Patience endure to ſee their beloved *Moſes* deſerted, and thoſe venerable Inſtitutions trodden down; and therefore laboured to keep up their Credit, and ſtill to aſſert them as neceſſary to Salvation: Than which nothing created St. *Paul* greater Trouble at every Turn, being forced to contend againſt the *Judaizing* Teachers almoſt in every Church where he came; as appears by that great Part that they bear in all his Epiſtles, eſpecially that to the *Romans* and *Galatians*, where this Leaven had moſt diffuſed itſelf; whom the better to undeceive, he diſcourſes at large of the Nature and Inſtitution, the End and Deſign, the antiquating and aboliſhing of that *Moſaic* Covenant, which theſe Men laid ſo much Streſs and Weight upon.

Hence then we paſs to the third Thing conſiderable for clearing this Matter, which is to ſhew, that the main Paſſages in St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, concerning Juſtification and Salvation, have an immediate Reference to this Controverſy. But before we enter upon that, ſomething muſt neceſſarily be premiſed for the explaining ſome Terms and Phraſes frequently uſed by our Apoſtle in this Queſtion; theſe two eſpecially, what he means by *Law*, and what by *Faith.* By *Law* then 'tis plain he uſually underſtands the *Jewiſh* Law, which was a complex Body of Laws, containing moral, ceremonial, and judicial Precepts, each of which had its Uſe and Office as a great Inſtrument of Duty:

Duty: The *Judicial* Laws being peculiar Statutes accommodated to the State of the *Jews* Commonwealth, as all civil Conſtitutions, reſtrained Men from the external Acts of Sin: The *Ceremonial* Laws came ſomewhat nearer, and beſides their typical Relation to the evangelical State, by external and ſymbolical Repreſentations, ſignified and exhibited that ſpiritual Impurity, from which Men were to abſtain: The *Moral* Laws, founded in the natural Notions of Mens Minds concerning Good and Evil, directly urged Men to their Duty, and prohibited Prevarications. Theſe three made up the intire *Code* and *Pandects* of the *Jewiſh* Statutes; all which our Apoſtle comprehends under the general Notion of the *Law*, and not the moral Law ſingly and ſeparately conſidered, in which Senſe it never appears that the *Jews* expected Juſtification and Salvation by it; nay rather, that they looked for it meerly from the Obſervance of the ritual and ceremonial Law: So that the moral Law is no farther conſidered by him in this Queſtion, than as it made up a Part of the *Moſaical* Conſtitution, of that national and political Covenant, which God made with the *Jews* at Mount *Sinai*. Hence the Apoſtle all along in his Diſcourſes conſtantly oppoſes the Law and the Goſpel, and the Obſervation of the one to the Belief and Practice of the other; which ſurely he would not have done, had he ſimply intended the moral Law, it being more expreſly incorporated into the Goſpel than ever it was into the Law of *Moſes*. And that the Apoſtle does thus oppoſe the Law and Goſpel, might be made evident from the continued Series of his Diſcourſes, but a few Places ſhall ſuffice. *By what Law* (ſays the Apoſtle) *is Boaſting excluded? by the Law of Works? i. e.* by the *Moſaic*

ſaic Law, in whoſe peculiar Privileges and Prerogatives the *Jews* did ſtrangely flatter and pride themſelves? *Nay, but by the Law of Faith,* i. e. by the Goſpel, or the evangelical Way of God's dealing with us. And elſewhere giving an Account of this very Controverſy between the *Jewiſh* and *Gentile* Converts, he firſt oppoſes their Perſons, *Jews by Nature,* and *Sinners of the Gentiles,* and then infers, *that a Man is not juſtified by the Works of the Law,* by thoſe legal Obſervances, whereby the *Jews* expected to be juſtified, *but by the Faith of Chriſt,* by a hearty Belief of, and Compliance with that Way, which *Chriſt* has introduced; *for by the Works of the Law,* by legal Obedience, *no Fleſh,* neither *Jew,* nor *Gentile, ſhall* now *be juſtified. Fain would I learn, whether you received the Spirit by the Works of the Law, or by the hearing of Faith?* that is, whether you became Partakers of the miraculous Powers of the Holy Ghoſt, while you continued under the legal Diſpenſation, or ſince you embraced the Goſpel, and the Faith of *Chriſt:* And ſpeaking afterwards of the State of the *Jews* before the Revelation of the Goſpel, ſays he, *before Faith came, we were kept under the Law,* i. e. before the Goſpel came, we were kept under the Diſcipline of the legal Oeconomy, *ſhut up unto the Faith,* reſerved for the Diſcovery of the evangelical Diſpenſation, *which would afterwards* (in its due Time) *be revealed* to the World. This, in the following Chapter, he diſcourſes more at large: *Tell me, ye that deſire to be under the Law,* i. e. Ye *Jews* that ſo fondly dote upon the legal State, *Do ye not hear the Law,* i. e. underſtand what your own Law does ſo clearly intimate? and then goes on to unriddle what was wrapt up in the

famous Allegory of *Abraham*'s two Sons by his two Wives. The one, *Iſhmael*, born of *Hagar*, the Bond-woman, who denoted the *Jewiſh* Covenant made at Mount *Sinai*, which according to the Repreſentation of her Condition was a ſervile State: The other, *Iſaac*, born of *Sarah*, the Free-woman, was the Promiſe, denoting *Jeruſalem that is above, and is free, the Mother of us all*: i. e. The State and Covenant of the Goſpel, whereby all *Chriſtians*, as the ſpiritual Children of *Abraham*, are ſet free from the Bondage of the *Moſaic* Diſpenſation. By all which it is evident, that by Law, and the Works of the Law, in this Controverſy, the Apoſtle underſtands the Law of *Moſes*, and that Obedience which the legal Diſpenſation required at their Hands.

We are ſecondly to enquire, what the Apoſtle means by *Faith*; and he commonly uſes it two Ways. 1. More generally, for the Goſpel, or that evangelical Way of Juſtification and Salvation, which *Chriſt* has brought in, in Oppoſition to Circumciſion, and the Obſervation of thoſe Rites, by which the *Jews* expected to be juſtified; and this is plain from the preceding Oppoſition, where Faith, as denoting the Goſpel, is frequently oppoſed to the Law of *Moſes*. 2. Faith is taken more particularly, for a practical Belief, or ſuch an Aſſent to the evangelical Revelation as produces a ſincere Obedience to the Laws of it, and indeed as concerned in this Matter is uſually taken not for this or that ſingle Virtue, but for the entire Condition of the New Covenant, as comprehending all that Duty which it requires of us: Than which nothing can be more plain and evident; *In Chriſt Jeſus, i. e.* under the Goſpel, *neither Circumciſion availeth any Thing, nor Uncircumciſion*;

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'tis all one to Juſtification whether a Man be circumciſed or no; What then? *but Faith, which worketh by Love*; which afterwards he explains thus, *in* Chriſt Jeſus *neither Circumciſion availeth any Thing, nor Uncircumciſion, but a new Creature*, a renewed and divine Temper of Mind, and a new Courſe and State of Life. And, leſt all this ſhould not be thought plain enough, he elſewhere tells us, that *Circumciſion is nothing, and Uncircumciſion is nothing; but the keeping the Commandments of God.* From which Places there needs no Skill to infer, that that Faith whereby we are juſtified, contains in it a new Diſpoſition and State both of Heart and Life, and an Obſervation of the Laws of *Chriſt*; in which Reſpect the Apoſtle does in the very ſame Verſe expound *believing*, by *obeying of the Goſpel.* Such he aſſures us was that very Faith by which *Abraham* was juſtified, who againſt all Probabilities of Reaſon believed in God's Promiſe, *he ſtaggered not at the Promiſe of God through Unbelief, but was ſtrong*, &c. that is, he ſo firmly believed what God had promiſed, that he gave him the Glory of his Truth and Faithfulneſs, his infinite Power and Ability to do all Things. And how did he that? by acting ſuitably in a Way of intire Reſignation, and ſincere Obedience to the divine Will and Pleaſure: So the Apoſtle elſewhere more expreſly, *by Faith he obeyed, and went out, not knowing whither he went.* This Faith (he tells us) *was imputed to* Abraham *for Righteouſneſs*; that is, God, by Virtue of the New Covenant made in *Chriſt*, was graciouſly pleaſed to look upon this Obedience (though in itſelf imperfect) as that for which he accounted him, and would deal with him as a juſt and a righteous Man. And

upon this Account we find *Abraham*'s Faith oppoſed to a perfect and unſinning Obedience; for thus the Apoſtle tells us, that *Abraham* was juſtified by Faith, in Oppoſition to his being juſtified by ſuch an abſolute and compleat Obedience, as might have enabled him to challenge the Reward by the ſtrict Laws of Juſtice; whereas now his being pardoned and accepted by God in the Way of a mean and imperfect Obedience, it could not claim Impunity, much leſs a Reward, but muſt be intirely owing to the Divine Grace and Favour.

Having thus cleared our Way, by reſtoring theſe Words to their genuine and native Senſe, we come to ſhew, how the Apoſtle in his Diſcourſes does all along refer to the original Controverſy between the *Jewiſh* and *Gentile* Converts, whether Juſtification was by the Obſervation of the *Moſaic* Law, or by the Belief and Practice of the Goſpel: And this will appear, if we conſider the Perſons that he has to deal with, the Way and Manner of his arguing, and that there was then no other Controverſy on Foot, to which theſe Paſſages could refer. The Perſons whom he had to deal with, were chiefly of two ſorts, pure *Jews*, or *Jewiſh* Converts. Pure *Jews* were thoſe that kept themſelves wholly to the legal Oeconomy, and expected to be juſtified and ſaved in no other Way, than the Obſervation of the Law of *Moſes*. Indeed they laid a more peculiar Streſs upon Circumciſion, becauſe this having been added as the Seal of that Covenant which God made with *Abraham*, and the diſcriminating Badge whereby they were to be diſtinguiſhed from all other Nations, they looked upon it as having a ſpecial Efficacy in it to recommend them to the Divine Acceptance. Accordingly we find

find in their Writings that they make this the main Baſis and Foundation of their Hope and Confidence towards God. For they tell us, that the Precept of Circumciſion is greater than all the reſt, and equivalent to the whole Law; that the Reaſon why God hears the Prayers of the *Iſraelites*, but not of the *Gentiles* or *Chriſtians*, is for the Virtue and Merit of Circumciſion; yea, that *ſo great is the Power and Efficacy of the Law of Circumciſion, that no Man that is circumciſed ſhall go to Hell:* Nay, according to the idle and trifling Humour of theſe Men, they fetch down *Abraham* from the Seat of the Bleſſed, and place him as Porter at the Gates of Hell, upon no other Errand, than to keep circumciſed People from entering into that miſerable Place. However, nothing is more evident, than that Circumciſion was the Fort and Sanctuary wherein they ordinarily placed their Security; and accordingly we find St. *Paul* frequently diſputing againſt Circumciſion, as virtually comprizing, in their Notions, the keeping of the whole *Jewiſh* Law: Beſides, to theſe literal Impoſitions of the Law of *Moſes*, the *Phariſees* had added many vain Traditions, and ſeveral ſuperſtitious Uſages of their own Contrivance, in the Obſervance whereof the People placed not a little Confidence, as to the Righteouſneſs upon which they hoped to ſtand clear with Heaven: Againſt all theſe our Apoſtle argues, and ſometimes by Arguments peculiar to them alone. *Jewiſh* Converts were thoſe, who having embraced the *Chriſtian* Religion, did yet, out of Veneration to their antient Rites, make the Obſervance of them equally neceſſary with the Belief and Practice of *Chriſtianity* both to themſelves and others. Theſe laſt were the Perſons, who, as they firſt ſtarted

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the Controverſy, ſo were thoſe againſt whom the Apoſtle mainly oppoſed himſelf, endeavouring to diſmount their Pretences, and to beat down their Opinions level with the Ground.

This will yet farther appear from the Way and Manner of the Apoſtle's arguing, which plainly reſpects this Controverſy, and will be beſt ſeen in ſome particular Inſtances of his Reaſonings. And firſt, he argues that this Way of Juſtification urged by the *Jews* and *Jewiſh* Converts was inconſiſtent with the Goodneſs of God, and his univerſal Kindneſs to Mankind, being ſo narrow and limited, that it excluded the far greater Part of the World. Thus in the three firſt Chapters of his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, having proved at large that *the whole World, both* Jew *and* Gentile, *were under a State of Guilt*, and conſequently liable to the divine Sentence and Condemnation, he comes next to enquire by what Means they may be delivered from this State of Vengeance, and ſhews that it could not be by legal Obſervances, but that now there was a Way of Righteouſneſs or Juſtification declared by *Chriſt* in the Goſpel (intimated alſo in the *Old Teſtament*) extending to all both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, whereby God, with reſpect to the Satisfaction and Expiation of *Chriſt*, is ready freely to pardon and juſtify all penitent Believers: That therefore there was a Way revealed in the Goſpel, whereby a Man might be juſtified, without being beholden to the Rites of the *Jewiſh* Law, otherwiſe it would argue that God had very little Care of the greateſt Part of Men. *Is he God of the* Jews *only? Is he not alſo of the* Gentiles? *Yes, of the* Gentiles *alſo: Seeing it is one God, which ſhall juſtify the Circumciſion by Faith, and the Uncircumciſion through Faith,* Jew

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and *Gentile* in the ſame evangelical Way. The Force of which Argument lies in this, That that cannot be neceſſary to our Juſtification, which excludes the greateſt Part of Mankind from all Poſſibility of being juſtified (and this Juſtification by the *Moſaic* Law plainly does) a Thing by no Means conſiſtent with God's univerſal Love and Kindneſs to his Creatures. Hence the Apoſtle magnifies the Grace of the Goſpel; that it has broken down the Partition-Wall, and made Way for all Nations to come in, that *now there is neither* Greek *nor* Jew, *Circumciſion nor Uncircumciſion*, Barbarian *nor* Scythian, no Difference in this Reſpect, but *all one in* Jeſus Chriſt, all equally admitted to the Terms of Pardon and Juſtification, *in every Nation he that feareth God and worketh Righteouſneſs being accepted with him.*

Secondly, He argues, that this *Jewiſh* Way of Juſtification could not be indiſpenſibly neceſſary, in that it had not been the conſtant Way whereby good Men, in all Ages, had been juſtified and accepted with Heaven. This he eminently proves from the Inſtance of *Abraham*, whom the Scripture ſets forth as *the Father of the Faithful*, and the great Exemplar of that Way, wherein all his ſpiritual Seed, all true Believers were to be juſtified. Now of him it is evident that he was juſtified and accepted with God, upon his practical Belief of God's Power and Promiſe, before ever Circumcifion, and much more before the reſt of the *Moſaic* Inſtitution was in being. *Cometh this Bleſſedneſs then upon the Circumciſion only, or upon the Uncircumciſion alſo? For, we ſay that Faith was reckoned unto* Abraham *for Righteouſneſs. How was it then reckoned, when he was in Circumciſion, or in Uncircumciſion? Not in Circumciſion, but in Uncir-*

Uncircumciſion. And he received the Sign of Circumciſion, a Seal of the Righteouſneſs of the Faith which he had, being yet uncircumciſed, &c. The Meaning whereof is plainly this, That Pardon of Sin cannot be entailed upon the Way of the *Moſaic* Law, it being evident, that *Abraham* was juſtified and approved of God, before he was circumciſed, which was only added as a Seal of the Covenant between God and him, and a Teſtimony of that Acceptance with God, which he had obtained before. And this Way of God's Dealing with *Abraham*, and in him with all his ſpiritual Children, the legal Inſtitution could not make void, it being impoſſible that Diſpenſation, which came ſo long after ſhould diſannul the Covenant which God had made with *Abraham*, and his ſpiritual Seed, four hundred and thirty Years before. Upon this Account, as the Apoſtle obſerves, the Scripture ſets forth *Abraham* as the great Type and Pattern of Juſtification, as *the Father of all them that believe, though they be not circumciſed, that Righteouſneſs might be imputed to them alſo, and the Father of Circumciſion, to them who are not of the Circumciſion only, but alſo walk in the Steps of that Faith of our Father* Abraham, *which he had being yet uncircumciſed. They therefore that are of Faith, the ſame are the Children of* Abraham: *And the Scripture foreſeeing that God would juſtify the Heathen through Faith, preached before the Goſpel* (this evangelical Way of juſtifying) *unto* Abraham *ſaying, In thee ſhall all Nations be bleſſed*, that is, pardoned and ſaved, *with faithful Abraham.* It might farther be demonſtrated that this has ever been God's Method of dealing with Mankind; our Apoſtle, in the eleventh Chapter to the

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Hebrews, proving all along, by particular Inſtances, that it was by ſuch a Faith as this, without any Relation to the Law of *Moſes*, that good Men were juſtified and accepted with God, in all Ages of the World.

Thirdly, He argues againſt this *Jewiſh* Way of Juſtification from the Deficiency and Imperfection of the *Moſaic* Oeconomy, not able to aſſiſt thoſe that were under it with ſufficient Aids to perform what is required of them, *This the Law could not do, for that it was weak through the Fleſh, till God ſent his Son, in Likeneſs of ſinful Fleſh*, to enable us, *that the Righteouſneſs of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the Fleſh, but after the Spirit.* And indeed, *could the Law have given Life, verily Righteouſneſs ſhould have been of the Law:* But alas! the Scripture having concluded all Mankind, *Jew* and *Gentile*, under Sin, and conſequently incapable of being juſtified upon Terms of perfect and intire Obedience, there is now no other Way but this, That *the Promiſe by the Faith of* Chriſt *be given to them that believe, i. e.* this evangelical Method of juſtifying ſincere Believers. Beſides, the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy was deficient in pardoning Sin, and procuring the Grace and Favour of God, it could only awaken the Knowledge of Sin, and not remove the Guilt of it: *It was not poſſible that the Blood of Bulls and Goats ſhould take away Sin*; all the Sacrifices of the *Moſaic* Law, were no farther available, for the Pardon of Sin, than merely they were founded in, and had Reſpect to that great Sacrifice and Expiation which was to be made for the Sins of Mankind, by the Death of the Son of God. *The Prieſts, though they daily miniſtred,*

and oftentimes offered the ſame Sacrifices, yet could they never take away Sins; no, that was reſerved for a better and higher Sacrifice, even that of our Lord himſelf, who, *after he had offered one Sacrifice for Sin, for ever ſat down on the Right-hand of God*, having compleated that, which the repeated Sacrifices of the Law could never effect. So that all Men being under Guilt, and no Juſtification where there was no Remiſſion, the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy being, in itſelf, unable to pardon, was incapable to juſtify. This St. *Paul* elſewhere declared, in an open Aſſembly, before *Jews* and *Gentiles*; *be it known unto you, Men and Brethren, that through this Man* [Jeſus Chriſt] *is preached unto you Forgiveneſs of Sins; and by him all that believe are juſtified from all Things, from which ye could not be juſtified by the Law of* Moſes.

Fourthly, He proves that Juſtification, by the *Moſaic* Law could not ſtand with the Death of *Chriſt*, the Neceſſity of whoſe Death and Sufferings it did plainly evacuate and take away. For if Righteouſneſs come by the Law, then *Chriſt* is dead in Vain: If the *Moſaic* Performances be neceſſary to our Juſtification, then certainly it was to very little Purpoſe, and altogether unbecoming the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God, to ſend his own Son into the World, to do ſo much for us, and to ſuffer ſuch exquiſite Pains and Tortures: Nay, he tells them, that while they perſiſted in this fond obſtinate Opinion, all that *Chriſt* had done and ſuffered, could be of no Advantage to them. *Stand faſt in the Liberty wherewith* Chriſt *has made us free, and be not again intangled in the Yoke of Bondage*, the Bondage and Servitude of the *Moſaic* Rites: *Behold, I* Paul, *ſolemnly ſay unto*

to you, that if you be circumciſed, Chriſt *ſhall profit you nothing: For I teſtify again to every Man that is circumciſed, that he is Debtor to do the whole Law*; Chriſt *is become of none Effect to you; whoſoever of you are juſtified by the Law, ye are fallen from Grace.* The Sum of which Argument is, That whoever laid the Streſs of their Juſtification upon Circumciſion, and the Law, did thereby declare themſelves to be under an Obligation of Obedience to all that the Law requires of them, and accordingly ſuperſeded the Virtue and Efficacy of *Chriſt*'s Death, and diſclaimed all Right and Title to the Grace and Favour of the Goſpel. For ſince *Chriſt*'s Death is abundantly ſufficient to attain its Ends, whoever takes in another, plainly renounces that, and reſts upon that of his own chuſing. By theſe ways of reaſoning it is evident what the Apoſtle drives at in all his Diſcourſes about this Matter. More might have been obſerved, had we not thought that theſe are ſufficient to render his Deſign, eſpecially to the Unprejudiced and impartial, obvious and plain enough.

Laſtly, That St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſes about Juſtification and Salvation do immediately refer to the Controverſy between *Orthodox* and *Judaizing Chriſtians*, appears hence, that there was no other Controverſy then on Foot, but concerning the Way of Juſtification, whether it was by the Obſervation of the Law of *Moſes*, or only of the Goſpel and the Law of *Chriſt*. For we muſt needs ſuppoſe, that the Apſtles wrote with a primary Reſpect to the preſent State of Things, and ſo as they, whom he had to deal with, might, and could not but underſtaud him; which yet would have ſince been handled with ſo much Zeal and Fierce-

neſs, as to give Countenance to thoſe many nice and ſubtile Propoſitions, thoſe curious and elaborate Schemes which ſome Men, in theſe latter Ages, have drawn of theſe Matters.

From the whole Diſcourſe two Conſectaries eſpecially plainly follow. Conſect. I. *That Works of evangelical Obedience are not oppoſed to Faith in Juſtification.* By the Works of *evangelical Obedience*, we mean ſuch *Chriſtian* Duties, as are the Fruits, not of our own Power and Strength, but of God's Spirit, done by the Aſſiſtance of his Grace. And that theſe are not oppoſed to Faith, is undeniably evident, in that (as we obſerved before) Faith, as including the new Nature, and the keeping God's Commands, is made the uſual Condition of Juſtification. Nor can it be otherwiſe, when other Graces and Virtues of the *Chriſtian* Life are made the Terms of Pardon and Acceptance with Heaven, and of our Title to the Merits of *Chriſt*'s Death, and the great Promiſe of eternal Life. Thus Repentance, which is not ſo much a ſingle Act, as a complex Body of *Chriſtian* Duties, *Repent and be baptized in the Name of* Jeſus Chriſt, *for the Remiſſion of Sins, and ye ſhall receive the Holy Ghoſt; repent and be converted, that your Sins may be blotted out.* So Charity and Forgiveneſs of others; *Forgive, if ye have ought againſt any, that your Father alſo which is in Heaven, may forgive you your Treſpaſſes: For if ye forgive Men their Treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father alſo will forgive yours.* Some evangelical Obedience in general; *God is no Reſpecter of Perſons, but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh Righteouſneſs, is accepted with him. If we walk in the Light, as God is in the Light, we have Fellowſhip*

lowſhip one with another, and the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, *his Son, cleanſes us from all Sin.* What Privilege then has Faith above other Graces in this Matter? are we juſtified by Faith? We are pardoned and accepted with God, upon our Repentance, Charity, and other Acts of evangelical Obedience. Is Faith oppoſed to the Works of the *Moſaic* Law in Juſtification? ſo are Works of evangelical Obedience; *Circumciſion is nothing, and Uncircumciſion is nothing, but the keeping of the Commandments of God.* Does Faith give Glory to God, and ſet the Crown upon his Head? Works of evangelical Obedience are equally the Effects of divine Grace, both preventing and aſſiſting of us, and, indeed, are not ſo much our Works as his; ſo that the Glory of all muſt needs be intirely reſolved into the Grace of God; nor can any Man, in ſuch Circumſtances, with the leaſt Pretence of Reaſon, lay Claim to Merit, or boaſt of his own Atchievements. Hence the Apoſtle magnifies the evangelical Method of Juſtification, above that of the Law, that it wholly excludes all proud Reflections upon ourſelves; *Where is boaſting then? it is excluded. By what Law? of Works? Nay, but by the Law of Faith.* The *Moſaical* Oeconomy foſtered Men up in proud and high Thoughts of them, they looked upon themſelves as a peculiar People, honoured above all other Nations of the World, the Seed of *Abraham*, inveſted with mighty Privileges, *&c.* Whereas the Goſpel, proceeding upon other Principles, takes away all Foundations of Pride, by acknowledging our Acceptance with God, and the Power whereby we are enabled to make good the Terms and Conditions of it, to be the mere reſult of the divine

divine Grace and Mercy; and that the whole Scheme of our Salvation, as it was the Contrivance of the divine Wiſdom, ſo it is the Purchaſe of the Merit and Satisfaction of our crucified Saviour. Nor is Faith itſelf leſs than other Graces, an Act of evangelical Obedience, and if ſeparated from them, is of no Moment or Value in the Accounts of Heaven: *Though I have all Faith, and have no Charity, I have nothing. All Faith*, be it of what Kind ſoever. To this may be added, that no tolerable Account can be given, why that which is on all Hands granted to be the Condition of our Salvation (ſuch is evangelical Obedience) ſhall not be the Condition of our Juſtification: And at the Great-day *Chriſtians* ſhall be acquitted or condemned according as in this World they have fulfilled or neglected the Goſpel: The decretory Sentence of Abſolution that ſhall then be paſſed upon good Men, ſhall be nothing but a publick and ſolemn Declaration of that private Sentence of Juſtification that was paſſed upon them in this World; ſo that, upon the ſame Terms that they are juſtified now, they ſhall be juſtified and acquitted then, and upon the ſame Terms that they ſhall then be judged and acquitted, they are juſtified now, *viz.* an hearty Belief, and a ſincere Obedience to the Goſpel. From all which, we hope, it is evident, that when St. *Paul* denies Men to be juſtified by the Works of the Law; by Works he either means Works done before Converſion, and by the Strength of Mens natural Powers, ſuch as enabled them to pride and boaſt themſelves, and lay Claim to Merit, or (which moſtly includes the other) the Works of the *Moſaic* Law. And, indeed, though the Controverſies on foot, in thoſe Times, did not plainly

plainly determine his Reaſonings that Way, yet the Conſiderations which we have now ſuggeſted, ſufficiently ſhew that they could not be meant of any other Senſe.

Conſect. II. *That the Doctrine of St.* Paul *and St.* James, *about Juſtification, are fairly conſiſtent with each other.* For, ſeeing St. *Paul*'s Deſign in excluding Works from Juſtification, was only to deny the Works of the *Jewiſh* Law, or thoſe that were meritorious, as being wrought by their own Strength, and in aſſerting that in Oppoſition to ſuch Works we are juſtified by Faith, he means no more than that either we are juſtified in an evangelical Way; or, more particularly, by Faith intended a practical Belief, including evangelical Obedience: And ſeeing, on the other Hand, St. *James*, in affirming *that we are juſtified by Works, and not by Faith only*; by Works, means no more than evangelical Obedience, in Oppoſition to a naked and empty Faith; theſe two are ſo far from quarrelling, that they mutually embrace each other, and both, in the Main, purſue the ſame Deſign. And, indeed, if any Diſagreement ſeem between them, it is moſt reaſonable that St. *Paul* ſhould be expounded by St. *James*, not only becauſe his Propoſitions are ſo expreſs and poſitive, and not liable to Ambiguity, but, as he wrote after him, was capable to countermine thoſe ill Principles, which ſome Men had built upon St. *Paul*'s Aſſertions. For it is evident, from ſeveral Paſſages in St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, that even then many began to miſtake his Doctrine, and from his Aſſertions about Juſtification by Faith, and not by Works, to infer Propoſitions that might ſerve the Purpoſes of a bad Life; *they ſlanderouſly reported him to ſay,*

ſay, that we might do Evil, that Good might come of it; that we might continue in Sin, that the Grace of the Goſpel might the more abound. They thought, that ſo long as they did but believe the Goſpel, in the naked Notion and Speculation of it, it was enough to recommend them to the Favour of God, and to ſerve all the Purpoſes of Juſtification and Salvation, however they ſhaped and ſteered their Lives. Againſt theſe Men it is beyond all Queſtion plain, that St. *James* levels his Epiſtle to batter down the growing Doctrines of Libertiniſm and Profaneneſs, to ſhew the Inſufficiency of a naked Faith, and an empty Profeſſion of Religion; that 'tis not enough to recommend us to the divine Acceptance, and to juſtify us in the Sight of Heaven, barely to believe the Goſpel, unleſs we really obey and practiſe it; that a Faith deſtitute of this evangelical Obedience is fruitleſs and unprofitable to Salvation; that it is by theſe Works that Faith muſt appear to be vital and ſincere; that not only *Rahab*, but *Abraham* the Father of the Faithful, was juſtified, not by a bare Belief of God's Promiſe, but a hearty Obedience to God's Command, in the ready Offer of his Son, where it appears that his Faith and Obedience did co-operate and conſpire together, to render him capable of God's Favour and Approbation, and that *herein the Scripture was fulfilled, which ſaith, that* Abraham *believed God, and it was imputed to him for Righteouſneſs*, (whence, by the Way, nothing can be clearer, than that both theſe Apoſtles intend the ſame Thing by *Faith*, in the Caſe of *Abraham*'s Juſtification, and its being *imputed to him for Righteouſneſs, viz.* a practical Belief and Obedience to the Commands of God) that

S^t. MATTHEW 5. Verse 4.

Blessed are those that Mourn, for they shall be Comforted. —

that it follows hence, that Faith is not of itſelf ſufficient to juſtify and make us acceptable to God, unleſs a proportionable Obedience be joined with it; without which, Faith ſerves no more to theſe Ends and Purpoſes, than a Body deſtitute of the Soul to animate and enliven it, is capable to exerciſe the Functions and Offices of the natural Life: His Meaning, in ſhort, being nothing elſe, than that good Works, or evangelical Obedience is, according to the divine Appointment, the Condition of the Goſpel-Covenant, without which it is in Vain for any to hope for that Pardon which *Chriſt* hath purchaſed, and the Favour of God, which is neceſſary to eternal Life.

The LIFE of St. *ANDREW.*

THE ſacred Story, which has hitherto been very large and copious in deſcribing the Acts of the two firſt Apoſtles, is henceforward very ſparing in its Accounts, giving us only now and then a few oblique and accidental Remarks concerning the reſt; and ſome of them no farther mentioned, than the mere recording of their Names. For what Reaſons it pleaſed the divine Wiſdom and Providence, that no more of their Acts ſhould be conſigned to Writing by the Penman of the Holy Story, is to us unknown. Probably it might be thought convenient, that no more Account ſhould be given of the firſt Plantations of *Chriſtianity* in the World, than what concerned *Judea*

and the neighbouring Countries, at leaſt the moſt eminent Places of the *Roman* Empire, that ſo the Truth of the prophetical Predictions might appear, which had foretold, that the *Law* of the Meſſiah *ſhould come forth from* Sion, *and the Word of the Lord from* Jeruſalem: Beſides that, a particular Relation of the Acts of ſo many Apoſtles done in ſo many ſeveral Countries, might have ſwell'd the holy Volumes into too great a Bulk, and rendered them leſs ſerviceable and accommodated to the ordinary Uſe of *Chriſtians*.

Among the Apoſtles that ſucceed, we firſt take Notice of St. *Andrew*; he was born at *Bethſaida*, a City of *Galilee*, ſtanding upon the Banks of the Lake of *Genneſareth*, Son to *John* or *Jonas*, a Fiſherman of that Town; he was Brother to *Simon Peter*, but whether elder or younger, the Antients do not clearly decide, though the major Part intimate him to have been the younger Brother, there being only the ſingle Authority of *Epiphanius* on the other Side, as we have formerly noted. He was brought up to his Father's Trade, whereat he laboured, till our Lord called him from catching *Fiſh*, to be a *Fiſher of Men*, for which he was fitted by ſome preparatory Inſtitutions, even before his coming unto *Chriſt*.

John the Baptiſt was lately riſen in the *Jewiſh* Church, a Perſon, whom for the Efficacy and Impartiality of his Doctrine, and the extraordinary Strictneſs and Auſterities of his Life, the *Jews* generally had in great Veneration. He trained up his Proſelites under the Diſcipline of Repentance, and by urging upon them a ſevere Change and Reformation of Life, prepared them to entertain the Doctrine of the *Meſſiah*, whoſe Approach he told them,

them, was now near at Hand, repreſenting to them the Greatneſs of his Perſon, and Importance of the Deſign that he was come upon. Beſide the Multitudes that promiſcuouſly flocked to the *Baptiſt*'s Diſcourſes, he had, according to the Manner of the *Jewiſh* Maſters, ſome peculiar and ſelect Diſciples, who more conſtantly attended upon his Lectures, and for the moſt Part waited upon his Perſon. In the Number of theſe was our Apoſtle, who was then with him about *Jordan*, when our Saviour, who ſome Time had been baptized, came that Way; upon whoſe Approach the *Baptiſt* told them, that this was the *Meſſiah*, the great Perſon whom he had ſo often ſpoken of, to uſher in whoſe Appearing his whole Miniſtry was but ſubſervient; that this was *the Lamb of God*, the true Sacrifice that was to expiate the Sins of Mankind. Upon this Teſtimony *Andrew* and another Diſciple (probably St. *John*) followed our Saviour to the Place of his Abode. Upon which Account he is generally, by the Fathers and antient Writers, ſtiled *the firſt called Diſciple*, though in a ſtrict Senſe he was not ſo; for though he was the firſt of the Diſciples that came to *Chriſt*, yet was he not called till afterwards. After ſome Converſe with him, *Andrew* goes to acquaint his Brother *Simon*, and both together came to *Chriſt*: Long they ſtaid not with him, but returned to their own home, and to the Exerciſe of their Calling wherein they were employ'd; when, ſomewhat more than a Year after, our Lord paſſing through *Galilee*, found them fiſhing upon the Sea of *Tiberias*, where he fully ſatisfied them of the Greatneſs and Divinity of his Perſon, by the convictive Evidence of that miraculous Draught of Fiſhes, which they took at his

Command. And now he told them he had other Work for them to do, that they ſhould no longer deal in Fiſh, but with Men, whom they ſhould catch with the Efficacy and Influence of that Doctrine that he was come to deliver to the World; commanding them to follow him, as his immediate Diſciples and Attendants, who accordingly left all and followed him. Shortly after, St. *Andrew*, together with the reſt, was called to the Office and Honour of the Apoſtolate, and made choice of to be one of thoſe that were to be *Chriſt*'s immediate Vicegerants for planting and propagating the *Chriſtian* Faith. Little is particularly recorded of him in the ſacred Story, being comprehended in the general Account of the reſt of the Apoſtles.

After our Lord's Aſcenſion into Heaven, and that the Holy Ghoſt had, in its miraculous Powers, been plentifully ſhed upon the Apoſtles, to fit them for the great Errand they were to go upon, to root out Profaneneſs and Idolatry, and to ſubdue the World to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, it is generally affirmed by the Antients, that the Apoſtles agreed among themſelves (by Lot, ſay ſome) probably not without the ſpecial Guidance and Direction of the Holy Ghoſt, what Parts of the World they ſhould ſeverally take. In this Diviſion St. *Andrew* had *Scythia* and the neighbouring Countries, primarily allotted him for his Province. Firſt then he travelled through *Capadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*, and inſtructed them in the Faith of *Chriſt*, paſſing all along the *Euxine* Sea (formerly called *Axenus*, from the barbarous and inhoſpitable Temper of the People thereabouts, who were wont to ſacrifice Strangers, and of their Skulls

Skulls to make Cups to drink in at their Feasts and Banquets) and so into the Solitudes of *Scythia*. An antient Author (though whence deriving his Intelligence I know not) gives us a more particular Account of his Travels and Transactions in these Parts: He tells us, that he first came to *Amynsus*, where being entertained by a *Jew*, he went into a Synagogue, discoursed to them concerning *Christ*, and from the Prophecies of the *Old Testament* proved him to be the *Messiah*, and the Saviour of the World. Having here converted many, ordered their publick Meeting, and ordained them Priests, he went next to *Trapezus*, a maritime City upon the *Euxine* Sea, whence, after many other Places, he came to *Nice*, where he staid two Years, preaching and working Miracles with great Success; thence to *Nicomedia*, and so to *Chalcedon*; whence, sailing through the *Propontis* he came by the *Euxine* Sea to *Heraclea*, and from it to *Amestris*: In all which Places he met with great Difficulties and Discouragements, but overcame all with an invincible Patience and Resolution. He next came to *Synope*, a City situate upon the same Sea, a Place famous both for the Birth and Burial of the great King *Mithridates*; here, as our Author reports from the Antients, he met with his Brother *Peter*, with whom he staid a considerable Time at this Place: As a Monument whereof he tells us, that the Chairs, made of white Stone, wherein they were wont to sit while they taught the People, were still extant, and commonly shewn in his Time. The Inhabitants of this City were most *Jews*, who, partly through Zeal for their Religion, partly through the Barbarousness of their Manntrs, were quickly exaspe-

exaſperated againſt the Apoſtle, and contriving together, attempted to burn the Houſe wherein he ſojourned: However they treated him with all the Inſtances of ſavage Cruelty, throwing him to the Ground, ſtamping upon him with their Feet, pulling and dragging him from Place to Place, ſome beating him with Clubs, others pelting him with Stones; and ſome, the better to ſatisfy their Revenge, biting off his Fleſh with their Teeth; till apprhending they had fully diſpatched him, they caſt him out of the City. But he miraculouſly recovered, and publickly returned into the City, whereby, and by ſome other Miracles, which he wrought amongſt them, he reduced many to a better Mind, converting them to the Faith. Departing hence, he went again to *Amynſus*, and then to *Trapezus*, thence to *Neocæſarea*; and to *Samoſata* (the Birth-place of the witty but impious *Lucian*) where having baffled the acute and wiſe Philoſophers, he purpoſed to return to *Jeruſalem*. Thence after ſome Time he betook himſelf to his former Provinces, travelling into the Country of the *Abaſgi*, where, at *Sebaſtople*, ſituate upon the *Eaſtern* Shore of the *Euxine* Sea, between the Influx of the Rivers *Phaſis* and *Apſarus*, he ſucceſsfully preached the Goſpel to the Inhabitants of that City. Hence he removed to the Country of the *Zecchi*, and the *Boſphorani*, Part of the *Aſiatic Scythia* or *Sarmatia*; but finding the Inhabitants very barbarous and intractable, he ſtaid not long among them, only at *Cherſon*, or *Cherſoneſus*, a great and populous City within the *Boſphorus*, he continued ſome Time, inſtructing and confirming them in the Faith. Hence taking Ship he ſailed croſs the Sea to *Synope*, ſituate in *Paphlagonia*, the royal

royal Seat of the great King *Mithridates*, to encourage and confirm the Churches which he had lately planted in thoſe Parts; and here he ordained *Philologus*, formerly one of St. *Paul*'s Diſciples, Biſhop of that City.

Hence he came to *Byzantium* (ſince called *Conſtantinople*) where he inſtructed them in the Knowledge of the *Chriſtian* Religion, founded a Church for divine Worſhip, and ordained *Stachys* (whom St. *Paul* calls *his beloved Stachys*) firſt Biſhop of that Place. *Baronius* indeed is unwilling to believe this, deſirous to engroſs the Honour of it to St. *Peter*, whom he will have to have been the firſt Planter of *Chriſtianity* in theſe Parts. But beſides that *Baronius*'s Authority is very ſlight and inſignificant in this Caſe (as we have before noted in St. *Peter*'s Life) this Matter is expreſly aſſerted not only by *Nicephorus Caliſtus*, but by another *Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and who therefore may be preſumed knowing in his Predeceſſors of that See. Baniſhed out of the City by him, who at that Time uſurped the Government, he fled to *Argyropolis*, a Place near at hand, where he preached the Goſpel for two Years together with good Succeſs, converting great Numbers to the Faith. After this he travelled over *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Theſſaly*, *Achaia*: *Nazianzen* adds *Epyrus*, in all which Places for many Years he preached and propagated *Chriſtianity*, and confirmed the Doctrine that he taught with great Signs and Miracles: At laſt he came to *Patræ*, a City of *Achaia*, where he gave his laſt and great Teſtimony to it; I mean, laid down his own Life to ratify and enſure it; in deſcribing whoſe Martyrdom, we ſhall for the Main follow the

the Account that is given us in the *Acts of his Paſſion*, pretended to have been written by the Presbyters and Deacons of *Achaia*, preſent at his Martyrdom; which, though I dare not with ſome aſſert to be the genuine Work of theſe Perſons, yet can it not be denied to be of conſiderable Antiquity, being mentioned by *Philaſtrius*, who flouriſhed *Anno* 380, and were, no doubt, written long before his Time. The Sum of it is this:

Ægeas Proconſul of *Achaia*, came at this Time to *Patræ*, where obſerving that Multitudes were fallen off from *Paganiſm*, and had embraced *Chriſtianity*, he endeavoured by all Arts, both of Favour and Cruelty, to reduce the People to their old Idolatries: To him the Apoſtle reſolutely makes his Addreſs, calmly puts him in mind, that he being but a Judge of Men, ſhould own and revere him who was the ſupreme and impartial Judge of all; that he ſhould give him that divine Honour which was due to him, and leave off the Impieties of his falſe *Heathen* Worſhip. The Proconſul derided him as an Innovator in Religion, a Propagator of that Superſtition, whoſe Author the *Jews* had infamouſly put to Death upon a Croſs. Hereat the Apoſtle took Occaſion to diſcourſe to him of the infinite Love and Goodneſs of our Lord, who came into the World to purchaſe the Salvation of Mankind, and for that End did not diſdain to die upon the Croſs. To whom the Proconſul anſwered, that he might perſuade them ſo, that would believe him; for his Part, if he did not comply with him in doing Sacrifice to the Gods, he would cauſe him to ſuffer upon that Croſs, which he had ſo much extolled and magnified. St. *Andrew* replied, That he did ſacrifice to God, the only

only true and omnipotent Being, not with Fumes and bloody Offerings, but in the Sacrifice of the immaculate Lamb of God. The Iſſue was, the Apoſtle was committed to Priſon, whereat the People were ſo enraged, that they had broken out into a Mutiny, had not the Apoſtle reſtrained them, perſuading them to imitate the Mildneſs and Patience of our meek humble Saviour, and not to hinder him from that Crown of Martyrdom that now waited for him.

The next Day he was again brought before the Proconſul, who endeavoured to perſuade him that he would not fooliſhly deſtroy himſelf, but live and enjoy with him the Pleaſures of this Life. The Apoſtle told him, that he ſhould have with him eternal Joys, if renouncing his execrable Idolatries, he would heartily entertain *Chriſtianity*, which he had hitherto ſo ſucceſsfully preached amongſt them. That, anſwered the Proconſul, is the very Reaſon why I am ſo earneſt with you to ſacrifice to the Gods, that thoſe whom you have every where ſeduced, may, by your Example be brought to return back to that antient Religion which they have forſaken; otherwiſe I'll cauſe you with exquiſite Tortures to be crucified. The Apoſtle replied, That now he ſaw it was in vain any longer to deal with him, a Perſon incapable of ſober Counſels, and hardened in his own Blindneſs and Folly; that as for himſelf, he might do his worſt, and if he had one Torment greater than another, he might heap that upon him: The greater Conſtancy he ſhewed in his Sufferings for *Chriſt*, the more acceptable he ſhould be to his Lord and Maſter. *Ægeus* could now hold no longer, but paſſed the Sentence of Death upon him; and *Nicephorus* gives

us ſome more particular Account of the Proconſul's Diſpleaſure and Rage againſt him, which was, that amongſt others he had converted his Wife *Maximilla*, and his Brother *Stranocles* to the *Chriſtian* Faith, having cured them of deſperate Diſtempers that had ſeized upon them.

The Proconſul firſt commanded him to be ſcourged, ſeven Lictors ſucceſſively whipping his naked Body; and ſeeing his invincible Patience and Conſtancy, commanded him to be crucified, but not to be faſtened to the Croſs with Nails, but Cords, that ſo his Death might be more lingring and tedious. As he was led to Execution, to which he went with a chearful and compoſed Mind, the People cried out, that he was an innocent and good Man, and unjuſtly condemned to die. Being come within Sight of the Croſs, he ſaluted it with this kind of Addreſs, That he had long deſired and expected this happy Hour, that the Croſs had been conſecrated by the Body of *Chriſt* hanging on it, and adorned with his Members as with ſo many ineſtimable Jewels, that he came joyful and triumphing to it, that it might receive him as a Diſciple and Follower of him, who once hung upon it, and be the Means to carry him ſafe unto his Maſter, having been the Inſtrument upon which his Maſter had redeemed him. Having prayed, and exhorted the People to Conſtancy and Perſeverance in that Religion which he had delivered to them, he was faſtned to the Croſs, whereon he hung two Days, teaching and inſtructing the People all the Time; and when great Importunities in the mean while were uſed to the Proconſul to ſpare his Life, he earneſtly begged of our Lord, that he might at this Time ſeal the Truth of his Religion with his Blood.

Blood. God heard his Prayer, and he immediately expired on the laſt of *November*, though in what Year no certain Account can be recovered.

There ſeems to have been ſomething peculiar in that Croſs that was the Inſtrument of his Martyrdom, commonly affirmed to have been a *Croſs decuſſate*, two Pieces of Timber croſſing each other in the middle, in the Form of the Letter X, hence uſually known by the Name of St. *Andrew*'s *Croſs*; though there want not thoſe, who affirm him to have been crucified upon an Olive-tree. His Body being taken down and embalmed, was decently and honourably interred by *Maximilla*, a Lady of great Quality and Eſtate, and whom *Nicephorus*, I know not upon what Ground, makes Wife to the Proconſul. As for that Report of *Gregory* Biſhip of *Tours*, that on the Anniverſary Day of his Martyrdom, there was wont to flow from St. *Andrew*'s Tomb a moſt fragrant and precious Oil, which, according to its Quantity, denoted the Scarceneſs or Plenty of the following Year; and that the Sick being anointed with this Oil, were reſtored to their former Health, I leave to the Reader's Diſcretion, to believe what he pleaſes of it. For my Part, if any Ground of Truth in the Story, I believe it no more, than that it was an Exhalation or ſweating forth at ſome Times of thoſe rich coſtly Perfumes and Ointments wherewith his Body was embalmed after his Crucifixion. Though I muſt confeſs this Conjecture to be impoſſible, if it be true what my Author adds, that ſome Years the Oil burſt out in ſuch Plenty, that the Stream flowed into the middle of the Church. His Body was afterwards, by *Conſtantine the Great*, ſolemnly removed to *Conſtantinople*, and buried in the great Church, which he had built to the Ho-

nour of the Apoſtles: Which being taken down ſome hundred Years after by *Juſtinian* the Emperor, in order to its Reparation, the Body was found in a wooden Coffin, and again repoſited in its proper Place.

We ſhall conclude the Hiſtory of this Apoſtle with that encomiaſtick Character, which one of the Antients gives of him. "St. *Andrew* was the "First-born of the Apoſtolick Quire; the main "and prime Pillar of the Church; a Rock before "the Rock; the Foundation of that Foundation; "the First-fruits of the Beginning; a Caller of "others before he was called himſelf; he preached that Goſpel that was not yet believed or entertained; revealed and made known that Life "to his Brother, which he had not yet perfectly "learned himſelf. So great Treaſures did that "one Queſtion bring him, *Maſter, where dwelleſt "thou?* which he ſoon perceived by the Anſwer "given him, and which he deeply pondered in "Mind, *Come and ſee.* How art thou become a "Prophet? whence thus divinely skilful? what is "it that thou thus ſoundeſt in *Peter*'s Ears? (*We "have found him*, &c.) why doſt thou attempt to "compaſs him, whom thou canſt not comprehend? how can he be found, who is omnipreſent? But he knew well what he ſaid: We have "found him, whom *Adam* loſt, whom *Eve* injured, whom the Clouds of Sin have hidden "from us, and whom our Tranſgreſſions had hitherto made a Stranger to us," &c. So that of all our Lord's Apoſtles St. *Andrew* had thus far the Honour to be the firſt Preacher of the Goſpel.

The

The LIFE of St. *JAMES the Great.*

SAINT *James* ſirnamed *the Great*, either becauſe of his Age, being much elder than the other, or for ſome peculiar Honours and Favours which our Lord conferred upon him, was by Country a *Galilean*, born, probably, either at *Capernaum*, or *Bethſaida*, being one of *Simon Peter*'s Partners in the Trade of Fiſhing. He was the Son of *Zebdai*, or *Zebedee*, (and probably the ſame whom the *Jews* mention in their *Talmud*, Rabbi *James*, or *Jacob* the Son of *Zebedee*) a Fiſherman, and the many Servants which he kept for that Employment (a Circumſtance not taken notice of in other Writers) ſpeak him a Man of ſome conſiderable Note in that Trade and Way of Life, as *Nicephorus* notes. His Mother's Name was *Mary*, ſirnamed *Salome*, called firſt *Traviphilja*, ſays an antient *Arabic* Writer, the Daughter, as is moſt probable, not Wife of *Cleopas*, Siſter to *Mary* the Mother of our Lord; not her own Siſter, properly ſo called, (the bleſſed Virgin being in all Likelihood an only Daughter) but Couſin-german, ſtiled her Siſter, according to the Mode and Cuſtom of the *Jews*, who were wont to call all ſuch near Relations by the Names of *Brothers* and *Siſters*; and in this Reſpect he had the Honour of a near Relation to our Lord himſelf. His Education was in the Trade of Fiſhing; no Employment is

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baſe that's honeſt and induſtrious, nor can be thought mean and diſhonourable to him, when it is remembered, that our Lord himſelf, the Son of God, ſtooped ſo low, as not only to become the reputed Son of a Carpenter, but during the Reirement of his private Life, to work himſelf at his Father's Trade, not devoting himſelf meerly to Contemplations, nor withdrawing from all uſeful Society with the World, and hiding himſelf in the Solitudes of an *Anchoret*, but buſying himſelf in an active Courſe of Life, working at the Trade of a Carpenter, and particularly (as one of the Antients tells us) making Ploughs and Yokes. And this the ſacred Hiſtory does not only plainly intimate, but it is generally aſſerted by the antient Writers of the Church: A Thing ſo notorious, that the *Heathens* uſed to object it as a Reproach to *Chriſtianity*. Thence that ſmart, acute Repartee, which a *Chriſtian* Schoolmaſter made to *Libanius* the famous Orator at *Antioch*, when upon *Julian*'s Expedition into *Perſia* (where he was killed) he asked in Scorn, *What the Carpenter's Son was now a-doing?* The *Chriſtian* replied with Salt enough, *That the great Artificer of the World, whom he ſcoffingly called the Carpenter's Son, was making a Coffin for his Maſter* Julian; the News of whoſe Death was brought ſoon after. But this only by the Way.

St. *James* applied himſelf to his Father's Trade, not diſcouraged with the Meanneſs, nor ſinking under the Difficulties of it; and, as uſually the Bleſſings of Heaven meet Men in the Way of an honeſt and induſtrious Diligence, it was in the Exerciſe of this Calling, when our Saviour paſſing by the Sea of *Galilee*, ſaw him and his Brother in the

the Ship, and called them to be his Diſciples. A divine Power went along with the Word, which they no ſooner heard, but chearfully complied with it, immediately leaving all to follow him. They did not ſtay to diſpute his Commands, to argue the Probability of his Promiſe, or ſollicitouſly to enquire into the minute Conſequences of the Undertaking, what Troubles and Hazards might attend this new Employment, but readily delivered up themſelves to whatever Services he ſhould appoint them. And the Chearfulneſs of their Obedience is yet farther conſiderable, that they left their aged Father in the Ship behind them. For elſewhere we find others excuſing themſelves from an immediate Attendance upon *Chriſt*, upon Pretence that they might go bury their Father, or take their Leave of their Kindred at home: No ſuch ſlight and trivial Pretences could ſtop the Reſolution of our Apoſtles, who broke through theſe Conſiderations, and quitted their preſent Intereſts and Relations. Say not it was unnaturally done of them to deſert their Father, an aged Perſon, and in ſome Meaſure unable to help himſelf; for, beſides that they left Servants with him to attend him, it is not Cruelty to our earthly, but Obedience to our heavenly Father, to leave the one, that we may comply with the Call and Summons of the other. It was the Triumph of *Abraham*'s Faith, when God called him to leave his Kindred and his Father's Houſe, *to go out*, and ſojourn in a foreign Country, *not knowing whither he went*. Nor can we doubt but that *Zebedee* himſelf would have gone along with them, had not his Age given him a *Superſedeas* from ſuch an active and ambulatory Courſe of Life. But tho' they left him at this Time, 'tis very reaſonable

to

to ſuppoſe, that they took Care to inſtruct him in the Doctrine of the *Meſſiah*, and to acquaint him with the glad Tidings of Salvation, eſpecially ſince we find their Mother *Salome* ſo hearty a Friend to, and ſo conſtant a Follower of our Saviour: But this (if we may believe the Account which one gives of it) was after her Husband's Deceaſe, who probably lived not long after, dying before the Time of our Savious's Paſſion.

It was not long after this, that he was called from the Station of an ordinary Diſciple, to the Apoſtolical Office; and not only ſo, but honoured with ſome peculiar Acts of Favour beyond moſt of the Apoſtles, being one of the Three, whom our Lord uſually made Choice of to admit to the more immediate Tranſactions of his Life, from which the others were excluded. Thus, with *Peter* and his Brother *John*, he was taken to the miraculous Raiſing of *Jairus*'s Daughter; admitted to *Chriſt*'s glorious Transfiguration upon the Mount, and the Diſcourſes that there paſſed between him and the two great Miniſters of Heaven; as alſo with him into the Garden, to be a Spectator of thoſe bitter Agonies, which the holy *Jeſus* was to undergo as the preparatory Sufferings to his Paſſion. What were the Reaſons of our Lord's admitting theſe three Apoſtles to theſe more ſpecial Acts of Favour than the reſt, is not eaſy to determine; though ſurely our Lord, who governed all his Actions by Principles of the higheſt Prudence and Reaſon, did it for wiſe and proper Ends; whether it was that he deſigned theſe three to be more ſolemn and peculiar Witneſſes of ſome particular Paſſages of his Life, than the other Apoſtles, or that they would be more eminently

eminently uſeful and ſerviceable in ſome Parts of the Apoſtolick Office, or that hereby he would the better prepare and encourage them againſt Suffering, as intending them for ſome more eminent kinds of Martyrdom or Suffering, than the reſt were to undergo.

Nor was it the leaſt Inſtance of that particular Honour which our Lord conferred upon theſe three Apoſtles, that at his calling them to the Apoſtolate, he gave them the Addition of a new Name and Title. A Thing not unuſual of old, for God to impoſe a new Name upon Perſons, when deſigning them for ſome great and peculiar Services and Employments; this he did to *Abraham* and *Jacob*. Nay, the Thing was cuſtomary among the *Gentiles*, as, had we no other Inſtances, might appear from thoſe which the Scripture gives us, of *Pharaoh*'s giving a new Name to *Joſeph*, when advancing him to be Vice-roy of *Egypt*, *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Daniel*, &c. Thus did our Lord in the Election of theſe three Apoſtles, *Simon* he ſirnamed *Peter*, *James* the Son of *Zebedee*, and *John* his Brother he ſirnamed *Boanarges*, which is, *the Sons of Thunder*. What our Lord particularly intended in this Title, is eaſier to conjecture, than certainly to determine; ſome think it was given them upon the Account of their being preſent in the Mount, when a Voice came out of the Cloud and ſaid, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. The like whereof, when the People heard at another Time, they cried out, *that it thundered*. But, beſides, that this Account is in itſelf very ſlender and inconſiderable, if ſo, then the Title muſt equally have belonged to *Peter*, who was then preſent with them. Others think it was upon Account of their loud, bold,

and reſolute preaching *Chriſtianity* to the World, fearing no Threatnings, daunted with no Oppoſitions, but went on to thunder in the Ears of the ſecure ſleepy World, rouzing and awakening the Conſciences of Men with the Earneſtneſs and Vehemency of their Preaching; as Thunder, which is called *God's Voice*, powerfully ſhakes the natural World, and breaks in Pieces the Cedars of *Lebanon*: Or, if it relate to the Doctrines they delivered, it may ſignify their teaching the great Myſteries and Speculations of the Goſpel, in a profounder Strain than the reſt, as *Theophylact* notes; which how true it might be of our St. *James*, the Scripture is wholly ſilent; but was certainly verified of his Brother *John*, whoſe Goſpel is ſo full of the more ſublime Notions and Myſteries of the Goſpel concerning *Chriſt*'s Deity, eternal Preexiſtence, *&c*, that he is generally affirmed by the Antients, not ſo much to *ſpeak*, as *thunder*. Probably the Expreſſion may denote no more, than that in general they were to be prime and eminent Miniſters, in this new Scene and State of Things, the introducing of the Goſpel or evangelical Diſpenſation, being called *a Voice ſhaking the Heavens and the Earth*, and ſo exactly correſpondent to the native importance of the Word, ſignifying *an Earthquake*, or a vehement Commotion that makes a Noiſe like to Thunder.

However it was, our Lord, I dout not, herein had Reſpect to the furious and reſolute Diſpoſition of theſe two Brothers, who ſeem to have been of a more fierce end fiery Temper than the reſt of the Apoſtles; whereof we have this memorable Inſtance: Our Lord being reſolved upon his Journey to *Jeruſalem*, ſent ſome of his Diſciples as Harbin-

Harbingers to prepare his Way, who coming to a Village of *Samaria*, were uncivilly rejected, and refuſed Entertainment; probably, becauſe of that old and inveterate Quarrel that was between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, and more eſpecially at this Time, becauſe that our Saviour ſeemed to ſlight Mount *Gerizim* (where was their ſtated and ſolemn Place of Worſhip) by paſſing it by, to go worſhip at *Jeruſalem*; the Reaſon, in all Likelihood, why they denied him thoſe common Courteſies and Conveniencies due to all Travellers. This Piece of Rudeneſs and Inhumanity was preſently ſo deeply reſented by St. *James* and his Brother, that they came to their Maſter to know, whether, as *Elias* did of old, they might not pray down Fire from Heaven to conſume theſe barbarous and inhoſpitable People. So apt are Men for every Trifle to call upon Heaven, to miniſter to the Extravagancies of their own impotent and unreaſonable Paſſions. But our Lord rebukes their Zeal, tells them they quite miſtook the Caſe, that this was not the Frame and Temper of his Diſciples and Followers, nor the Nature and Deſign of that evangelical Diſpenſation, that he was come to ſet on foot in the World, which was a more pure and perfect, a more mild and gentle Inſtitution, than what was under the *Old Teſtament* in the Times of *Moſes* and *Elias*; *the Son of Man being come not to deſtroy Men's Lives, but to ſave them.*

The holy *Jeſus*, not long after, ſet forward on his Journey to *Jeruſalem*, in order to his Crucifixion; and the better to prepare the Minds of his Apoſtles for his Death and Departure from them, he told them what he was to ſuffer, and that, after all, he ſhould riſe again. They whoſe Minds

were yet big with Expectations of a temporal Power and Monarchy, underſtood not well the Meaning of his Diſcourſes to them. However St. *James* and his Brother, ſuppoſing the Reſurrection that he ſpoke of, would be the Time when his Power and Greatneſs would commence, prompted their Mother *Salome* to put up a Petition for them. She, preſuming, probably on her Relation to *Chriſt*, and knowing that our Saviour had promiſed his Apoſtles, *that when he was come into his Kingdom, they ſhould ſit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of* Iſrael; and that he already honoured her two Sons with an intimate Familiary, after Leave, modeſtly asked for her Addreſs, begged of him, that when he took Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, her two Sons, *James* and *John*, might have the principal Places of Honour and Dignity next his own Perſon, the one ſitting on his Right-hand, and the other on his Left; as the Heads of *Judah* and *Joſeph* had the firſt Places among the Rulers of the Tribes of the *Jewiſh* Nation. Our Lord directing his Diſcourſe to the two Apoſtles, at whoſe Suggeſtion he knew their Mother had made this Addreſs, told them they quite miſtook the Nature of his Kingdom, which conſiſted not in external Grandeur and Sovereignty, but in an inward Life and Power, wherein the higheſt Place would be to take the greateſt Pains, and to undergo the heavieſt Troubles and Sufferings; that they ſhould do well to conſider, whether they were able to endure what he was to undergo, to drink of that bitter Cup which he was to drink of, and to go through that Baptiſm wherein he was ſhortly to be baptized in his own Blood. Our Apoſtles were not yet cured of their ambitious Humour, but either

either not understanding the Force of our Saviour's Reasonings, or too confidently presuming upon their Strength, answer, that they could do all this. But he, the Goodness of whose Nature ever made him put the best and most candid Interpretation upon Mens Words and Actions, yea, even those of his greatest Enemies, did not take the Advantage of their hasty and inconsiderate Reply, to treat them with sharp and quick Reproofs, but mildly owning their Forwardness to suffer, told them, that as for Sufferings, they should indeed suffer as well as he, (and so we accordingly find they did, St. *James*, after all, dying a violent Death, and St. *John* enduring great Miseries and Torments; and might we believe *Chrysostom* and *Theophylact*, Martyrdom itself, though others, nearer to those Times assure us, he died a natural Death) but for any peculiar Honour or Dignity he would not, by an absolute and peremtory Favour of his own, dispose it any otherwise, than according to those Rules and Instructions which he had received of his Father. The rest of the Apostles were offended with this ambitious Request of the Sons of *Zebedee*; but our Lord, to calm their Passions, discoursed to them of the Nature of the evangelick State, that it was not here, as in the Kingdoms and Seigniories of this World, where the great ones receive Homage and Fealty from those that are under them, but that in his Service Humility was the Way to Honour, that whoever took most Pains, and did most good, would be the greatest Person, Pre-eminence being here to be measured by Industry and Diligence, and a ready Condescension to the Offices that might be subservient to the Souls of Men; and this was no more

more than what he ſufficiently taught them by his own Example, being come into the World, not to be ſerved himſelf with any pompous Circumſtances of State and Splendor, but to ſerve others, and to lay down his Life for the Redemption of Mankind. With which Diſcourſe the Storm blew over, and their exorbitant Paſſions began, on all Hands to be allayed and pacified.

What became of St. *James*, after our Saviour's Aſcenſion, we have no certain Account either from ſacred or eccleſiaſtical Story. *Sophronius* tells us, that he preached to the diſperſed *Jews*, which ſurely he means of that Diſperſion that was made of the *Jewiſh* Converts, after the Death of *Stephen*. The *Spaniſh* Writers generally contend, that having preached the Goſpel up and down *Judea* and *Sumaria*, after the Death of St. *Stephen*, he came to theſe *weſtern* Parts, and particularly into *Spain* (ſome add *Britain* and *Ireland*) where he planted *Chriſtianity*, and appointed ſome ſelect Diſciples to perfect what he had begun, and then returned back to *Jeruſalem*. Of this there are no Footſteeps in any antient Writings, earlier than the middle Ages of the Church, when it is mentioned by *Iſidore*, the *Breviary* of *Toledo*, and an *Arabic* Book of *Anaſtatius*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, concerning the Paſſions of the *Martyrs*, and ſome others after them. Nay, *Baronius* himſelf, though endeavouring to render the Account as ſmooth and plauſible as he could, and to remove what Objections lay againſt it, yet, after all confeſſes, he did it only to ſhew, that the Thing was not impoſſible, nor to be accounted ſuch a monſtrous and extragant Fable, as ſome Men made it to be; and indeed elſewhere he plainly and peremptorily

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both denies and diſapproves it. He could not but ſee, that the Shortneſs of the Apoſtle's Life, the Apoſtles continuing all in one entire Body at *Jeruſalem*, even after the Diſperſing of the other *Chriſtians*, probably not going out of the Bounds of *Judea*, for many Years after our Lord's Aſcenſion, could not comport with ſo tedious and difficult a Voyage, and the Time which he muſt neceſſarily ſpend in thoſe Parts; and therefore it is ſafeſt to confine his Miniſtry to *Judea*, and the Parts thereabouts, and to ſeek for him at *Jeruſalem*, where we are ſure to find him.

Herod Agrippa, Son of *Ariſtobulus*, and Grandchild of *Herod the Great* (under whom *Chriſt* was born) had been in great Favour with the late Emperor *Caligula*, but much more with his Succeſſor *Claudius*, who confirmed his Predeceſſor's Grant, with the Addition of *Judea*, *Samaria*, and *Abylene*, the remaining Portions of his Grandfather's Dominions. *Claudius* being ſettled in the Empire, *Herod* comes over from *Rome*, to take Poſſeſſion and to manage the Affairs of his new acquired Kingdom. A Prince noble and generous, prudent and politick, throughly verſed in all the Arts of Courtſhip, able to oblige Enemies, and to mollify or decline the Diſpleaſure of the Emperor, (witneſs his ſubtile and cunning Inſinuations to *Caligula*, when he commanded the *Jews* to account him a God) he was one that knew, let the Wind blow which Way it would, how to gain the Point he aimed at; of a courteous and affable Demeanor, but withal a mighty Zealot for the *Jewiſh* Religion, and a moſt accurate Obſerver of the *Moſaic* Law, keeping himſelf free from all legal Impurities, and ſuffering

on

no Day to pass over his Head, in which he himself was not present at the Sacrifice. Being desirous, in the Entrance upon his Sovereignty, to insinuate himself into the Favour of the Populace, and led no less by his own zealous Inclination, he saw no better Way, than to fall heavy upon the *Christians*, a Sort of Men, whom he knew the *Jews* infinitely hated, as a novel and an upstart Sect, whose Religion proclaimed open Defiance to the *Mosaic* Institution. Hereupon he began to raise a Persecution, but alass, the Commonalty were too mean a Sacrifice to fall as the only Victims to his Zeal and popular Designs, he must have a fatter and more honourable Sacrifice. It was not long before St. *James*'s stirring and active Temper, his bold Reproving of the *Jews*, and vigorous contending for the Truth and Excellency of the *Christian* Religion, rendred him a fit Object for his Turn: Him he commands to be apprehended, cast into Prison, and Sentence of Death to be passed upon him. As he was led forth to the Place of Martyrdom, the Soldier or Officer that had guarded him to the Tribunal, or rather his Accuser (and so *Suidas* expressly tells us it was) having been convinced, by that mighty Courage and Constancy which St. *James* shewed at the Time of his Tryal, repented of what he had done, came and fell down at the Apostle's Feet, and heartily begged Pardon for what he had said against him. The holy Man, after a little Surprize at the Thing, raised him up, embraced and kissed him. *Peace* (said he) *my Son, Peace to be thee, and the Pardon of thy Faults.* Whereupon, before them all, he publickly professed himself to be a *Christian*, and so both were beheaded at the same

St. MATTHEW 5. Verse 3.

Blessed are the poor in Spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

ſome Time. Thus fell St. *James* the apoſtolick Proto-Martyr, the firſt of that Number that gained the Crown, chearfully taking that Cup which he had long ſince told his Lord he was moſt ready to drink of.

But the divine Vengeance, that never ſleeps, ſuffered not the Death of this innocent and righteous Man to paſs long unrevenged; of which, tho' St. *Luke* gives us but a ſhort Account, yet *Joſephus*, who might himſelf remember it, being a Youth, at that Time, of ſeven or eight Years of Age, ſets down the Story with its particular Circumſtances, agreeing almoſt exactly with the ſacred Hiſtorian. Shortly after, St. *James*'s Martyrdom, *Herod* removed to *Cæſarea*, being reſolved to make War upon the neighbouring *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*: While he was here, he proclaimed ſolemn Sights, and feſtival Entertainments to be held in honour of *Cæſar*, to which there flocked a great Confluence of all the Nobility thereabouts. Early in the Morning, on the ſecond Day, he came with great State into the Theatre, to make an Oration to the People, being clothed in a Robe all over curiouſly wrought with Silver, which encountring with the Beams of the Riſing-ſun, reflected ſuch a Luſtre upon the Eyes of the People, (who make ſenſible Appearances the only true Meaſures of Greatneſs) as begot an equal Wonder and Veneration in them, crying out (prompted, no doubt, by Flatterers, who began the Cry) that it was ſome Deity which they beheld, and that he who ſpake to them, muſt be ſomething above the ordinary Standard of Humanity. This impious Applauſe *Herod* received, without any Token of Diſlike, or Senſe of that Injury that was hereby

done to the ſupreme Being of the World: But a ſudden Accident changed the Scene, and turned the comick Part into a black fatal Tragedy. Looking up, he eſpied an *Owl*, ſitting upon a Rope over his Head (as probably alſo he did an *Angel*, for ſo St *Luke* mentions it) which he preſently beheld as the fatal Meſſenger of his Death, as heretofore it had been of his Proſperity and Succeſs. An incurable Melancholy immediately ſeized upon his Mind, as exquiſite Torments did upon his Bowels, cauſed, without Queſtion, by thoſe Worms St. *Luke* ſpeaks of, which immediately fed and prey'd upon him. *Behold*, ſaid he, turning to thoſe about him, *the Deity you admired, and yourſelves evidenly convinced of Flattery and Falſhood, ſee me here by the Laws of Fate condemned to die, whom juſt now you ſtiled*, Immortal. Being removed into the Palace, his Pains ſtill encreaſed upon him, and though the People mourned and wept, faſted and pray'd for his Life and Health, yet his acute Torments got the upper-hand, and after five Days put a Period to his Life. But to return to St. *James*.

Being put to Death, his Body is ſaid to have taken a ſecond Voyage into *Spain*, where we are, with Confidence enough, told it reſts at this Day. Indeed I met with a very formal Account of its Tranſlation thither, written (ſays the *Publiſher*) above ſix hundred Years ſince, by a Monk of the Abbey of *La Fleury* in *France*; the Sum whereof is this; the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem* deſigning *Cteſiphon* for *Spain*, ordained him Biſhop, and others being joined to his Aſſiſtance, they took the Body of St. *James*, and went on board a Ship without Oars, without a Pilot, or any to ſteer and conduct their Voyage, truſting only to the Merits of that

Apoſtle,

Apoſtle, whoſe Remains they carried along with them. In ſeven Days they arrived at a Port in *Spain*, where landing, the Corps was ſuddenly taken from them, and with great Appearances of an extraordinary Light from Heaven, conveyed they knew not whither, to the Place of its Interment. The Men, you may imagine, were exceedingly troubled, that ſo great a Treaſure ſhould be raviſhed from them; but upon their Prayers and Tears, they were conducted by an Angel to the Place where the Apoſtle was buried, twelve Miles from the Sea. Here they addreſſed themſelves to a rich noble Matron, called *Luparia*, who had a great Eſtate in thoſe Parts, but a ſevere Idolatreſs, begging of her, that they might have Leave to entomb the Bones of the holy Apoſtle, within her Juriſdiction. She entertained them with Contempt and Scorn, with Curſes and Execrations, bidding them go and ask Leave of the King of the Country: They did ſo, but were by him treated with all the Inſtances of Rage and Fury, and purſued them till himſelf periſhed in the Attempt. They returned back to their *Gallœcian* Matron, whom, by many Miracles, and eſpecially deſtroying a Dragon that miſerably infeſted thoſe Parts, they at laſt made her a Convert to the Faith, who thereupon commanded her Images to be broken, the Altars to be demoliſhed, and her own Idol-Temple, being cleanſed and purged, to be dedicated to the Honour of St. *James*, by which means *Chriſtianity* mightily prevailed, and triumphed over Idolatry in all thoſe Countries. This is the Sum of the Account, call it a Romance or Hiſtory, which we do not deſire to impoſe any farther upon the Reader's Faith, than he ſhall find himſelf diſ-

poſed to believe it. We will add no more, than that his Body was afterwards tranſlated from *Iria Flavia* (the Place of its firſt Repoſe) to *Compoſtella:* Though a learned Perſon will have it to have been but one and the ſame Place, and that after the Story of St. *James* had gotten ſome footing in the Belief of Men, it began to be called, *Ad Jacobum Apoſtolum*; thence, in after-times, *Giacomo Poſtolo*; which was, at laſt, jumbled into *Compoſtella:* It would tire both the Reader and myſelf, to tell him with what ſolemn Veneration, and incredible Miracles reported to be done here, this Apoſtle's Reliques are worſhipped at this Day: Whence *Baronius* calls it the great Storehouſe of Miracles lying open to the whole World, and wiſely confeſſes it one of the beſt Arguments to prove that his Body was tranſlated thither. And we ſhould not ſcruple to be of his Mind, could we be aſſured that ſuch Miracles were truly done there.

The

The LIFE of St. *JOHN*.

SAINT *John* was a *Galilean*, the Son of *Zebedee* and *Salome*, younger Brother to St. *James*, together with whom he was brought up to the Trade of Fiſhing. St. *Hierom* makes him remarkable upon the Account of his Nobility, whereby he became acquainted with the High-prieſt, and not only reſolutely entered himſelf among the *Jews* at our Saviour's Trial, prevailed to introduce *Peter* into the Hall, but was the only Apoſtle that attended our Lord at his Crucifixion, and afterwards durſt own his Mother, and keep her at his own Houſe. But the Nobility of his Family, and eſpecially that it ſhould be ſuch as to procure him ſo much Reſpect with Perſons of the higheſt Rank and Quality, ſeem not reconcileable with the Meanneſs of his Father's Trade, and the Privacy of his Fortune. And for his Acquaintance with the High-prieſt, I ſhould rather place it to ſome other Account, eſpecially if it be true, what *Nicephorus* relates, That the had lately ſold his Eſtate, left by his Father in *Galilee*, to *Annas* the High-prieſt, and had therewith purchaſed a fair Houſe at *Jeruſalem*, about Mount *Sion*, whence he became acquainted with him. Before his coming to *Chriſt*, he ſeems for ſome Time to have been a Diſciple to *John the Baptiſt*, being, probably that other Diſciple that was with *Andrew*, when they left the *Baptiſt* to follow our Saviour,

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ſo particularly does he relate all Circumſtances of that Tranſaction, though modeſtly, as in other Parts of his Goſpel, concealing his own Name. He was at the ſame Time with his Brother, called by our Lord both to the Diſcipleſhip and Apoſtolate, by far the youngeſt of all the Apoſtles, as the Ancients generally affirm, and his great Age ſeems to evince, living near ſeventy Years after our Saviour's Suffering.

There is not much ſaid concerning him in the ſacred Story, more than what is recorded of him in Conjunction with his Brother *James*, which we have already remarked in his Life. He was peculiarly dear to his Lord and Maſter, being the *Diſciple whom* Jeſus *loved*, that is, treated with more Freedom and Familiarity, than the reſt.

And, indeed, he was not only one of the Three, whom our Saviour made Partakers of the private Paſſages of his Life, but had ſome Inſtances of a more particular Kindneſs and Favour conferred upon him. Witneſs his lying in our Saviour's Boſom at the Paſchal Supper; it being the Cuſtom of thoſe Times to lie along at Meals upon Couches, ſo that the ſecond lay with his Head in the Boſom of him that was before him; this honourable Place was not given to any of the Aged, but reſerved for our Apoſtle: Nay, when *Peter* was deſirous to know, which of them our Saviour meant, when he told them that one of them ſhould betray him, and durſt not himſelf propound the Queſtion, he made uſe of St. *John* (whoſe Familiarity with him might warrant ſuch an Enquiry) to ask our Lord; who thereupon made him underſtand it was *Judas* whom he deſigned by the Traitor. This Favour our Apoſtle endeavoured, in ſome Meaſure, to anſwer

ſwer by Returns of particular Kindneſs and Conſtancy to our Saviour, ſtaying with him, when the reſt deſerted him. Indeed, upon our Lord's firſt Apprehenſion he fled after the other Apoſtles, it not being without ſome Probability and Reaſon, that the Antients conceive him to have been that young Man that followed after *Chriſt*, having a linnen Cloath, and fled naked from them. This, in all Likelihood, was that Garment that he had caſt about him at Supper (for they had peculiar Veſtments for that Purpoſe) and being extremely affected with the Treaſon, and our Lord's approaching Paſſion, had forgot to put on his other Garments, but followed him into the Garden in the ſame Habit wherewith he aroſe from the Table, it being then Night, and ſo leſs liable to be taken notice of, either by himſelf or others. But though he fled at preſent to avoid that ſudden Violence that was offered to him, yet he ſoon recovered himſelf, and returning back to ſeek his Maſter, confidently entered into the High-prieſt's Hall, and followed our Lord through the ſeveral Paſſages of his Trial, and at laſt waited upon him (and, for any thing we know, was the only Apoſtle that did ſo) at his Execution, owning him, as well as being owned by him, in the midſt of Arms and Guards, and in the thickeſt Crowds of his moſt inveterate Enemies. Here it was that our Lord, by his laſt Will and Teſtament, made upon the Croſs, appointed him Guardian of his own Mother, the bleſſed Virgin: *When he ſaw his Mother, and the Diſciple ſtanding by, whom he loved, he ſaid unto his Mother, Woman, behold thy Son*; ſee, here is one that ſhall ſupply my Place, and be to thee inſtead of a Son, to love and honour thee, to provide

vide and take care for thee: *And to the Diſciple he ſaid, Behold thy Mother*; her, whom thou ſhalt henceforth deal with, treat and obſerve, with that Duty and honourable Regard, which the Relation of an indulgent Mother challenges from a pious and obedient Son: Whereupon *he took her into his own Houſe*, her Husband *Joſeph* being ſome Time ſince dead, and made her a principal Part of his Charge and Care. And certainly the Holy *Jeſus* could not have given a more honourable Teſtimony of his particular Reſpect and Kindneſs to St. *John*, than to commit his own Mother, whom of all earthly Relations he held moſt dear and valuable, to his Truſt and Care, and to ſubſtitute him to ſupply that Duty which he himſelf paid her while he was here below.

At the firſt News of our Lord's Return from the Dead, he, accompanied with *Peter*, preſently haſted to the Sepulchre. Indeed there ſeems to have been a mutual Intimacy between theſe two Apoſtles, more than the reſt. It was to *Peter* that St. *John* gave the Notice of *Chriſt*'s Appearing, when he came to them at the Sea of *Tiberias*, in the Habit of a Stranger; and it was for *John* that *Peter* was ſo ſollicitous to know what was to become of him. After *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion, we find theſe two going up to the Temple, at the Hour of Prayer, and miraculouſly healing the poor impotent Cripple; both preached to the People, and both apprehended together by the Prieſts and *Sadducees*, and thrown into Priſon, and the next Day brought forth to plead their Cauſe before the *Sanhedrim*. Theſe were the two choſen by the Apoſtles to ſend down to *Samaria*, to ſettle and confirm the Plantation which *Philip* had made in thoſe Parts,

Parts, where they confounded and baffled *Simon* the Magician, and ſet him in an hopeful Way to Repentance. To theſe St. *Paul* addreſſed himſelf, as thoſe that ſeemed to be Pillars among the reſt, who accordingly *gave him the Right-hand of Fellowſhip*, and confirmed his Miſſion to the *Gentiles*.

In the Diviſion of Provinces, which the Apoſtles made among themſelves, *Aſia* fell to his Share, tho' he did not preſently enter upon his Charge, otherwiſe we muſt needs have heard of him in the Account which St. *Luke* gives of St. *Paul*'s ſeveral Jyournies into, and Reſidence in thoſe Parts. Probable therefore it is, that he dwelt ſtill in his own Houſe at *Jeruſalem*, at leaſt till the Death of the bleſſed Virgin (and this is plainly aſſerted by *Nicephorus* from the Account of thoſe Hiſtorians that were before him) whoſe Death (ſays *Euſebius*) happened *Anno Chriſti* XLVIII. about fifteen Years after our Lord's Aſcenſion. Some Time (probably years) after her Death, he took his Journey into *Aſia*, and induſtriouſly applied himſelf to the propagating *Chriſtianity*, preaching where the Goſpel had not yet taken Place, and confirming it where it was already planted. Many Churches of Note and Eminency were of his Foundation, *Smyrna*, *Pergamus*, *Thyatira*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea* and others; but his chief Place of Reſidence was at *Epheſus*, where St. *Paul* had, many Years before, ſettled a Church, and conſtituted *Timothy* Biſhop thereof. Nor can we ſuppoſe that he confined his Miniſtry to *Aſia Minor*, but that he preached in other Parts of the *Eaſt*; probably in *Parthia*, his firſt Epiſtle being antiently intitled to them; and the *Jeſuits*, in the

Relation of their Succeſs in thoſe Parts, aſſure us, that the *Baſſoræ*, (a People of *India*) conſtantly affirm, from a Tradition received from their Anceſtors, that St. *John* planted the *Chriſtian* Faith there.

Having ſpent many Years in this Employment, he was at length accuſed to *Domitian*, who had began a Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, as an eminent Aſſertor of *Atheiſm* and Impiety, and a publick Subverter of the Religion of the Empire. By his Command the Proconſul of *Aſia* ſent him to *Rome*, where his Treatment was, what might be expected from ſo bloody and barbarous a Prince, he was caſt into a Caldron of boiling Oil, or rather Oil let on Fire: But that Divine Providence, that ſecured the three *Hebrew* Captives in the Flames of a burning Furnace, brought this holy Man ſafe out of this, one would have thought, unavoidable Deſtruction. An Inſtance of ſo ſignal a Preſervation, as had been enough to perſuade a conſidering Man, that there muſt be a Divinity in that Religion that had ſuch mighty and ſolemn Atteſtations. But Miracles themſelves will not convince him, that is fallen under a hard Heart, and an injudicious Mind. The cruel Emperor was not ſatisfied with this, but preſently orders him to be baniſhed and tranſported into a Iſland. This was accounted a kind of capital Puniſhment, ſays *Pachymer*, ſpeaking of this very Inſtance, where it is not to be underſtood, as extending to Life, but Loſs of Privilege. Therefore this Puniſhment, in the *Roman* Laws, is called *Capitis diminutio* (and it was the ſecond ſort of it) becauſe the Perſon thus baniſhed was disfranchiſed, and the City thereby loſt an Head. It ſucceeded in

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the Room of that antient Puniſhment, *Aqua & Igni interdicere*, to interdict a Perſon the Uſe of Fire and Water, the two great and neceſſary Conveniencies of Man's Life, whereby was tacitly implied, that he muſt, for his own Defence, betake himſelf into Baniſhment. The Place of our St. *John*'s Baniſhment, was not *Epheſus*, as *Chryſoſtom* by a great Miſtake makes it, but *Patmos*, a deſolate Iſland in the *Archipelago*, where he remained ſeveral Years, inſtructing the Inhabitants in the Faith of *Chriſt*. Here it was, about the End of *Domitian*'s Reign, (as *Irenæus* tells us) that he wrote his *Apocalypſe* or Book of *Revelations*, wherein, by frequent Viſions and prophetical Repreſentations, he had a clear Scheme and Proſpect of the State and Condition of *Chriſtianity*, in the future Periods and Ages of the Church. Which certainly was not the leaſt Inſtance of that Kindneſs and Favour which our Lord partieularly ſhewed to this Apoſtle; and it ſeemed very ſuitable at this Time, that the Goodneſs of God ſhould overpower the Malice of Men, and that he ſhould be entertained with the more immediate Converſation of Heaven, who was now cut off from all ordinary Converſation and Society with Men. In a Monaſtery of *Caloero's*, or *Greek* Monks in this Iſland, they ſhew a dead Man's Hand, at this Day, the Nails of whoſe Fingers grow again as oft as they are pared; which the *Turks* will have to be one of their Prophets, while the *Greeks* conſtantly affirm it to have been the Hand of St. *John*, wherewith he wrote the Revelations, and probably both true alike.

Domitian, whoſe prodigious Wickedneſs had rendered him infamous and burthenſome to the

World, being taken out of the Way, *Cocceius Nerva* ſucceeded in the Empire, a prudent Man, and of a milder and more ſober Temper. He reſcinded the odious Acts of his Predeceſſor; and by publick Edict recalled thoſe from Baniſhment, whom the Fury of *Domitian* had ſent thither. St. *John* taking the Advantage of this general Indulgence, left *Patmos*, and returned into *Aſia*, his antient Charge, but chiefly fixed his Seat at *Epheſus*, the Care and Preſidency whereof (*Timothy* their Biſhop having been lately martyr'd by the People, for perſuading them againſt their Heathen Feaſts and Sports, eſpecially one called *Katalogion*, wherein was a Mixture of Debauchery and Idolatry) he took upon him, and by the Aſſiſtance of ſeven Biſhops, governed that large and ſpacious Dioceſe; *Nicephorus* adds, that he not only managed the Affairs of the Church, ordered and diſpoſed the Clergy, but erected Churches; which ſurely muſt be meant of Oratories, and little Places for their ſolemn Meetings; building Churches in the modern Notion, not being conſiſtent with the Poverty and Perſecutions of *Chriſtians* in thoſe early Times. Here, at the Requeſt of the Biſhops of *Aſia*, he wrote his *Goſpel* (they are Authors of no Credit and Value, that make it written during his Confinement in the Iſle of *Patmos*) with very ſolemn Preparation, whereof more, when we come to conſider the Writings which he left behind him.

He lived till the Time of *Trajan*, about the Beginning of whoſe Reign, he departed this Life, as is generally thought. *Chryſoſtom* is very poſitive that he was an hundred Years old when he wrote his Goſpel, and that he lived full twenty Years

Years after. The ſame is affirmed by *Dorotheus*, that he lived an hundred and twenty Years; which to me ſeems altogether improbable, ſeeing, by this Account, he muſt be fifty Years of Age when called to be an Apoſtle, a Thing directly contrary to the whole Conſent and Teſtimony of Antiquity, which makes him very young at the Time of his calling to the apoſtolic Office. He died (ſays the *Arabian*) *in the Expectation of his Bleſſedneſs*; by which he means his quiet and peaceable Departure, in Oppoſition to a violent and bloody Death. Indeed *Theophylact*, and others before him, conceive him to have died a Martyr, upon no other ground, than what our Saviour told him and his Brother, that they ſhould drink of the Cup, and be baptized with the Baptiſm wherewith he was baptized, which *Chryſoſtom* ſtrictly underſtands of Martyrdom and a bloody Death. It was indeed literally verified of his Brother *James*; and for him, though as St. *Hierom* obſerves, he was not put to death, yet may he be truly ſtiled a Martyr, his being put into a Veſſel of boiling Oil, his many Years Baniſhment, and other Sufferings in the Cauſe of *Chriſt*, juſtly challenging that honourable Title, though it was not want of Goodwill either in him or his Enemies, but the divine Providence immediately over-ruling the Powers of Nature, that kept the Malice of his Enemies from its full Execution.

Others on the contrary, are ſo far from admitting him to die a Martyr, that they queſtion, nay peremptorily deny that he ever died at all. The firſt Aſſertor, and that but obliquely, that I find of this Opinion, was *Hippolytus* Biſhop of *Porto*, and Scholar to *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, who ranks him

him in the ſame Capacity with *Enoch* and *Elias*; for ſpeaking of the twofold Coming of *Chriſt*, he tells us, that his firſt Coming in the Fleſh, had *John the Baptiſt* for his Fore-runner, and his ſecond to Judgment, ſhall have *Enoch*, *Elias* and St. *John*. *Ephrem*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, is more expreſs, he tells us, there are three Perſons, anſwerable to the three Diſpenſations of the Word, yet in the Body, *Enoch*, *Elias* and St. *John*; *Enoch* before the Law, *Elias* under the Law, and St. *John* under the Goſpel; concerning which laſt, that he never died, he confirms both by Scripture and Tradition, and quotes St. *Cyril* (I ſuppoſe he means him of *Alexandria*) as of the ſame Opinion. The whole Foundation upon which this Error is built, was that Diſcourſe that paſſed between our Lord and *Peter*, concerning this Apoſtle: For *Chriſt* having told *Peter* what was to be his own Fate, *Peter* enquires what ſhould become of St. *John*, knowing him to be *the Diſciple whom* Jeſus *loved?* Our Lord rebukes his Curioſity, by asking him, what that concerned him, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* This the Apoſtles miſunderſtood, and a Report preſently went out amongſt them, *That that Diſciple ſhould not die:* Though St. *John*, who himſelf records the Paſſage, inſerts a Caution, *That* Jeſus *did not ſay, he ſhould not die, but only, what if I will that he tarry till I come?* Which doubtleſs our Lord meant of his Coming (ſo often mentioned in the *New Teſtament*) in Judgment upon the *Jews*, at the final Overthrow of *Jeruſalem*, which St. *John* outlived many Years; and which our Lord particularly intended, when elſewhere he told them, *Verily I ſay unto you, there be ſome ſtanding here, which*

which ſhall not taſte of Death, till they ſee the Son of Man coming in his Kingdom,

From the ſame Original ſprang the Report, that he only lay ſleeping in his Grave. The Story was current in St. *Auguſtin*'s Days, from whom we receive this Account, though poſſibly the Reader will ſmile at the Conceit. He tells us, 'twas commonly reported and believed that St. *John* was not dead, but that he reſted like a Man aſleep in his Grave at *Epheſus*, as plainly appeared from the Duſt ſenſibly boiling and bubling up, which they accounted to be nothing elſe but the continual Motion of his Breath. This Report St. *Auguſtine* ſeems inclinable to believe, having received it, as he tells us, from very credible Hands. He farther adds, out of ſome apocryphal Writings, which were then generally known, that St. *John*, when in Health, had cauſed his Grave to be dug and prepared, he laid himſelf down in it, as in a Bed, and, as they thought, only fell aſleep. *Nicephorus* relates the Story more at large, from whom (if it may be any Pleaſure to entertain the Reader with theſe Things) we ſhall give this Account: St. *John* foreſeeing his Tranſlation into Heaven, took the Presbyters and Miniſters of the Church of *Epheſus*, and ſeveral of the Faithful along with him, out of the City, carrying them unto a Cementary near at at hand, whether he himſelf was wont to retire to Prayer, and very earneſtly recommended the State of the Churches to God. Which being done, he commanded a Grave to be immediately dug, and having inſtructed them in the more recondire Myſteries of Theology, the moſt excellent Precepts of a good Life, concerning Faith, Hope, and eſpecially Charity,

Charity, confirmed them in the Practice of Religion, and commending them to the Care and Bleſſing of our Saviour, and ſolemnly taking his Leave of them, he ſigned himſelf with the Sign of the Croſs, and before them all went down into the Grave; ſtrictly charging to put on the Grave-Stone, and to make it faſt, and the next Day to come and open it, and take a View of it. They did ſo, and having opened the Sepulchre, found nothing there but the Grave-Clothes, which he had left behind him. To all which let me add, while my Hand is in theſe Things, what *Ephrem* relates, that from this Grave, wherein he reſted ſo ſhort a time, a kind of ſacred Oil or Unguent was wont to be gathered. *Gregory* of *Tours* ſays it was Manna, which, even in his Time, like Flour was caſt up in the Sepulchre, and was carried up and down the World for the curing of Diſeaſes. This Report of our Apoſtle's being yet alive, ſome Men made uſe of to wild and phantaſtic Purpoſes. *Beza* tells us of an Impoſtor in his Time (whom *Poſtellus*, who vainly boaſted that he had the Soul of *Adam*, was wont to call his Brother) who publickly profeſſed himſelf to be St. *John*, and was afterwards burnt at *Thouloſe* in *France*: Nor was this any more than what was done in the moſt early Ages of *Chriſtianity*; for *Sulpitius Severus*, giving us an Account of a young *Spaniard* that firſt profeſſed himſelf to be *Elias*, and then *Chriſt* himſelf, adds, that there was one at the ſame Time in the *Eaſt*, who gave out himſelf to be St. *John*; ſo faſt will Error, like Circles in the Water, multiply itſelf, and one miſtaken Place of Scripture give Countenance to an hundred Stories that ſhall be built upon it. I have

have no more to add, but what we meet with in the *Arabic* Writer of his Life (though it little agrees with the preceding Paſſages) who reports that there was were none preſent at his Burial, but his Diſciple *Phogſir* (probably *Prophor* or *Prochorus*, one of the ſeven Deacons, and generally ſaid to have been St. *John*'s Companion and Aſſiſtant) whom he ſtrictly charged never to diſcover his Sepulchre to any; it may be for the ſame Reaſon for which it is thought God concealed the Body of *Moſes*, to prevent tne idolatrous worſhipping of Reliques: And accordingly the *Turks*, who conceit him to be buried in the Confines of *Lydia*, pay great Honour and Veneration to his Tomb.

St. *John* ſeems always to have led a ſingle Life, and ſo the Antients tell us, nay, St. *Ambroſe* poſitively affirms, that all the Apoſtles were married, except St. *John* and St. *Paul*. There want not indeed ſome, and eſpecially the middle Writers of the Church, who will have our Apoſtle to have been married, and that it was at his Marriage the Water was turned into Wine, and that he immediately quitted his conjugal Relation, and became one of our Lord's Diſciples. But this, as *Baronius* himſelf confeſſes, is trifling, and the Iſſue of fabulous Invention, a Thing wholly unknown to the Fathers and beſt Writers of the Chnrch, and which, not only has no juſt Authority to ſupport it, but Arguments enough to beat it down. As for his natural Temper, he ſeems (as we have obſerved in his Brother's Life) to have been of a moſt eager and reſolute Diſpoſition, eaſily apt to be inflamed and provoked, which his reduced Age brought to a more ſtaid and a calmer Temper. He was po-

liſhed by no Study or Arts of Learning, but what was wanting in that, was abundantly made up in the excellent Temper and Conſtitution of his Mind, and that Furniture of divine Graces which he was adorned withal. His Humility was admirable, ſtudiouſly concealing his own Worth and Honour, in all his Epiſtles (as *Euſebius* long ſince obſerved) he never puts down the honourable Titles of *Apoſtle* or *Evangeliſt*, but only ſtiles himſelf, and that too but ſometimes, *Presbyter* or *Elder*, alluding probably, to his Age, as much as Office: In his Goſpel, when he ſpeaks of *the Diſciple whom* Jeſus *loved*, he conſtantly conceals his own Name, leaving the Reader to conjecture who he meant. Love and Charity he practiſed himſelf, and affectionately preſſed upon others, our Lord's great Love to him ſeems to have inſpired his Soul with a bigger and more generous Charity than the reſt: It is the great Vein that runs through his Writings, and eſpecially his Epiſtles, where he urges it as the great and peculiar Law of *Chriſtianity*, and without which all other Pretenſions to the *Chriſtian* Religion, are vain and frivolous, uſeleſs and inſignificant: And this was his conſtant Practice to his dying Day. When Age and Weakneſs grew upon him at *Epheſus*, that he was no longer able to preach to them, he uſed, at every publick Meeting, to be led to the Church, and ſay to them no more, than, *Little Children, love one another*. And when his Auditors, wearied with the Repetition of the ſame Thing, asked him why he always repeated the ſame Words; he anſwered, Becauſe it was the Command of our Lord, and that if they did nothing elſe, this alone was enough.

But

But the largeſt Meaſures of his Charity he expreſſed in the mighty Care that he ſhewed to the Souls of Men, unweariedly ſpending himſelf in the Service of the Goſpel, travelling from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, to leaven the World with the Principles of that holy Religion which he was ſent to propagate, patiently enduring all Torments, breaking through all Difficulties and Diſcouragements, ſhunning no Dangers, that he might do good to Souls, redeem Mens Minds from Error and Idolatry, and reduce them from the Snares of a debauched and vicious Life; witneſs one famous Inſtance: In his Viſitation of the Churches, near to *Epheſus*, he made Choice of a young Man, whom, with a ſpecial Charge for his Inſtruction and Education he committed to the Biſhop of that Place. The ſpiritual Man undertook the Charge, inſtructed his Pupil, and baptized him; and then thinking he might a little remit the Reins of Diſcipline, the Youth made an ill Uſe of his Liberty, and was quickly debauched by bad Companions, making himſelf a Captain to a Company of Highwaymen, the moſt looſe, cruel and profligate Wretches of the Country. St. *John*, at his Return, underſtanding this, and ſharply reproving the Negligence and Unfaithfulneſs of his Tutor, reſolved to find him out; and, without any Conſideration of what Danger he entered upon, in venturing himſelf upon Perſons of deſperate Fortunes, and forfeited Conſciences, he went to the Mountains, where their uſual Haunt was; and being here taken by the Centinel, he deſired to be brought before their Commander, who no ſooner eſpied him coming towards him, but immediately fled. The aged Apoſtle followed after, but not being

able to overtake him, paſſionately entreated him to ſtay, promiſing him to undertake with God for his Peace and Pardon. He did ſo, and both melted into Tears; and the Apoſtle having pray'd with and for him, returned him a true Penitent and Convert to the Church. This Story we have elſewhere related more at large out of *Euſebius*, as he does from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ſince which, that Tract itſelf of *Clements* is made publick to the World.

Nor was it the leaſt Inſtance of his Care of the Church, and Charity to the Souls of Men, that he was ſo infinitely vigilant againſt Hereticks and Seducers, countermining their Artifices, antidoting againſt the Poiſon of their Errors, and ſhunning all Communion and Converſation with their Perſons. Going along with ſome of his Friends at *Epheſus* to the Bath (whither he uſed frequently to reſort, and the Ruins whereof, of Porphyry, not far from the Place where ſtood the famous Temple of *Diana*, as a late Eye-witneſs informs us, are ſtill ſhewed at this Day) he enquired of the Servant that waited there, who was within; the Servant told him, *Cerinthus* (*Epiphanius* ſays it was *Ebion*, and 'tis not improbable that they might be both there) which the Apoſtle no ſooner underſtood, but in great Abhorrency he turned back. *Let us be gone my Brethren*, ſaid he, *and make Haſte from this Place, leſt the Bath wherein there is ſuch an Heretick as* Cerinthus, *the great Enemy of the Truth, fall upon our Heads.* This Account *Irenæus* delivers from *Polycarp*, St. *John*'s own Scholar and Diſciple. This *Cerinthus* was a Man of looſe and pernicious Principles, endeavouring to corrupt *Chriſtianity* with many damnable Errors.

To

To make himſelf more conſiderable, he ſtruck in with the *Jewiſh* Converts, and made a Buſtle in that Controverſy at *Jeruſalem*, about Circumciſion and the Obſervation of the Law of *Moſes*. But his uſual Haunt was *Aſia*, where, amongſt other Things, ho openly denied *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection, affirmed the World to have been made by Angels, broaching unheard of *Dogmata*, and pretending them to have been communicated to him by Angels, venting Revelations compoſed by himſelf, as a great Apoſtle, affirming, that after the Reſurrection the Reign of *Chriſt* would commence here upon Earth, and that Men living again at *Jeruſalem*, ſhould for the Space of a thouſand Years enjoy all Manner of ſenſual Pleaſures and Delights; hoping by this *Fool's Paradiſe* that he ſhould tempt Men of looſe and brutiſh Minds over to his Party. Much of the ſame Stamp was *Ebion* (though in ſome Principles differing from him, as Error agrees with itſelf as little as with Truth) who held that the holy *Jeſus* was a meer, and a mean Man, begotten by *Joſeph* on *Mary* his Wife, and that the Obſervance of the *Moſaic* Rites and Laws was neceſſary to Salvation: And becauſe they ſaw St. *Paul* ſtand ſo full in their Way, they reproached him as an Apoſtate from his Religion, and rejected his Epiſtles, owning none but St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel in *Hebrew*, having little or no Value for the reſt; the *Sabbath* and *Jewiſh* Rites they obſerved with the *Jews*, and on the Lord's Day celebrated the Memory of our Lord's Reſurrection, according to the Cuſtom and Practice of the *Chriſtians*.

Beſides theſe, there was another ſort of Hereticks that infeſted the Church in St. *John*'s Time, the

the *Nicolaitans*, mentioned by him in his *Revelation*, and whoſe Doctrine our Lord is with a particular Emphaſis there ſaid to hate; indeed a moſt wretched and brutiſh Sect, generally ſuppoſed to derive their Original from *Nicolas*, one of the ſeven Deacons, whom we read of in the *Acts*; whereof *Clemens* of *Alexandria* gives this probable Account, This *Nicolas* having a beautiful Wife, and being reproved by the Apoſtles for being jealous of her, to ſhew how far he was from it, brought her forth, and gave any that would Leave to marry her; affirming this to be ſuitable to that Saying, *That we ought to abuſe the Fleſh.* This Speech, he tells us, was aſcribed to St *Matthias*, who taught, that *we muſt fight with the Fleſh, and abuſe it*; and not allowing it any Thing for Pleaſure, encreaſe the Soul by Faith and Knowledge. Theſe Words and Actions of his, his Diſciples and Followers miſunderſtanding, and perverting Things to the worſt Senſe, began to let looſe the Reins, and henceforwards to give themſelves over to the greateſt Filthineſs, the moſt ſhameleſs and impudent Uncleanneſs, throwing down all Incloſures, making the moſt promiſcuous Mixtures lawful, and Pleaſure the ultimate End and Happineſs of Man. Such were their Principles, ſuch their Practices; whereas *Nicolas*, their pretended Patron and Founder, was (ſays *Clemens*) a ſober and a temperate Man, never making uſe of any but his own Wife, by whom he had one Son, and ſeveral Daughters, who all lived in perpetual Virginity.

The laſt Inſtance that we ſhall remark of our Apoſtle's Care for the Good of the Church, is the Writings which he left to Poſterity. Whereof the firſt in Time, though placed laſt, is his *Apocalypſe*

or

or Book of *Revelations*, written while confined in *Patmos*. It was of old not only rejected by Hereticks, but controverted by many of the Fathers themſelves. *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, has a very large Diſcourſe concerning it; he tells us, that many plainly diſowned this Book, not only for the Matter, but the Author of it, as being neither Apoſtle, no nor any holy or eccleſiaſtical Perſon; that *Cerinthus* prefixed St. *John*'s Name to it, to give the more plauſible Title to his Dream of *Chriſt*'s Reign upon Earth, and that ſenſual and carnal State that would attend it: That for his Part he durſt not reject it, looking upon it as containing wiſe and admirable Myſteries, though he could not fathom and comprehend them; that he did not meaſure them by his own Line, nor condemn, but rather admire what he could not underſtand; that he owned the Author to have been an holy, and divinely inſpired Perſon, but could not believe it to be St. *John* the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, neither Stile, Matter, nor Method agreeing with his other Writings; that in this he frequently names himſelf, which he never does in any other; that there were ſeveral *Johns* at that Time, and two buried at *Epheſus*, the Apoſtle, and another, one of the Diſciples that dwelt in *Aſia*, but which the Author of this Book he leaves uncertain. But though doubted by ſome, it was entertained by the far greater Part of the Antients as the genuine Work of our St. *John*. Nor could the ſetting down his Name be any reaſonable Exception, for whatever he might do in his other Writings, eſpecially his Goſpel, where it was leſs neceſſary, hiſtorical Matters depending not ſo much upon his Authority, yet it was otherwiſe in prophetick Revelations,

tions, where the Perſon of the Revealer adds great Weight and Moment; the Reaſon why ſome of the Prophets under the *Old Teſtament* did ſo frequently ſet down their own Names. The Diverſity of the Stile is of no conſiderable Value in this Caſe, it being no Wonder, if in Arguments ſo vaſtly different, the ſame Perſon did not always obſerve the ſame Tenour and Way of writing; whereof there want not Inſtances in ſome others of the apoſtolick Order. The Truth is, all Circumſtances concur to intitle our Apoſtle to be the Author of it, his Name being frequently expreſſed, its being written in the Iſland of *Patmos* (a Circumſtance not compatible to any but St. *John*) and his ſtiling himſelf *their Brother and Companion in Tribulation, and in the Kingdom and Patience of Jeſus Chriſt*; his writing particular Epiſtles to the ſeven Churches of *Aſia*, all planted, or at leaſt cultivated by him; the Doctrine in it ſuitable to the apoſtolick Spirit and Temper, evidently bearing Witneſs in this Caſe. That which ſeems to have given Ground to doubt concerning both its Author and Authority, was, its being long before it was uſually joined with other Books of the holy Canon; for, containing in it ſome Paſſages directly levelled at *Rome*, the Seat of the *Roman* Empire, and others which might be thought to ſymbolize with ſome *Jewiſh* Dreams and Fictions, it might poſſibly ſeem fit to the Prudence of thoſe Times for a while to ſuppreſs it. Nor is the Conjecture of a learned Man to be deſpiſed, who thinks that it might be entruſted in the Keeping of *John* the Presbyter, Scholar to our Apoſtle; whence probably the Report might ariſe, that he, who was only the *Keeper*, was the *Author* of it.

I

S. MATTHEW CHAP. VIII. Ver. 51. &c.

The Centurion beseeching Christ to heal his Servant.

I add no more, than that upon the Account of this *Apocalypſe*, containing a prophetick Scheme of the future State of the *Chriſtian* Church, he is in a ſtrict Senſe a Prophet, and has thereby one conſiderable Addition to his Titles, being not only an Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, but a Prophet; an Honour peculiar to himſelf. *Peter* was an Apoſtle, but properly no Evangeliſt; *Mark* an Evangeliſt, but no Apoſtle; St. *Matthew* an Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, but no Prophet; but St. *John* was both an Apoſtle, an Evangeliſt, and a Prophet.

His Goſpel ſucceeds, written, ſay ſome, in *Patmos*, and publiſhed at *Epheſus*; but according to *Irenæus* and others, more truly, 'twas written by him after his return to *Epheſus*; compoſed at the earneſt Intreaty and Sollicitation of the *Aſian* Biſhops, and Ambaſſadors from the ſeveral Churches, in order whereunto he firſt cauſed them to proclaim a general Faſt, to ſeek the Bleſſing of Heaven on ſo great and ſolemn an Undertaking; which being done, he ſet about it. And if we may believe the Report of *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours*, he tells us, that upon a Hill near *Epheſus* there was a *Proſeucha*, or uncovered Oratory, whither our Apoſtle uſed often to retire for Prayer and Contemplation, and where he obtained of God, that it might not rain in that Place, till he had finiſhed his Goſpel. Nay he adds, that even in his Time, no Shower or Storm ever came upon it. Two cauſes eſpecially contributed to the writing of it; the one, that he might obviate the early Hereſies of thoſe Times, eſpecially of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, and the reſt of that Crew, who began openly to deny *Chriſt*'s Divinity, and that he had any Exiſtence before his Incarnation; the Reaſon

why our Evangeliſt is ſo expreſs and copious on that Subject. The other was, that he might ſupply thoſe Paſſages of the evangelical Hiſtory, which the reſt of the ſacred Writers had omitted. Collecting therefore the other three Evangeliſts, he firſt ſet his Seal, ratifying the Truth of them with his Approbation and Conſent, and then added his own Goſpel to the reſt, principally inſiſting upon the Acts of *Chriſt* from the firſt commencing of his Miniſtry to the Death of *John the Baptiſt*, wherein the others are moſt defective, giving ſcarce any Account of the firſt Year of our Saviour's Miniſtery, which therefore he made up in very large and particular Narrations. He largely records (as *Nazianzen* obſerves) our Saviour's Diſcourſes, but takes little notice of his Miracles, probably becauſe ſo fully and particullarly related by the reſt. The Subject of his Writings is very ſublime and myſterious, mainly deſigning to prove *Chriſt*'s Divinity, eternal Pre-exiſtence, creating of the World, *&c.* Upon which Account *Theodoret* ſtiles his Goſpel, *A Theology which human Underſtanding can never fully penetrate and find out.* Thence generally by the Antients he is reſembled to an *Eagle*, ſoaring aloft within the Clouds, whither the weak Eye of Man was unable to follow him; hence peculiarly honoured with the Title of, *The Divine*; as if due to none but him, at leaſt to him in a more eminent and extraordinary Manner. Nay, the very *Gentile-Philoſophers* themſelves could not but admire his Writings; Witneſs *Amelius* the famous *Platoniſt*, and Regent of *Porphyry*'s School at *Alexandria*; who quoting a Paſſage out of the Beginning of St. *John*'s Goſpel, ſware by *Jupiter*, "That this *Barbarian* (ſo the proud *Greeks* counted

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" ed and called all that differed from them) had " hit upon the right Notion, when he affirmed, " that the *Word* that made all Things *was in the* " *Beginning*, and in Place of prime Dignity and " Authority with God; and was that God that " created all Things, in whom every Thing that " was made, had, according to its Nature, its " Life and Being; that he was incarnate, and " clothed with a Body, wherein he manifeſted the " Glory and Magnificence of his Nature; that " after his Death, he returned to the Re-poſſeſſion " of Divinity, and became the ſame God, which " he was before his aſſuming a Body, and taking " the human Nature and Fleſh upon him." I have no more to obſerve, but that his *Goſpel* was afterwards tranſlated into *Hebrew*, and kept by the *Jews* among their ſecret Archives and Records in their Treaſury at *Tiberias*; where a Copy of it was found by one *Joſeph* a *Jew*, afterwards converted, and whom *Conſtantine the Great* advanced to the Honour of a Count of the Empire, who breaking open the Treaſury, though he miſſed of Money, found Books beyond all Treaſure, St. *Matthew* and St. *John*'s *Goſpels*, and the *Acts of the Apoſtles* in *Hebrew*, the reading whereof greatly contributed towards his Converſion.

Beſides theſe, our Apoſtle wrote three Epiſtles; the firſt whereof is catholick, calculated for all Times and Places, containing moſt excellent Rules for the Conduct of the *Chriſtian* Life, preſſing to Holineſs and Purity of Manners, and not to reſt in a naked and empty Profeſſion of Religion, not to be led away with the crafty Inſinuations of Seducers, antidoting Men againſt the Poiſon of the *Gnoſtick* Principles and Practices, to whom it is not

to be doubted, but that the Apoſtle had a more particular Reſpect in this Epiſtle. According to his wonted Modeſty he conceals his Name, it being of more Importance with wiſe Men, what it is that is ſaid, than who it is that ſays it. And this Epiſtle, *Euſebius* tells us, was univerſally received, and never queſtioned by any; antiently, as appears by St. *Auguſtine*, inſcribed to the *Parthians*, though for what Reaſon I am yet to learn, unleſs (as we hinted before) it was, becauſe he himſelf had heretofore preached in thoſe Parts of the World. The other two Epiſtles are but ſhort, and directed to particular Perſons, the one a Lady of honourable Quality, the other the charitable and hoſpitable *Gaius*, ſo kind a Friend, ſo courteous an Entertainer of all indigent *Chriſtians*. Theſe Epiſtles indeed were not of old admitted into the Canon, nor are owned by the Church in *Syria* at this Day, aſcribed by many to the younger *John*, Diſciple to our Apoſtle. But there is no juſt Cauſe to queſtion who was their Father, ſeeing both the Doctrine, Phraſe, and Deſign of them do ſufficiently challenge our Apoſtle for their Author. Theſe are all the Books, wherein it pleaſed the Holy Spirit to make uſe of St. *John* for their Penman and Secretary, in the Compoſure whereof though his Stile and Character be not florid and elegant, yet is it grave and ſimple, ſhort and perſpicuous. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* tells us, that in his Goſpel and firſt Epiſtle his Phraſe is more neat and elegant, there being an Accuracy in the Contexture both of Words and Matter, that runs through all the Reaſoning of his Diſcourſes; but that in the *Apocalypſe* the Stile is nothing ſo pure and clear, being frequently mixed with more barbarous

barous and improper Phraſes. Indeed his *Greek* generally abounds with *Syriaſms*, his Diſcourſes many Times abrupt, ſet off with frequent Antitheſes, connected with Copulatives, Paſſages often repeated, Things at firſt more obſcurely propounded, and which he is forced to enlighten with ſubſequent Explications, Words peculiar to himſelf, and Phraſes uſed in an uncommon Senſe. All which concur to render his Way of writing leſs grateful, poſſibly, to the Maſters of Eloquence, and an elaborate Curioſity. St. *Hierom* obſerves, that in citing Places out of the *Old Teſtament*, he more immediately tranſlates from the *Hebrew* Original, ſtudying to render Things Word for Word; for being an *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, admirably skill'd in the Language of his Country, it probably made him leſs exact in his *Greek* Compoſures, wherein he had very little Advantage, beſides what was immediately communicated from above. But whatever was wanting in the Politeneſs of Stile, was abundantly made up in the Zeal of his Temper, and the Excellency and Sublimity of his Matter; he truly anſwered his Name, *Boanerges*, ſpake and wrote like a *Son of Thunder*. Whence it is that his Writings, but eſpecially his Goſpel, have ſuch great and honourable Things ſpoken of them by the Antients. *The evangelical Writings* (ſays St. *Baſil*) *tranſcend the other Parts of the holy Volumes; in other Parts, God ſpeaks to us by his Servants the Prophets, but in the Goſpels our Lord himſelf ſpeaks to us: But, among all the evangelical Preachers, none like St.* John, *the Son of Thunder, for the Sublimeneſs of his Speech, and the Heighth of his Diſcourſes beyond any Man's Capacity duly to reach and comprehend. St.* John, *as a true Son of Thunder,* (*ſays* Epiphanius) *by a certain Greatneſs of Speech*

peculiar

peculiar to himſelf, does, as it were, out of the Clouds, and the dark Receſſes of Wiſdom, acquaint us with Divine Doctrines concerning the Son of God. To which let me add, what St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, among other Things, ſays concerning him, *That whoever looks to the Sublimity of his incomprehenſible Notions, the Acumen and Sharpneſs of his Reaſon, and the quick Inferences of his Diſcourſes conſtantly ſucceeding and following upon one another, muſt needs confeſs, that his Goſpel perfectly exceeds all Admiration.*

The LIFE of St. *PHILIP.*

OF all Parts of *Paleſtine*, *Galilee* ſeems to have paſſed under the greateſt Character of Ignominy and Reproach. The Country itſelf, becauſe bordering on the idolatrous uncircumciſed Nations, was called *Galilee of the Gentiles*; the People being generally beheld as more rude and boiſterous, more unpoliſhed and barbarous than the reſt, not remarkable either for Civility or Religion. *The* Galileans *received him, having ſeen all the Things that he did at* Jeruſalem, *at the Feaſt, for they alſo went up unto the Feaſt*; as if it had been a Wonder, and a Matter of very ſtrange Remark, to ſee ſo much Devotion in them, as to attend the Solemnity of the *Paſſover*. Indeed both *Jew* and *Gentile* conſpired in this, that they thought they could not fix a greater Title of Reproach upon our Savour and his Followers, than that of *Galilean*. *Can any good Thing come out of* Nazareth? (a City in this

this Province) ſaid *Nathanael* concerning *Chriſt. Search and look* (ſay the *Phariſees*) *for out of* Galilee *ariſeth no Prophet*; as if nothing but Briars and Thorns could grow in that Soil. But there needs no more to confute this ill Opinion, than that our Lord not only made Choice of it as the Seat of his ordinary Reſidence and Retreat, but that hence he choſe thoſe excellent Perſons, whom he made his Apoſtles, the great Inſtruments to convert the World. Some of theſe we have already given an Account of, and more are yet behind.

Of this Number was St. *Philip*, born at *Bethſaida*, a Town near the Sea of *Tiberias*, the City of *Andrew* and *Peter*. Of his Parents, and way of Life, the Hiſtory of the Goſpel takes no Notice, though probably he was a Fiſherman, the general Trade of the Place. He had the Honour of being firſt called to the Diſcipleſhip, which thus came to paſs: Our Lord, ſoon after his Return from the Wilderneſs, having met with *Andrew* and his Brother *Peter*, after ſome ſhort Diſcourſe parted from them; and the very next Day, as he was paſſing through *Galilee*, he found *Philip*, whom he preſently commanded to *follow him*; the conſtant Form which he uſed in making Choice of his Diſciples, and thoſe that did inſeparably attend upon him: So that the Prerogative of being firſt called, evidently belongs to *Philip*, he being the Firſt-fruits of our Lord's Diſciples. For though *Andrew* and *Peter* were the firſt that came to, and converſed with *Chriſt*, yet did they immediately return to their Trade again, and were not called to the Diſcipleſhip till above a whole Year after, when *John* was caſt into Priſon. *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, that it

was

was *Philip*, to whom our Lord ſaid, (when he would have excuſed himſelf at preſent, that he muſt go bury his Father) *Let the Dead bury the Dead, follow thou me.* But, beſides that he gives no Account whence he derived this Intelligence, it is plainly inconſiſtent with the Time of our Apoſtle's Call, who was called to be a Diſciple a long Time before that Speech and Paſſage of our Saviour. It may ſeem juſtly ſtrange that *Philip* ſhould at firſt Sight ſo readily comply with our Lord's Command, and turn himſelf over into his Service, having not yet ſeen any Miracle that might evince his Meſſiahſhip and divine Commiſſion, nor probably ſo much as heard any Tidings of his Appearance; and eſpecially, being a *Galilean*, and ſo of a more ruſtick and unyielding Temper. But it cannot be doubted but that he was admirably verſed in the Writings of *Moſes* and the Prophets. *Metaphraſtes* aſſures us (though how he came to know it otherwiſe than by Conjecture, I cannot imagine) that from his Childhood he had excellent Education, that he frequently read over *Moſes*'s Book, and conſidered the Prophecies that related to our Saviour, and was, no Queſtion, awakened with the general Expectations that were then on Foot among the *Jews* (the Date of the prophetick Scriptures concerning the Time of *Chriſt*'s Coming being now run out) that the *Meſſiah* would immediately appear. Add to this, that the divine Grace did more immediately accompany the Command of *Chriſt*, to incline and diſpoſe him to believe, that this Perſon was that very *Meſſiah* that was to come.

No ſooner had Religion taken Poſſeſſion of his Mind, but like an active Principle it began to ferment,

ferment, and diffuſe itſelf. Away he goes, and finds *Nathanael*, a Perſon of Note and Eminency, acquaints him with the Tidings of the new-found *Meſſiah*, and conducts him to him: So forward is a good Man to draw and direct others to the ſame Way to Happineſs with himſelf. After his Call to the Apoſtleſhip much is not recorded of him in the holy Story: 'Twas to him that our Saviour propounded the Queſtion, What they ſhould do for ſo much Bread in the Wilderneſs, as would feed ſo vaſt a Multitude? To which he anſwered, That ſo much was not eaſily to be had; not conſidering, that to feed two or twenty Thouſand are equally eaſy to Almighty Power, when pleaſed to exert itſelf. 'Twas to him that the *Gentile* Proſelytes that came up to the Paſſover addreſſed themſelves, when deſirous to ſee our Saviour, a Perſon of whom they had heard ſo loud a Fame. 'Twas with him that our Lord had that Diſcourſe concerning himſelf a little before the laſt *Paſchal* Supper. The holy and compaſſionate *Jeſus* had been fortifying their Minds with fit Conſiderations againſt his Departure from them, had told them, that he was going to prepare Room for them in the Manſions of the Bleſſed; that he himſelf was *the Way, the Truth, and the Life*, and *that no Man could come to the Father but by him*, and that knowing him, *they both knew and had ſeen the Father*. *Philip*, not duly underſtanding the Force of our Saviour's Reaſonings, begged of him, that he would *ſhew them the Father*, and then this would abundantly convince and ſatisfy them. We can hardly ſuppoſe he ſhould have ſuch groſs Conceptions of the Deity, as to imagine the Father veſted with a corporeal and viſible Nature; but *Chriſt* having

told them that they had ſeen him, and he knowing that God of old was wont frequently to appear in a viſible Shape, he only deſired that he would manifeſt himſelf to them by ſome ſuch Appearance. Our Lord gently reproved his Ignorance, that after ſo long Attendance upon his Inſtructions, he ſhould not know, that he was the Image of his Father, the expreſs Characters of his infinite Wiſdom, Power, and Goodneſs, appearing in him; that he ſaid and did nothing but by his Father's Appointment, which if they did not believe, his Miracles were a ſufficient Evidence: That therefore ſuch Demands were unneceſſary and impertinent, and that it argued great Weakneſs, after more than three Years Education under his Diſcipline and Inſtitution, to be ſo unskilful in thoſe Matters. God expects Improvement according to Mens Opportunities; to be old and ignorant in the School of *Chriſt*, deſerves both Reproach and Puniſhment; 'tis the Character of very bad Perſons, that *they are ever learning, but never come to the Knowledge of the Truth.*

In the Diſtribution of the ſeveral Regions of the World made by the Apoſtles, though no Mention be made by *Origen* or *Euſebius*, what Part fell to our Apoſtle, yet we are told by others, that the *Upper Aſia* was his Province (the Reaſon, doubtleſs why he is ſaid by many to have preached and planted *Chriſtianity* in *Scythia*) where he applied himſelf with an indefatigable Diligence and Induſtry to recover Men out of the Snare of the Devil, to the embracing and Acknowledgment of the Truth. By the Conſtancy of his Preaching, and the Efficacy of his Miracles, he gained numerous Converts, whom he baptized into the *Chriſtian*

Chriſtian Faith, at once curing both Souls and Bodies, their Souls of Error and Idolatry, their Bodies of Infirmities and Diſtempers, healing Diſeaſes, diſpoſſeſſing Demons, ſettling Churches, and appointing them Guides and Miniſters of Religion.

Having for many Years ſucceſsfully managed his apoſtolical Office in all thoſe Parts, he came in the laſt Period of his Life to *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, a City rich and populous, but anſwering its Name in its idolatrous Devotions. Amongſt the many vain and trifling Deities, to whom they paid religious Adoration, was a Serpent or Dragon (in Memory no Doubt of that infamous Act of *Jupiter*, who, in the Shape of a Dragon, inſinuated himſelf into the Embraces of *Proſerpina*, his own Daughter, begot of *Ceres*, and whom theſe *Phrygians* chiefly worſhipped, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us; ſo little Reaſon had *Baronius* to ſay that they worſhipped no ſuch God) of a more prodigious Bigneſs than the reſt, which they worſhipped with a great and ſolemn Veneration. St. *Philip* was troubled to ſee the People ſo wretchedly enſlaved to Error, and therefore continually ſollicited Heaven, till by Prayer end calling upon the Name of *Chriſt*, he had procured the Death, or at leaſt Vaniſhing of this famed and beloved Serpent: Which done, he told them, how unbecoming it was to give divine Honours to ſuch odious Creatures; that God alone was to be worſhipped as the great Parent of the World, who had made Man at firſt after his own glorious Image, and when fallen from that innocent and happy State, had ſent his own Son into the World to redeem them; who died, and roſe from the Dead, and

would come again at the laſt Day, to raiſe Men out of their Graves, and to ſentence and reward them according to their Works. The Succeſs was, that the People were aſhamed of their fond Idolatry, and many broke loſe from their Chains of Darkneſs, and ran over to *Chriſtianity*. Whereupon the great Enemy to Mankind betook himſelf to his old Methods of Cruelty and Perſecution: The Magiſtrates of the City ſeized the Apoſtle, and having put him into Priſon, cauſed him to be ſeverely whipped and ſcourged. This preparatory Cruelty paſſed, he was led to Execution, and being bound, was hanged up by the Neck againſt a Pillar, though others tell us, that he was crucified. We are farther told, that at his Execution the Earth began ſuddenly to quake, and the Ground whereon the People ſtood, to ſink under them, which when they apprehended, and bewailed as an evident Act of divine Vengeance purſuing them for their Sins, it as ſuddenly ſtopt, and went no farther. The Apoſtle being dead, his Body was taken down by St. *Bartholomew*, his fellow-ſufferer, though not finally executed, and *Mariamne*, St. *Philip*'s Siſter, who is ſaid to have been the conſtant Companion of his Travels, and decently buried; after which, having confirmed the People in the Faith of *Chriſt*, they departed from them.

That St. *Philip* was married, is generally affirmed by the Antients; *Clemens* of *Alexandria* reckons him o e of the married Apoſtles, and that he had Daughters, whom he diſpoſed in Marriage: *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus* tells us, that *Philip*, one of the twelve Apoſtles, died at *Hierapolis*, with two of his Daughters, who perſevered in their Virginity,

ginity, and that he had a third which died at *Epheſus*. The Truth is, the not carefully diſtinguiſhing between *Philip* the Deacon (who lived at *Ceſarea*, and of whoſe four Virgin-daughters we read in the Hiſtory of the Apoſtles Acts) and our Apoſtle, has bred ſome Confuſion among the Antients in this Matter: Nay, has made ſome conclude them to have been but one and the ſame Perſon; but with how little Reaſon, will appear to any one that ſhall conſider, that *Philip*, who was choſen to be one of the ſeven Deacons, could not be one of the apoſtolical College, the Apoſtles declaring upon that Occaſion, that they had Affairs of a higher Nature to attend upon: *Then the twelve called the Multitude of the Diſciples unto them, and ſaid, It is not reaſonable that we ſhould leave the Word of God, and ſerve Tables; wherefore look ye out among you ſeven Men of honeſt Report*, &c. *and they choſe* Stephen, *and* Philip, &c. "among you" the Body of the People, not from among the Apoſtles. So when upon the Perſecution that aroſe upon *Stephen*'s Death, the Church was diſperſed, *they were all ſcattered abroad throughout the Regions of* Judea *and* Samaria (and *Philip* the Deacon among the reſt, *who went down to the City of* Samaria) *except the Apoſtles*, who tarried behind at *Jeruſalem*. And when *Philip* had converted and baptized conſiderable Numbers in that Place, he was forced to ſend for two of the Apoſtles from *Jeruſalem*, that ſo by apoſtolick Hands they might be confirmed, and might receive the Holy Ghoſt: Which had been wholly needleſs, had *Philip* himſelf been of the twelve Apoſtles. But 'tis needleſs to argue in this Matter, the Account concerning them being ſo widely different; for as they differed

differed in their Perſons and Offices, the one a Deacon the other an Apoſtle, ſo alſo in the Number of their Children, four Daughters being aſcribed to the one, while three only are attributed to the other. He was one of the Apoſtles who left no ſacred Writings behind him, the greater Part of the Apoſtles (as *Euſebius* obſerves) having little Leiſure to write Books, being employed in Miniſteries more immediately uſeful and ſubſervient to the Happineſs of Mankind; though *Epiphanius* tells us, that the *Gnoſticks* were wont to produce a *Goſpel* forged under St. *Philip*'s Name, which they abuſed to the Patronage of their horrible Principles, and more bruti ſh Practices.

The LIFE of St. *BARTHOLOMEW.*

THAT St. *Bartholomew* was one of the twelve Apoſtles, the evangelical Hiſtory is moſt expreſs and clear, though it ſeems to take no farther notice of him, than the bare Mention of his Name: Which doubtleſs gave the firſt Occaſion to many, both antiently and of latter Time, not without Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he lies concealed under ſome other Name, and that this can be no other than *Nathanael*, one of the firſt Diſciples that came to *Chriſt*. Accordingly we may obſerve, that St. *John* never mentions *Bartholomew* in the Number of the Apoſtles, ſo the other Evangeliſts never

never take notice of *Nathanael*, probably becauſe the ſame Perſon under two ſeveral Names: And as in St. *John*, *Philip* and *Nathanael* are joined together in their coming to *Chriſt*, ſo in the reſt of the Evangeliſts *Philip* and *Bartholomew* are conſtantly put together without the leaſt Variation; for no other Reaſon, I conceive, than becauſe they were jointly called to the Apoſtleſhip, ſo they are jointly referred to in the apoſtolick Catalogue; as afterwards we find them joint Companions in the Writings of the Church. But that which renders the Thing moſt ſpecious and probable is, that we find *Nathanael* particularly reckoned up with the other Apoſtles, to whom our Lord appeared at the Sea of *Tiberias* after his Reſurrection, where there were together *Simon Peter*, and *Thomas*, and *Nathanael* of *Cana* in *Galilee*, and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, and two other of his Diſciples, who probably were *Andrew* and *Philip*. That by *Diſciples* is here meant *Apoſtles*, is evident, partly from the Names of thoſe that are reckoned up, partly becauſe it is ſaid, that *this was the third Time that* Jeſus *appeared to his Diſciples*, it being plain, that the two foregoing Appearances were made to none but the Apoſtles.

Had he been no more than an ordinary Diſciple, I think no tolerable Reaſon can be given, why in filling up the Vacancy made by the Death of *Judas*, he being ſo eminently qualified for the Place, ſhould not have been propounded as well as either *Barſabas* or *Matthias*, but that he was one of the Twelve already. Nor indeed is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that *Bartholomew* ſhould be his proper Name, any more than *Bar-jona* was the proper Name of *Peter*, importing no more than his

his relative Capacity, either as a Son, or a Scholar. As a *Son*, it denotes no more than his being *the Son of* Tolmai, a Name not uncommon among the *Jews*, it being cuſtomary with them for the Son thus to derive his Name, ſo *Bar-jona*, *Bartimeus*, *the Son of* Timeus, *&c.* and to be uſually called rather by this Relative, than by their own proper Name; thus *Joſeph* was called *Barſabas*, thus *Barſabas* is conſtantly ſo ſtiled, though his right Name was *Joſes*. Or elſe, it may relate to him as a *Diſciple* of ſome particular Sect and Inſtitution among the *Jews*, it being a Cuſtom for Scholars, out of a great Reverence for their Maſters, or firſt Inſtitutors of that Way, to adopt their Names, as *Ben-ezra*, *Ben-uziel*, *&c.* And this will be much more evident, if the Obſervation which one makes be true (which yet I will not contend for) that as ſeveral Sects in the *Jewiſh* Church denominated themſelves from ſome famous Perſon of that Nation; the *Eſſenes* from *Enoſh*, the *Sadducees* from *Sadock*; ſo there were others that called themſelves *Tholmæans*, from *Tholmai*, Scholar to *Heber* the antient Maſter of the *Hebrews*, who was of the Race or Inſtitution of the *Enakim*, who flouriſhed in *Debir* and *Hebron*, with whom *Abraham* was confederate, that is joined himſelf to their Society. And of this Order and Inſtitution, he tells us, *Nathanael* ſeems to have been; hence called *Bartholomew*, the *Son* or *Scholar* of the *Tholmæans*; hence ſaid to be *an Iſraelite indeed*, that is, one of the ancient Race of the Schools and Societies of *Iſrael*. This, if ſo, would give us an Account of his Skill and Ability in the *Jewiſh* Law, wherein he is generally ſuppoſed to have been a Doctor or Teacher. But which ſoever of theſe two Accounts

counts of his Denomination ſhall find moſt Favour with the Reader, either of them will ſerve my Purpoſe, and reconcile the Difference that ſeems to be between St. *John* and the other Evangeliſts about his Name, the one ſtiling him by his proper Name, the other by his relative and paternal Title. To all this, if neceſſary, I might add the Conſent of learned Men, who have given their Opinions in this Matter, that it is but the ſame Perſon under ſeveral Names. But Hints of this may ſuffice. Theſe Arguments, I confeſs, are not ſo forcible and convictive as to command Aſſent, but with all their Circumſtances conſidered, are ſufficient to incline and ſway any Man's Belief. The great, and indeed only Reaſon brought againſt it, is what St. *Auguſtin* objected of old, that it is not probable that our Lord would chuſe *Nathanael*, a Doctor of the Law, to be one of his Apoſtles, as deſigning to confound the Wiſdom of the World by the Preaching of the Simple and the Unlearned. But this is no Reaſon to him that conſiders, that this Objection equally lies againſt St *Philip*, for whoſe Skill in the Law and Prophets there is as much Evidence in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel, as for *Nathanael*'s; and much ſtronger againſt St. *Paul*, than whom (beſides his Abilities in all human Learning) there were few greater Maſters in the *Jewiſh* Law.

This Difficulty being cleared, we proceed to a more particular Account of our Apoſtle. By ſome he is thought to have been a *Syrian*, of a noble Extract, and to have derived his Pedigree from the *Ptolomies* of *Egypt*, upon no other Ground, I believe, than the mere Analogy and Sound of the Name. It is plain that he, as well as the reſt of

the Apoſtles, was a *Galilean*; and of *Nathanael* we know it is particularly ſaid, that he was of *Cana* in *Galilee*. The Scripture takes no notice of his Trade or Way of Life, though ſome Circumſtances might ſeem to intimate that he was a Fiſherman, which *Theodoret* affirms of the Apoſtles in general, and another particularly reports of our Apoſtle. At his firſt coming to *Chriſt* (ſuppoſing him ſtill the ſame with *Nathanael*) he was conducted by *Philip*, who told him that now they had found the long looked for *Meſſiah*, ſo oft foretold by *Moſes* and the Prophets, *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, the Son of *Joſeph*: And when he objected that the *Meſſiah* could not be born at *Nazareth*, *Philip* bids him come and ſatisfy himſelf. At his Approach, our Lord entertains him with this honourable Character, that he was an *Iſraelite* indeed, a Man of true Simplicity and Integrity; as indeed his Simplicity particularly appears in this, that when told of *Jeſus*, he did not object againſt the Meanneſs of his Original, the low Condition of his Parents, the Narrowneſs of their Fortunes, but only againſt the Place of his Birth, which could not be *Nazareth*, the Prophets having peremptorily foretold, that the *Meſſiah* ſhould be born at *Bethlehem*. By this therefore he appeared to be a true *Iſraelite*, one that *waited for Redemption in* Iſrael, which, from the Date of the Scripture Predictions he was aſſured did now draw nigh. Surprized he was at our Lord's Salutation, wondering how he ſhould know him ſo well at firſt Sight, whoſe Face he had never ſeen before. But he was anſwered, that he had ſeen him while he was yet under the Fig-Tree, before *Philip* called him. Convinced with this Inſtance of our Lord's Divinity, he preſently

makes

makes this Confeſſion, that now he was ſure, that *Jeſus* was the promiſed *Meſſiah*, the Son of God, whom he had appointed to be the King and Governor of his Church. Our Saviour told him, that if, upon this Inducement, he could believe him to be the *Meſſiah*, he ſhould have far greater Arguments to confirm his Faith, yea, that e'er long he ſhould behold the Heavens opened to receive him thither, and the Angels viſibly appearing to wait and attend upon him.

Concerning our Apoſtle's Travels up and down the World to propagate the *Chriſtian* Faith, we ſhall preſent the Reader with a brief Account though we cannot warrant the exact Order of them. That he went as far as *India*, is owned by all, which ſurely is meant of the *Hither India*, or the Part of it lying next to *Aſia*; *Socrates* tells us, it was in *India* bordering upon *Æthiopia*; (whereof I ſhall ſpeak in the Life of St. *Thomas*.) *Sophronius* calls it the *Fortunate India*, and tells us, that here he left behind him St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, whereof *Euſebius* gives a more particular Relation: That when *Pantænus*, a Man famous for his Skill in Philoſophy, and eſpecially the Inſtitutions of the *Stoicks*, but much more for his hearty Affection to *Chriſtianity*, in a devout and zealous Imitation of the Apoſtles, was inflamed with a Deſire to propagate the *Chriſtian* Religion unto the *Eaſtern* Countries, he came as far as *India* itſelf. Here, amongſt ſome that yet retained the Knowledge of *Chriſt*, he found St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel written in *Hebrew*, left here (as the Tradition was) by St. *Bartholomew*, one of the twelve Apoſtles, when he preached the Goſpel to theſe Nations.

After his Labours in theſe Parts of the World, he returned to the more *weſtern* and *northern* Parts of *Aſia*. At *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia* we find him in Company with St. *Philip*, inſtructing that place in the Principles of *Chriſtianity*, and convincing them of the Folly of their blind Idolatries. Here, by the enraged Magiſtrates he was at the ſame Time with *Philip* deſigned for Martyrdom; in order whereunto he was faſtened upon the Croſs, with an Intent to diſpatch him; but upon a ſudden Conviction that the divine Juſtice would revenge their Deaths, he was taken down again and diſmiſſed. Hence, probably, he went into *Lycaonia*, the People whereof *Chryſoſtom* aſſures us, he inſtructed and trained up in the *Chriſtian* Diſcipline. His laſt Remove was to *Albanople* in *Armenia the Great*, a Place miſerably over-grown with Idolatry; from which, while he ſought to reclaim the People, he was, by the Governor of the Place, commanded to be crucified, which he chearfully underwent, comforting and confirming the converted *Gentiles* to the laſt Minute of his Life. Some add, that he was crucified with his Head downwards, others, that he was flead, and his Skin firſt taken off, which might conſiſt well enough with his Crucifixion, Excoriation being a Puniſhment in uſe, not only in *Egypt*, but amongſt the *Perſians*, next Neighbours to theſe *Armenians*, (as *Ammianus Marcellinus* aſſures us, and *Plutarch* records a particular Inſtance of *Meſabates* the *Perſian* Eunuch, firſt flead alive, and then crucified) from whom they might eaſily borrow this Piece of barbarous and inhuman Cruelty. As for the ſeveral Stages to which his Body was removed, after his Death, firſt to *Daras*, a City on the Borders

ders of *Perſia*, then to *Liparis*, one of the *Æolian* Iſlands, thence to *Beneventum* in *Italy*, and laſt of all to *Rome*, they that are fond of thoſe Things, and have better Leiſure, may enquire into. Hereticks perſecuted his Memory after his Death, no leſs than Heathens did his Perſon while alive, by forging and fathering a fabulous Goſpel upon his Name, which, together with others of the like Stamp, *Gelaſius* Biſhop of *Rome* juſtly branded as Apocryphal, altogether unworthy the Name and Patronage of an Apoſtle. And, perhaps, of no better Authority is the Sentence which *Dionyſius*, the pretended *Areopagite* records of our Apoſtle, *That the Theology is copious, and yet very ſmall; and the Goſpel diffuſive and large, and yet withal conciſe and ſhort*, which he, according to his Vein, expounds concerning the boundleſs Benignity, but withal Incomprehenſibleneſs of the divine Nature, which is quickly diſpatched, being ineffable, and is not, without the Veil, diſcoverable to any, but thoſe that have got above, not only all Senſe and Matter, but above all Senſe and Underſtanding, that is, to the very Height of myſtical and intelligible Religion.

The LIFE of St. *MATTHEW*.

SAINT *Matthew*, called alſo *Levi*, was, tho' a *Roman* Officer, an *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, (both his Names ſpeaking him purely of *Jewiſh* Extract and Original) and probably a *Galilean*, and whom I ſhould have concluded born at or near *Capernaum*, but that the *Arabic* Writer of his Life tells us, he was born at *Nazareth*, a City in the Tribe of *Zebulun*, famous for the Habitation of *Joſeph* and *Mary*, but eſpecially the Education and Reſidence of our bleſſed Saviour, who, though born at *Bethlehem*, was both conceived and bred up here, where he lived the whole Time of his private Life, whence he derived the Title of *Jeſus of Nazareth*. St. *Matthew* was the Son of *Alpheus* and *Mary*, Siſter or Kinſwoman to the bleſſed Virgin; in the ſame *Arabic* Author his Father is called *Ducu*, and his Mother *Karutias*, both originally deſcended of the Tribe of *Iſſachar*, nothing being more common among the *Jews*, than for the ſame Perſon to have ſeveral Names; theſe latter probably expreſſed in *Arabic* according to the *Jewiſh* Signification. His Trade or Way of Life was that of a Publican or Toll-gatherer to the *Romans* (which probably had been his Father's Trade, his Name denoting a Broker or Money-changer) an Office of bad Report among the *Jews*. Indeed, among the *Romans*, it was accounted a Place of Power and Credit, and honour-

honourable Reputation, not ordinarily conferred upon any but *Roman* Knights; insomuch that *T. Fl. Sabinus*, Father to the Emperor *Vespasian*, was the Publican of the *Asian* Provinces, an Office which he discharged so much to the Content and Satisfaction of the People, that they erected Statues to him, with this Inscription, *To him that has well managed the Publican-Office.* These Officers being sent into the Provices to gather the Tributes, were wont to employ the Natives under them, as Persons best skilled in the Affairs and Customs of their own Country. Two Things especially concurred to render this Office odious to the *Jews:* First, that the Persons that managed it were usually covetous and great Exactors; for having themselves farmed the Customs of the *Romans*, they must gripe and scrape by all Methods of Extortion, that they might be able both to pay their Rent, and to raise Gain and Advantage to themselves; which doubtless *Zacchæus*, the Chief of these Farmers, was sensible of, when after his Conversion he offered four-fold Restitution to any Man, from whom he had taken any Thing by Fraud and evil Arts. And upon this Account they became infamous, even among the *Gentiles* themselves, who commonly speak of them as Cheats and Thieves, and publick Robbers, and worse Members of a Community, more voracious and destructive in a City, than wild Beasts in a Forest.

The other Thing that made the *Jews* so much detest them was, that this Tribute was not only a Grievance to their Purses, but an Affront to the Liberty and Freedom of their Nation; for they looked upon themselves as a free-born People, who had

had been inveſted with this Privilege by God himſelf; and accordingly beheld this a daily and ſtanding Inſtance of their Slavery, which, of all other Things, they could the leaſt endure, and which therefore betrayed them into ſo many unfortunate Rebellions againſt the *Romans*.

Add to this, that theſe Publicans were not only obliged by the Neceſſity of their Trade, to have frequent Dealing and Converſation with the *Gentiles* (which the *Jews* held unlawful and abominable) but that being *Jews* themſelves, they rigorouſly exacted theſe Things of their Brethren, and thereby ſeemed to conſpire with the *Romans* to entail perpetual Slavery upon their own Nation. For though *Tertullian* affirms that none but *Gentiles* were employed in this ſordid Office, yet the Contrary is too evident to need any Argument to prove it.

By theſe Means the Publicans became ſo univerſally abhorred by the *Jewiſh* Nation, that it was accounted unlawful to do them any Office of common Kindneſs and Courteſy, nay, they held it no Sin to cozen and over-reach a Publican, and that, with the Solemnity of an Oath; they might not eat or drink, walk or travel with them; they were looked upon as common Thieves and Robbers; and Money received of them might not be put to the reſt of a Man's Eſtate, it being preſumed to have been gained by Rapine and Violence; they were not admitted as Perſons fit to give Teſtimony and Evidence in any Cauſe; ſo infamous were they, as not only to be baniſhed all Communion in the Matters of divine Worſhip, to be ſhunned in all Affairs of civil Society and Commerce, as the Peſts of their Country, Perſons of an infectious Con-

S^t. JOHN CHAP. III. Ver. 1. &c.

Christ instructing Nicodemus in the Doctrine of Regeneration.

Converſation, of as vile a Claſs as *Heathens* themſelves: Hence the common Proverb among them, *Take not a Wife out of that Family, wherein there is a Publican, for they are all Publicans,* that is, Thieves, Robbers and wicked Sinners. To this proverbial Uſage our Lord alludes, when ſpeaking of a contumacious Sinner, whom neither private Reproofs, nor the publick Cenſures and Admonitions of the Church, can prevail upon, *Let them be unto thee* (ſays he) *as an Heathen and a Publican*; as elſewhere Publicans and Sinners are yoked together, as Perſons of equal Eſteem and Reputation. Of this Trade and Office was our St. *Matthew*; and it ſeems more particularly to have conſiſted in gathering the Cuſtoms of Commodities that came by the Sea of *Galilee*, aed the Tribute which Paſſengers that were to pay that went by Water; a Thing frequently mentioned in the *Jewiſh* Writings, where we are alſo told of the Ticket, conſiſting of two great Letters written on Paper, or ſome ſuch Matter, called the Ticket or Signature of the Publicans, which the Paſſengers had with them to certify them on the other Side the Water, that he had already paid the Toll or Cuſtom: Upon whieh Account the *Hebrew* Goſpel of St. *Matthew* publiſhed by *Munſter*, renders *Publican* by *the Lord of the Paſſage*. For this Purpoſe they kept their Office or Cuſtom-houſe by the Sea-ſide, that they might be always near at Hand; and here it was (as St. *Mark* intimates) that *Matthew* had his Toll-booth, where *he ſat at the Receipt of Cuſtom.*

Our Lord having lately cured a famous Paralytick, retired out of *Capernaum*, to walk by the Sea-ſide, where he taught the People that flocked

after him. Here he eſpied *Matthew* ſitting in his Cuſtom-office, whom he called to come and follow him. The Man was rich, had a wealthy and gainful Trade, a wiſe and prudent Perſon (no Fools being put into that Office) and underſtood, no doubt, what it would coſt him to comply with this new Employment; that he muſt exchange Wealth for Poverty, a Cuſtom-houſe for a Priſon, gainful Maſters for a deſpiſed Saviour. But he over looked all theſe Conſiderations, left all his Intereſts and Relations, to become our Lord's Diſciple, and to embrace (as *Chryſoſtom* obſerves) a more ſpiritual way of Commerce and Traffick. We cannot ſuppoſe that he was before wholly unacquainted with our Saviour's Perſon or Doctrine, eſpecially living at *Capernaum*, the Place of *Chriſt*'s uſual Reſidence, where his Sermons and Miracles were ſo frequent; by which he could not but in ſome Meaſure be prepared to receive the Impreſſions which our Saviour's Call now made upon him. And to ſhew that he was not diſcontented at his Change, nor apprehended himſelf a Loſer by the Bargain, he entertained our Lord and his Diſciples at a great Dinner in his Houſe, whither he invited his Friends, eſpecially thoſe of his own Profeſſion, piouſly hoping that they alſo would be caught by our Saviour's Converſe and Company. The *Phariſees*, whoſe Eyes were conſtantly evil, where another Man's was good, and who would either find or make Occaſions to ſnarl at him, began to ſuggeſt to his Diſciples, that it was unbecoming ſo pure and holy a Perſon, as their Maſter pretended himſelf to be, thus familiarly to converſe with the worſt of Men, Publicans and Sinners, Perſons infamous to a Proverb. But he preſently

ſently retorted upon them, that they were the Sick that neede l the Phyſician, not the Sound and Healthy; that his Company was moſt ſuitable, where the Neceſſity of Souls did moſt require it; that God himſelf preferred Acts of Mercy and Charity, eſpecially in reclaiming Sinners, and doing good to Souls, infinitely before all ritual Obſervances, and the nice Rules of Perſons converſing with one another; and that the main Deſign of his coming into the World, was not to bring the Righteous, or thoſe, who like themſelves, proudly conceited themſelves to be ſo, and in a vain Opinion of their own Strictneſs, loftily ſcorned all Mankind beſides; but Sinners, modeſt, humble, ſelf-convinced Offenders to Repentance, and to reduce them to a better State and Courſe of Life.

After his Election to the Apoſtolate, he continued with the reſt till our Lord's Aſcenſion, and then, for the firſt eight Years at leaſt, preached up and down *Judea*: After which, being to betake himſelf to the Converſion of the *Gentile* World, he was intreated, by the Convert *Jews*, to commit to Writing the Hiſtory of our Saviour's Life and Actions, and to leave it among them as the ſtanding Record of what he had preached to them; which he did accordingly, and ſo compoſed his Goſpel, whereof more in due Place. Little Certainty can be had what Travels he underwent for the Advancement of the *Chriſtian* Faith, ſo irrecoverably is Truth loſt in a Crowd of legendary Stories. *Æthiopia* is generally aſſigned as the Province of his apoſtolical Miniſtry. *Metaphraſtes* tells us, that he went firſt into *Parthia*, and having ſucceſsfully planted *Chriſtianity* in

thoſe Parts, thence travelled into *Æthiopia*, that is, the *Aſiatic Æthiopia*, lying near to *India*: Here, by Preaching and Miracles he mightily triumphed over Error and Idolatry, convinced and converted Multitudes, ordained ſpiritual Guides and Paſtors to confirm and build them up, and bring over others to the Faith, and then finiſhed his own Courſe. As for what is related by *Nicephorus*, of his going into a Country of *Cannibals*, conſtituting *Plato*, one of his Followers, Biſhop of *Myrmena*; of *Chriſt*'s appearing to him in the Form of a beautiful Youth, and giving him a Wand, which he pitching into the Ground, immediately it grew up into a Tree; of his ſtrange converting the Prince of that Country; of his numerous Miracles, peaceable Death, and ſumptuous Funeral, with Abundance of the ſame Stamp and Coin, they are juſtly to be reckoned amongſt thoſe fabulous Reports, that have no Pillar nor Ground either of Truth or Probability to ſupport them. Moſt probable it is (what an antient Writer affirms) that he ſuffered Martyrdom at *Naddabar*, a City in *Æthiopia*, but by what kind of Death, is altogether uncertain. Whether this *Naddabar* be the ſame with *Beſchberi*, where the *Arabic* Writer of his Life affirms him to have ſuffered Martyrdom, let others enquire; he alſo adds, that he was buried at *Arthaganeta Cæſarea*, but where that is, is to me unknown. *Dorotheus* makes him honourably buried at *Hierapolis* in *Parthia*, one of the firſt Places to which he preached the Goſpel.

He was a great Inſtance of the Power of Religion, how much a Man may be brought off to a better Temper. If we reflect upon his Circumſtances,

ſtances, while yet a Stranger to *Chriſt*, we ſhall find that the World had very great Advantages over him. He was become Maſter of a plentiful Eſtate, engaged in a rich and gainful Trade, ſupported by the Power and Favour of the *Romans*, prompted by covetous Inclinations, and theſe confirmed by long Habits and Cuſtoms. And yet, notwithſtanding all this, no ſooner did *Chriſt* call, but without the leaſt Scruple or Diſſatisfaction, he flung up all at once, and not only renounced (as St. *Baſil* obſerves) his gainful Income, but ran an immediate Hazard of the Diſpleaſure of his Maſters that employed him, for quitting their Service, and leaving his Accounts entangled and confuſed behind him. Had our Saviour been a mighty Prince, it had been no Wonder, that he ſhould run over to his Service; but when he appeared under all the Circumſtances of Meanneſs and Diſgrace, when he ſeemed to promiſe his Followers nothing but Miſery and Suffering in this Life, and to propound no other Rewards but the inviſible Encouragements of another World, his Change, in this Caſe, was the moſt ſtrange and admirable: Indeed, ſo admirable, that *Porphyry* and *Julian* (two ſubtile and acute Adverſaries of the *Chriſtian* Religion) hence took Occaſion to charge him either with Falſhood or with Folly; either that he gave not a true Account of the Thing, or that it was very weakly done of him, ſo haſtily to follow any one that called him. But the holy *Jeſus* was no common Perſon; in all his Commands there was ſomewhat more than ordinary. Indeed, St. *Hierom* conceives that beſides the Divinity that manifeſted itſelf in his Miracles, there was a divine Brightneſs and a kind of Majeſty in our Saviour's

viour's Looks, that at firſt Sight was attractive enough to draw Perſons after him. However, his miraculous Power, that reflected a Luſtre from every Quarter, and the Efficacy of his Doctrine, accompanied with the Grace of God, made Way for the Summons that was ſent our Apoſtle, and enabled him to conquer all Oppoſitions that ſtood in the Way to hinder him.

His Contempt of the World farther appeared in his exemplary Temperance and Abſtemiouſneſs from all the Delights and Pleaſures of this Life, yea the ordinary Conveniencies and Accommodations of it; ſo far from indulging his Appetite with nice and delicate Curioſities, that he refuſed to gratify it with lawful and ordinary Proviſions, eating no Fleſh, his uſual Diet being nothing but Herbs, Roots, Seeds and Berries: But what appeared moſt remarkable in him, and which, though the leaſt Virtue in itſelf, is the greateſt in a wiſe Man's Eſteem and Value, was his Humility, mean and modeſt in his own Conceit, in Honour preferring others before himſelf; whereas the other Evangeliſts, in deſcribing the Apoſtles by Pairs, conſtantly place him before *Thomas*, but he modeſtly places him before himſelf. The reſt of the Evangeliſts openly mention the Honour of his Apoſtleſhip, but ſpeak not of his former ſordid, diſhoneſt and diſgraceful Courſe of Life, only under the Name of *Levi*, while he himſelf ſets it down, with all its Circumſtances, under his own proper and common Name: Which, as at once it commends his own Candor and Ingenuity, ſo it adminiſters to us this not unuſeful Conſideration, That the greateſt Sinners are not excluded the Lines of divine Grace; nor can any, if penitent, have

have juſt Reaſon to deſpair, when Publicans and Sinners are taken in. And, as St. *Matthew* himſelf does freely and impartially record his own vile and diſhonourable Courſe of Life, ſo the other Evangeliſts, though ſetting down the Story, take Notice of him only under another Name; to teach us to treat a penitent Brother with all Modeſty and Tenderneſs. *If any Man repent* (ſay the *Jews*) *let no Man ſay to him, Remember thy former Work*; which they explain not only concerning the *Iſraelites*, but even Strangers and Proſelites; it being againſt the Rules of Civility, as well as the Laws of Religion, when a Man hath repented, to upbraid and reproach him with the Errors and Follies of his paſt Life.

The laſt Thing that calls for any Remarks in the Life of this Apoſtle is his Goſpel, written at the Intreaty of the *Jewiſh* Converts, and as *Epiphanius* tells us, at the Command of the Apoſtles, while he was yet in *Paleſtine*, about eight Years after the Death of *Chriſt*; though *Nicephorus* will have it to be written fifteen Years after our Lord's Aſcenſion, and *Irenæus* yet much longer, who ſeems to imply that it was written while *Peter* and *Paul* preached at *Rome*, which was not, according to the common Account, till near thirty Years after. But moſt plain it is, that it muſt be written before the Diſperſion of the Apoſtles, ſeeing St. *Bartholomew* (as we have noted in his Life) took it along with him into *India*, and left it there. He wrote it in *Hebrew*, as primarily deſigning it for the Uſe of his Countrymen; and ſtrange it is, that any ſhould queſtion its being originally written in that Language, when the Thing is ſo univerſally and uncontroulably aſſert-

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ed by all Antiquity; not one, that I know of, after the ſtricteſt Enquiry I could make, diſſenting in this Matter, and who certainly had far greater Opportunities of being ſatisfied in theſe Things, than we can have at ſo great a Diſtance. It was, no doubt, ſoon after tranſlated into *Greek*, though by whom, St. *Hierom* profeſſes he could not tell; *Theophylact* ſays it was reported to have been done by St. *John*, but *Athanaſius* more expreſly attributes the Tranſlation to St. *James the Leſs*. The beſt is, it matters not whether it was tranſlated by an Apoſtle, or ſome Diſciple, ſo long as the Apoſtles approved the Verſion, and that the Church has ever received the *Greek* Copy for Authentic, and repoſed it in the ſacred Canon. And therefore when a late *Arian* Advocate brings in one of his Party challenging the divine Authority of this Goſpel, becauſe but a Tranſlation, he might have remembered it is ſuch a Tranſlation, as has all the Advantages of an Original, as being tranſlated while the Apoſtles were yet in Being, to ſuperviſe and ratify it, and whoſe Authority has always been held ſacred and inviolable by the whole Church of God. But the plain Truth of the Caſe is, St. *Matthew* is a Back-friend to the *Anti-trinitarian* Cauſe, as recording that expreſs Command, *Go, teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt:* Which Words muſt needs be ſuppoſititious, and added by ſome ignorant Hand, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they make againſt them: Nay, the whole Goſpel, we ſee, muſt be diſcarded, rather than ſtand in the Way of a dear and beloved Opinion.

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After the *Greek* Tranſlation was entertained, the *Hebrew* Copy was chiefly owned and uſed by the *Nazaræi*, a middle Sect of Men between *Jews* and *Chriſtians*; with the *Chriſtians* they believed in *Chriſt*, and embraced his Religon; with the *Jews* they adhered to the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Moſaic* Law, and hence this Goſpel came to be ſtiled, *The Goſpel according to the Hebrews*, and *the Goſpel of the Nazarenes*. By them it was by Degrees interpolated, ſeveral Paſſages of the evangelical Hiſtory, which they had heard, either from the Apoſtles, or thoſe who had familiarly converſed with them, being inſerted, which the antient Fathers frequently refer to in their Writings; as by the *Ebionites* it was mutilated, and many Things cut off, for the ſame Reaſon for which the Followers of *Cerinthus*, though making uſe of the greateſt Part of it, rejected the reſt, becauſe it made ſo much againſt them. This *Hebrew* Copy (though whether exactly the ſame, as it was written by St. *Matthew*, I will not ſay) was found, among other Books, in the Treaſury of the *Jews* at *Tiberias*, by *Joſeph* a *Jew*, and, after his Converſion, a Man of great Honour and Eſteem in the Time of *Conſtantine*; another, St. *Hierom* aſſures us, was kept in the Library at *Cæſarea*, in his Time, and another by the *Nazarenes* at *Beræa*, from whom he had the Liberty to tranſcribe it, and which he afterwards tranſlated both into *Greek* and *Latin*, with this particular Obſervation, that in quoting the Texts of the *Old Teſtament*, the *Evangeliſt* immediately follows the *Hebrew*, without taking notice of the Tranſlation of the *Septuagint*. A Copy alſo of this Goſpel was, *Anno* 585, dug up, and found in the Grave of

Barnabas, in *Cyprus*, tranſcribed with his own Hand. But theſe Copies are long ſince periſhed, and for thoſe that have been ſince publiſhed to the World, both by *Tile* and *Munſter*, were there no other Argument, they too openly betray themſelves by their barbarous and improper Stile, not to be the genuine Iſſue of that leſs corrupt and better Age.

The LIFE of St. *THOMAS.*

IT was cuſtomary with the *Jews*, when traveling into foreign Countries, or familiarly converſing with the *Greeks* and *Romans*, to aſſume to themſelves a *Greek* or a *Latin* Name, of great Affinity, and ſometimes of the very ſame Signification with that of their own Country. Thus our Lord was called *Chriſt*, anſwering to his *Hebrew* Title *Maſhiach*, or the *Anointed*; *Simon* ſtiled *Peter*, according to that of *Cephas*, which our Lord gave unto him; *Tabitha* called *Dorcas*, both ſignifying a *Goat*: Thus our St. *Thomas*, according to the *Syriac* Importance of his Name, had the Title of *Didymus*, which ſignifies a *Twin*, *Thomas which is called Didymus*. Accordingly the *Syriac* Verſion renders it, *Thauma which is called Thama*, that is, *a Twin*: The not underſtanding whereof, impoſed upon *Nonnus* the *Greek* Paraphraſt, who makes him to have had two diſtinct Names, it being but the ſame Name expreſſed in different Languages. The Hiſtory of the Goſpel takes no par-

particular Notice either of the Country or Kindred of this Apoſtle. That he was a *Jew*, is certain, and, in all Probability, a *Galilean*: He was born (if we may believe *Symeon Metaphraſtes*) of very mean Parents, who brought him up to the Trade of Fiſhing, but withal took care to give him a more uſeful Education, inſtructing him in the Knowledge of the Scriptures, whereby he learnt wiſely to govern his Life and Manners. He was, together with the reſt of the Apoſtles, diſſuaded our Saviour from going into *Judea* (whither he was now reſolved for the raiſing his dear *Lazarus* lately dead) leſt the *Jews* ſhould ſtone him, as but a little before they had attempted it. St. *Thomas* deſires them not to hinder *Chriſt*'s Journey thither, though it might coſt them their Lives, *Let us alſo go, that we may die with him*, probably concluding, that inſtead of raiſing *Lazarus* from the Dead, they themſelves ſhould be ſent with him to their own Graves. So that he made up, in pious Affections, what he ſeemed to want in the Quickneſs and Acumen of his Underſtanding, not readily apprehending ſome of our Lord's Diſcourſes, nor over-forward to believe more than himſelf had ſeen. When the holy *Jeſus*, a little before his fatal Sufferings, had been ſpeaking to them of the Joys of Heaven, and had told them that he was going to prepare a Place, that they might follow him; that they knew both the Place whither he went, and the Way thither: Our Apoſtle replied, that he knew not whither he went, and much leſs the Way that led to it. To which our Lord returns this ſhort, but ſatisfactory Anſwer, *That he was the true and living Way*, the Perſon whom the Father had ſent into the World,

to ſhew Men the Paths of eternal Life, and that they could not miſs of Heaven, if they did but keep to that Way which he had preſcribed and chalked out before them.

Our Lord being dead, it is evident how much the Apoſtles were diſtracted between Hopes and Fears, concerning his Reſurrection, not yet fully ſatisfied about it; which engaged him the ſooner to haſten his Appearance, that by the ſenſible Manifeſtations of himſelf he might put the Caſe beyond all Poſſibility of Diſpute. The very Day whereon he aroſe, he came into the Houſe where they were, whilſt, for fear of the *Jews*, the Doors were yet ſhut about them, and gave them ſufficient Aſſurance that he was really riſen from the Dead. At this Meeting St. *Thomas* was abſent, having probably never recovered their Company, ſince their laſt Diſperſion in the Garden, when every one's Fears prompted him to conſult his own Safety: At his Return they told him that their Lord had appeared to them; but he obſtinately refuſed to give Credit to what they ſaid, or to believe that it was he, preſuming it rather a Phantaſm or mere Apparition, unleſs he might ſee the very Prints of the Nails, and feel the Wounds in his Hands and Sides. A ſtrange Piece of Infidelity! Was this any more than what *Moſes* and the *Prophets* had long ſince foretold? had not our Lord frequently told them, in plain Terms, that he muſt riſe again the third Day; could he queſtion the Poſſibility of it, who had ſo often ſeen him do the greateſt Miracles? Was it reaſonable to reject the Teſtimony of ſo many Eye-witneſſes, ten to one againſt himſelf, and of whoſe Fidelity he was aſſured? Or could he think that either themſelves

ſelves ſhould be deceived, or that they would jeſt and trifle with him in ſo ſolemn and ſerious a Matter? A Stubbornneſs that might have betrayed him into an eternal Infidelity. But our compaſſionate Saviour would not take the Advantage of the Man's refractory Unbelief, but on that Day ſeven-night, again came to them, as they were ſolemnly met at their Devotions, and calling to *Thomas*, bid him look upon his Hands, put his Fingers into the Prints of the Nails, and thruſt his Hand into the Hole of his Side, and ſatisfy his Faith by a Demonſtration from Senſe. The Man was quickly convinced of his Error and Obſtinacy, confeſſing that he now acknowledged him to be his very Lord and Maſter, a God omnipotent, that was thus able to reſcue himſelf from the Powers of Death. Our Lord replied no more, than that it was well he believed his own Senſes, but that it was a more noble and commendable Act of Faith to acquieſce in a rational Evidence, and to entertain the Doctrines and Relations of the Goſpel upon ſuch Teſtimonies and Aſſurances of the Truth of Things, as will ſatisfy a wiſe and ſober Man, though he did not ſee them with his own Eyes.

The bleſſed *Jeſus* being gone to Heaven, and having eminently given Gifts and miraculous Powers to the Apoſtles, St. *Thomas*, moved thereto by ſome divine Intimation, is ſaid to have diſpatched *Thaddæus*, one of the ſeventy Diſciples to *Abgarus*, Toparch of *Edeſſa*, (between whom and our Saviour, the Letters commonly ſaid to have paſſed, are ſtill extant in *Euſebius*) whom he firſt cured of an inveterate Diſtemper, and afterwards converted him, with his Subjects, to

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the Faith. The apoſtolical Province aſſigned to St. *Thomas* (as *Origen* tells us) was *Parthia*, after which *Sophronius* and others inform us, that he preached the Goſpel to the *Medes*, *Perſians*, *Caramanians*, *Hyrcani*, *Bactrians*, and the neighbouring Nations. In *Perſia*, one of the Antients (upon what Ground I know not) acquaints us, that he met with the *Magi* or *Wiſemen*, who came that long Journey from the *Eaſt*, to bring Preſents to our new-born Saviour, whom he baptized, and took along with him, as his Companions and Aſſiſtants in the Propagation of the Goſpel. Hence he preached in and paſſed through *Æthiopia*, that is (that we may clear this by the way) the *Aſian Æthiopia*, conterminous to, if not the ſame with *Chaldæa*, whence *Tacitus* does not only make the *Jews* Deſcendants from the *Æthiopians*, as whoſe Anceſtors came from *Ur* of the *Chaldeans*; but *Heſychius* makes the Inhabitants of *Zagrus*, a Mountain beyond *Tygris*, *a People of the Æthiopians*; this is mentioned by *Benjamin* the *Jew*, in his *Itinerary*, *the Land of Cuſh*, or *Æthiopia*, the Inhabitants whereof are ſtiled by *Herodotus*, the *Oriental Æthiopians*, by way of Diſtinction from thoſe who lived *South* of *Egypt*, and were under the ſame military Prefecture with the *Arabians*, under the Command of *Arſames*, as the other were joined with the *Indians*, and in the ſame Place are called *The Aſian Æthiopians*. Having travelled through theſe Countries, he laſt came to *India*. We are told by *Nicephorus*, that he was at firſt unwilling to venture himſelf into thoſe Countries, fearing he ſhould find their Manners as rude and intractable as their Faces were black and deformed, till encouraged by a Viſion, that aſſured

aſſured him of the divine Preſence to aſſiſt him. He travelled a great Way into thoſe *Eaſtern* Nations, as far as the Iſland *Taprobane*, ſince called *Sumatra*, and the Country of the *Brachmans*, preaching every where with all the Arts of Gentleneſs and mild Perſuaſions, not flying out into ſharp Invectives, and furious Heats againſt their Idolatrous Practices, but calmly inſtructing them in the Principles of *Chriſtianity*, by Degrees perſuading them to renounce their Follies, knowing that confirmed Habits muſt be cured by Patience, long forbearing, and by ſlow and gentle Methods; and by theſe Means he wrought upon the People, and brought them over from rhe groſſeſt Errors and Superſtitions, to the hearty Belief and Entertainment of Religion.

For want of better Evidence from Antiquity, it may not be amiſs to enquire, what Account the *Portugueſe*, in their firſt Diſcoveries of theſe Countries, received of theſe Matters, partly from antient Monuments and Writings, partly from the conſtant and uncontrouled Traditions, which the *Chriſtians*, whom they found in thoſe Parts, preſerved amongſt them. They tell us, that St. *Thomas* came firſt to *Zocotora*, an Iſland in the *Arabian* Sea, thence to *Cranganor*, where having converted many, he travelled farther into the *Eaſt*, and having ſucceſsfully preached the Goſpel, returned back into the Kingdom of *Coromandel*, where, at *Meliapor*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, not far from the Influx of the *Ganges* into the Gulph of *Bengal*, he began to erect a Place for divine Worſhip, till prohibited by the Prieſts, and *Sagamo*, or Prince of that Country. But upon the Conviction of ſeveral Miracles the Work went on, and

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the *Sagamo* himſelf embraced the *Chriſtian* Faith, whoſe Example was ſoon followed by great Numbers of his Friends and Subjects. The *Brachmans*, who plainly percived that this would certainly ſpoil their Trade, and in Time extirpate the Religion of their Country, thought it high Time to put a Stop to this growing Noveliſm, and reſolved in Council, that ſome way or other the Apoſtle muſt be put to death. There was a Tomb not far from the City, whither the Apoſtle was wont to retire to his Solitudes and private Devotions; hither the *Brachmans* and their armed Followers purſued the Apoſtle, and while he was intent at Prayer, they firſt loaded him with Darts and Stones, till one of them coming nearer, ran him through with a Lance. His Body was taken up by his Diſciples, and buried in the Church which he had lately built, and which was afterwards improved into a Fabrick of great Statelineſs and Magnificence. *Gregory* of *Tours* relates many Miracles done upon the annual Solemnity of his Martyrdom; and one ſtanding Miracle, an Account whereof, he tells us, he received from one *Theodorus*, who had himſelf been in the Place, *viz.* that in the Temple, where the Apoſtle was buried, there hung a Lamp before his Tomb, which burnt perpetually, without Oil or any Fewel to feed and nouriſh it, the Light whereof was never diminiſhed, nor by Wind or any other Accident could be extinguiſhed. But whether Travellers might not herein be impoſed upon by the crafty Artifices of the Prieſts, or thoſe who did attend the Church; or if true, whether it might not be performed by Art, I leave to others to enquire. Some will have his Body to have been

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afterwards tranſlated to *Edeſſa*, a City of *Meſopotamia*; but the *Chriſtians* in the *Eaſt* conſtantly affirm it to have remained in the Place of his Martyrdom, where (if we may believe Relations) it was after dug up with great Coſt and Care, at the Command of *Don Emanuel Frea*, Governor of the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, and together with it, was found the Bones of *Sagamo*, whom he had converted to the Faith.

Whilſt *Don Alphonſo Suſa*, one of the firſt Vice-Roys in *India*, under *John* III. King of *Portugal*, reſided in thoſe Parts, certain Braſs Tables were brought to him, whoſe antient Inſcriptions could ſcarce be read, till at laſt, by the Help of a *Jew*, an excellent Antiquary, they were found to contain nothing but a Donation made to St. *Thomas*, whereby the King, who then reigned, granted to him a Piece of Ground for the building of a Church. They tell us alſo of a famous Croſs found in St. *Thomas*'s Chapel at *Maliopar*, wherein was an unintelligible Inſcription, which, by a learned *Braman* (whom they compelled to read and expound it) gave an Account to this Effect, That *Thomas*, a divine Perſon, was ſent into thoſe Countries by the Son of God, in the Time of King *Sagamo*, to inſtruct them in the Knowledge of the true God; that he built a Church, and performed admirable Miracles; but at laſt, while upon his Knees at Prayer, was, by a *Brachman*, thruſt through with a Spear; and that that Croſs, ſtained with his Blood, had been left as a Memorial of theſe Matters. An Interpretation that was afterwards confirmed by another grave and learned *Bramin*, who expounded the Inſcription to the very ſame Effect. The judicious Reader will meaſure

ſure his Belief of theſe Things by the Credit of the Reporters, and the rational Probability of the Things themſelves, which, for my Part, as I cannot certainly affirm to be true, ſo I will not utterly conclude them to be falſe.

From theſe firſt Plantations of *Chriſtianity* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, by our Apoſtle, there is ſaid to have been a continual Series and Succeſſion of *Chriſtians*, (hence called St. *Thomas-Chriſtians*) in thoſe Parts, unto this Day. The *Portugueſe*, at their firſt Arrival there, found them in great Numbers in ſeveral Places, no leſs, as ſome tell us, than fifteen thouſand Families. They are very poor, and their Churches generally mean and ſordid, wherein they had no Images of Saints, nor any Repreſentations but that of the Croſs; they are governed in Spirituals by an High-prieſt (whom ſome make an *Armenian* Patriarch of the Sect of *Neſtorius*, but in Truth is no other than the Patriarch of *Moſul*, the Remainder, as is probable, of the antient *Seleucia*, and by ſome, though erroneouſly, ſtiled *Babylon*) reſiding *Northward* in the Mountains, who, together with twelve Cardinals, two Patriarchs, and ſeveral Biſhops, diſpoſes of all Affairs relating to Religion; and to him all the *Chriſtians* of the *Eaſt* yield Subjection. They promiſcuouſly admit to the Holy Communion, which they receive under both Kinds, of Bread and Wine; though inſtead of Wine, which their Country affords not, making uſe of the Juice of Raiſins, ſteep'd one Night in Water, and then preſſed forth. Children, unleſs in Caſe of Sickneſs, are not baptized till the fortieth Day. At the Death of Friends, their Kindred and Relations keep an Eight-days Feaſt, in Memory of the Departed.

parted. Every Lord's Day they have their publick Aſſemblies for Prayer and Preaching, their Devotions being managed with great Reverence and Solemnity. Their *Bible*, at leaſt the *New Teſtament*, is in the *Syriac* Language, to the Study whereof the Preachers earneſty exhort the People. They obſerve the Times of *Advent* and *Lent*, the Feſtivals of our Lord, many of the Saints, thoſe eſpecially that relate to St. *Thomas*, the *Dominica in Albis*, or *Sunday* after *Eaſter*, in Memory of the famous Confeſſion which St. *Thomas* on that Day made of *Chriſt*, after he had been ſenſibly cured of his Unbelief; another on the firſt of *July*, celebrated, not only by *Chriſtians*, but by *Moors* and *Pagans*; the People who come to his Sepulchre on Pilgrimage, carrying away a little of the red Earth of the Place where he was interred, which they keep as an ineſtimable Treaſure, and conceit it ſovereign againſt Diſeaſes. They have a kind of Monaſteries of the Religious, who live in great Abſtinence and Chaſtity. Their Prieſts are ſhaven in Faſhion of a Croſs, have Leave to marry once, but denied a ſecond Time: No Marriages to be diſſolved but by Death. Theſe Rites and Cuſtoms they ſolemnly pretend to have derived from the very Time of St. *Thomas*, and with the greateſt Care and Diligence do obſerve them at this Day.

The LIFE of St. *JAMES the Leſs.*

BEFORE we can enter upon the Life of this Apoſtle, ſome Difficulties muſt be cleared, relating to his Perſon. Doubted it has been by ſome, whether this was the ſame with that St. *James* that was Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, three of this Name being preſented to us, St. *James the Great*, this St. *James the Leſs* (both Apoſtles) and a third ſirnamed *the Juſt*, diſtinct (ſay they) from the former, and Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. But this (however pretending to ſome little Countenance from Antiquity) is a very great Miſtake, and built upon a ſandy Bottom. For beſides that the Scripture mentions no more than two of this Name, and both Apoſtles, nothing can be more plainer, than that that St. *James* the Apoſtle, whom St. *Paul* calls our Lord's Brother, and reckons with *Peter* and *John*, one of the Pillars of the Church, was the ſame that preſided among the Apoſtles (no doubt by Virtue of his Place, it being his Epiſcopal Chair) and determined in the Synod at *Jeruſalem*. Nor do either *Clemens Alexandrinus*, or *Euſebius*, after him, mention any more than two, St. *James* put to death by *Herod*, and St. *James the Juſt*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, whom St. *Paul* calls Brother of our Lord. Once, indeed, *Euſebius* makes mention of our St. *James* as one of the Seventy,

Seventy, though elſewhere quoting a Place of *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, he numbers him with the Chief of the Apoſtles, and expreſly diſtinguiſhes him from the Seventy Diſciples. Nay, St. *Hierom*, though when repreſenting the Opinion of others, he ſtiles him the thirteenth Apoſtle; yet elſewhere, when ſpeaking his own Senſe, ſufficiently proves that there were but two, *James* the Son of *Zebedee*, and the other the Son of *Alphæus*, the one ſirnamed the *Greater*, the other the *Leſs*. Beſides that, the main Support of the other Opinion is built upon the Authority of *Clemens*'s *Recognitions*, a Book, in doubtful Caſes, of no Eſteem nor Value.

This Doubt being removed, we proceed to the Hiſtory of his Life. He was the Son (as we may probably conjecture) of *Joſeph* (afterwards Huſband to the Bleſſed Virgin) and his firſt Wife, whom St. *Hierom* from Tradition ſtiles *Eſcha*, *Hippolytus*, Biſhop of *Porte Salome*; and farther add, that ſhe was the Daughter of *Aggi*, Brother to *Zacharias*, Father to *John the Baptiſt*: Hence reputed our Lord's Brother, in the ſame Senſe that he was reputed the Son of *Joſeph*. Indeed we find ſeveral ſpoken of in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel, who were *Chriſt*'s Brethren; but in what Senſe, was controverted of old. St. *Hierom*, *Chryſoſtom*, and ſome others will have them ſo called, becauſe the Sons of *Mary*, Couſin-german, or, according to the Cuſtom of the *Hebrew* Language, Siſter to the Virgin *Mary*. But *Euſebius*, *Epiphanius*, and the far greater Part of the Antients (from whom, eſpecially in Matters of Fact, we are not raſhly to depart) make them the Children of *Joſeph*, by a former Wife. And this ſeems moſt genuine and natural,

natural, the Evangeliſts ſeeming very expreſs and accurate in the Account which they give of them: *Is not this the Carpenter's Son? Is not his Mother called* Mary, *and his Brethren* James *and* Joſes, *and* Simon *and* Jude? *And his Siſters* (whoſe Names, ſays the foreſaid *Hippolytus*, were *Eſther* and *Thamur*) *are they not all with us, whence then hath this Man theſe Things?* By which it is plain, that the *Jews* underſtood theſe Perſons not to be *Chriſt*'s Kinſmen only, but his Brothers, the ſame Carpenter's Sons, having the ſame Relation to him that *Chriſt* himſelf had; though, indeed, they more, *Chriſt* being but his reputed, they his natural Sons. Upon this Account the Bleſſed Virgin is ſometimes called *the Mother of* James *and* Joſes; for ſo amongſt the Women that attended at our Lord's Crucifixion, we find three eminently taken notice of, *Mary Magdalen*, *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Joſes*, and the Mother of *Zebedee*'s Children. Where, by *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Joſes*, no other can be meant than the Virgin *Mary*; it not being reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Evangeliſts ſhould omit the Bleſſed Virgin, who was certainly there; and therefore St. *John* reckoning up the ſame Perſons, expreſly ſtiles her *the Mother of* Jeſus. And though it is true, ſhe was St. *James*'s Mother-in-Law, yet the Evangeliſts might chuſe ſo to ſtile her, becauſe commonly ſo called after *Joſeph*'s Death, and probably (as *Gregory* of *Niſſa* thinks) known by that Name all along, chuſing that Title, that the Son of God, whom as a Virgin, ſhe had brought forth, might be better concealed, and leſs expoſed to the Malice of the envious *Jews*; nor is it any more Wonder, that ſhe ſhould be eſteemed and called the *Mother*

of

of James, than that *Joſeph* ſhould be ſtiled and accounted the *Father of Jeſus*. To which add, that *Joſephus*, eminently skilled in Matters of Genealogy and Deſcent, expreſly ſays that our St. *James* was the Brother of *Jeſus Chriſt*. One Thing there is that may ſeem to lie againſt it, that he is called *the Son of Alpheus*: But this may probably mean no more, than either that *Joſeph* was ſo called by another Name (it being frequent, yea almoſt conſtant among rhe *Jews*, for the ſame Perſon to have two Names) or (as a learned Man conjectures) it may relate to his being a Diſciple of ſome particular Sect or Synagogue among the *Jews*, called *Alphæans*, denoting a Family or Society of devout and learned Men, of ſomewhat more Eminency than the reſt, there being, as he tells us, many ſuch among the *Jews*; and in this probably St. *James* had entered himſelf, the great Reputation of his Piety and Strictneſs, his Wiſdom, Parts, and Learning, rendering the Conjecture above the Cenſure of being trifling and contemptible.

Of the Place of his Birth, the ſacred Story makes no Mention. The *Jews* in their *Talmud* (for doubtleſs they intend the ſame Perſon) ſtile him more than once, *a Man of the Town of* Sechania: though where that was, I am not able to conjecture. What was his particular Way and Courſe of Life, before his being called to the Diſcipleſhip and Apoſtolate, we find no Intimations of in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel, nor any diſtinct Account concerning him, during our Saviour's Life. After the Reſurrection he was honoured with a particular Appearance of our Lord to him, which though ſilently paſſed over by the Evangeliſts, is recorded by

by St. *Paul*, next to the manifeſting himſelf to the five hundred Brethren at once, *he was ſeen of James*, which is by all underſtood of our Apoſtle. St. *Hierom* out of the *Hebrew* Goſpel of the *Nazarenes* (wherein many Paſſages are ſet down, omitted by the Evangelical Hiſtorians) gives us a fuller Relation of it, *viz.* that St. *James* had ſolemnly ſworn, that from the Time that he had drank of the Cup at the Inſtitution of the Supper, he would eat Bread no more, till he ſaw the Lord riſen from the Dead. Our Lord therefore being returned from the Grave, came and appeared to him, commanded Bread to be ſet before him, which he took, bleſſed, and brake, and gave to St. *James*, ſaying, *Eat thy Bread, my Brother, for the Son of Man is truly riſen from among them that ſleep.* After *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion (though I will not venture to mention the preciſe Time) he was choſen Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, preferred before all the reſt, for his near Relation unto *Chriſt*; for this we find to have been the Reaſon why they choſe *Symeon* to be his immediate Succeſſor in that See, becauſe he was, next after him, our Lord's next Kinſman. A Conſideration that made *Peter* and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, though they had been peculiarly honoured by our Saviour, not to contend for this high and honourable Place, but freely chuſe *James the Juſt* to be Biſhop of it. This Dignity is by ſome of the Antients ſaid to have been conferred on him by *Chriſt* himſelf, conſtituting him Biſhop at the Time of his appearing to him. But it is ſafeſt with others to underſtand it of its being done by the Apoſtles, or poſſibly by ſome particular Intimation concerning it, which our Lord might leave behind him.

To

St. JOHN CHAP. I. Ver. 6.

He wrote the Gospel under his Name.

To him we find St. *Paul* making his Addreſs after his Converſion, by whom he was honoured with the Right-hand of Fellowſhip; to him *Peter* ſent the News of his miraculous Deliverance out of Priſon: *Go ſhew theſe Things unto* James, *and to the Brethren*; that is to the whole Church, and eſpecially St. *James* the Biſhop and Paſtor of it. But he was principally active in the Synod at *Jeruſalem* in the great Controverſy about the *Moſaick* Rites; for the Caſe being opened by *Peter*, and farther debated by *Paul* and *Barnabas*, at laſt ſtood up St. *James* to paſs the final and decretory Sentence, that the *Gentile* Converts were not to be troubled with the Bondage of the *Jewiſh* Yoke; only that for a preſent Accommodation ſome few indifferent Rites ſhould be obſerved; uſhering in the Expedient with this poſitive Concluſion, *I thus judge or decide the Matter, this is my Sentence and Determination.* A Circumſtance the more conſiderable, becauſe ſpoken at the ſame Time when *Peter* was in Council, who produced no ſuch Intimation of his Authority. Had the Champions of the Church of *Rome* but ſuch a Paſſage for *Peter*'s judiciary Authority and Power, it would no doubt have made a louder Noiſe in the World, than, *Thou art Peter*, or, *Feed my Sheep.*

He adminiſtered his Province with all poſſible Care and Induſtry, omitting no Part of a diligent and faithful Guide of Souls; ſtrengthening the Weak, informing the Ignorant, reducing the Erroneous, reproving the Obſtinate, and, by the Conſtancy of his Preaching, conquering the Stubborneſs of that perverſe and refractory Generation with whom he had to deal, many of the nobler and the better Sort being brought over to a Com-

pliance with the *Chriſtian* Faith. So careful, ſo ſucceſsful in his Cdarge, that he awakened the Spite and Malice of his Enemies to conſpire his Ruin: A ſort of Men, of whom the Apoſtle has given too true a Character, *that they pleaſe not God, and are contrary to all Men.* Vexed they were to ſee that St. *Paul*, by appealing to *Cæſar*, had eſcaped their Hands: Malice is as greedy and inſatiable as Hell itſelf, they therefore now turn their Revenge upon St. *James*, which not being able to effect under *Feſtus*'s Government, they more effectually attempted under the Procuratorſhip of *Albinus* his Succeſſor; *Ananus* the *Younger*, then High-prieſt, and of the Sect of the *Sadducees*, reſolving to diſpatch him before the new Governor could arrive. To this End a Council was haſtily ſummoned, and the Apoſtle, with ſome others, arraigned and condemned as Violators of the Law. But that the Thing might be carried in a more plauſible and popular Way, they ſet the Scribes and *Phariſees* (Crafts-maſters of the Arts of Diſſimulation) at work to enſnare him; who coming to him, began by flattering Inſinuations to ſet upon him. They tell him, that they all had a mighty Confidence in him, and that the whole Nation, as well as they, gave him the Teſtimony of a moſt juſt Man, and one that was no Reſpecter of Perſons; that therefore they deſired he would correct the Error and falſe Opinion which the People had of *Jeſus*; whom they looked upon as the *Meſſiah*, and would take this Opportunity of the univerſal Confluence to the *Paſchal* Solemnity, to ſet them right in their Notions about theſe Things; and would to that End go up with them to the Top of the Temple, where he might be

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ſeen and heard by all. Being advantageouſly placed upon a Pinnacle or Wing of the Temple, they made this Addreſs to him: *Tell us, O* Juſtus, *whom we have all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that ſeeing the People are thus generally led away with the Doctrine of* Jeſus *that was crucified,* tell us, *What is this Inſtitution of the crucified* Jeſus?

To which the Apoſtle anſwered with an audible Voice; *Why do ye enquire of* Jeſus *the Son of Man? he ſits in Heaven on the Right-hand of the Majeſty on high, and will come again in the Clouds of Heaven.* The People below hearing it, glorified the Bleſſed *Jeſus*, and openly proclaimed, *Hoſanna to the Son of* David.

The Scribes and *Phariſees* perceived now that they had over-ſhot themſelves, and that inſtead of reclaiming, they had confirmed the People in their Error; that there was no Way left, but preſently to diſpatch him, that by his ſad Fate others might be warned not to believe him. Whereupon ſuddenly crying out, that *Juſtus* himſelf was ſeduced and become an Impoſtor, they threw him down from the Place where he ſtood: Though bruiſed, he was not killed by the Fall, but recovered ſo much Strength, as to get upon his Knees, and pray to Heaven for them. Malice is of too bad a Nature either to be pacified with Kindneſs, or ſatisfied with Cruelty: Jealouſy is not more the Rage of a Man, than Malice is the Rage of the Devil, the very Soul and Spirit of the apoſtate Nature: Little Portions of Revenge do but inflame it, and ſerve to work it up into fiercer Violence. Vexed that they had not done his Buſineſs, they fell freſh upon the poor Remainders of his Life;

and while he was yet at Prayer, and that a *Rechabite* who ſtood by (which, ſays *Epiphanius*, was *Simeon*, his Kinſman and Succeſſor) ſtept in and entreated them to ſpare him, a juſt and righteous Man, and who was then praying for them, they began to load him with a Shower of Stones, till one, more mercifully cruel than the reſt, with a Fuller's Club beat out his Brains. Thus died this good Man in the ninety-ſixth Year of his Age, and about twenty-four Years after *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion into Heaven, (as *Epiphanius* tells us) being taken away to the great Grief and Regret of all good Men, yea of all ſober and juſt Perſons even amongſt the *Jews* themſelves, as *Joſephus* himſelf confeſſes, ſpeaking of this Matter. He was buried (ſays *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours*) upon Mount *Olivet*, in a Tomb which he had built for himſelf, and wherein he had buried *Zacharias*, and old *Simeon*; which I am rather inclinable to believe, than what *Hegeſippus* reports, that he was buried near the Temple in the Place of his Martyrdom, and that a Monument was there erected for him, which remained a long Time after. For the *Jews* were not ordinarily wont to bury within the City, much leſs ſo near the Temple, and leaſt of all would they ſuffer him, whom, as a Blaſphemer and Impoſtor, they had ſo lately put to Death.

He was a Man of exemplary and extraordinary Piety and Devotion, educated under the ſtricteſt Rules and Inſtitutions of Religion, a Prieſt (as we may probably gueſs) of the ancient Order of the *Rechabites*, or rather, as *Epiphanius* conjectures, according to the moſt ancient Order and Form of Prieſthood, when the ſacerdotal Office was the Prerogative

rogative of the Firſt-born; and ſuch was St. *James* the eldeſt Son of *Joſeph*, and thereby ſanctified and ſet apart for it. Tho' whether this way of Prieſthood was at any Time held under the *Moſaic* Diſpenſation, we have no Intimations in the holy Story. But however he came by it, upon ſome ſuch Account it muſt be, that he had a Privilege (which the Antients ſay was peculiar to him, probably, becauſe more frequently made uſe of by him than by any others) to enter, not into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or *moſt holy of all*, but the *Sanctuary*, or *holy Place*, whither the Prieſts of *Aaronical* Order might come. Prayer was his conſtant Buſineſs and Delight, he ſeemed to live upon it, and to trade in nothing but the frequent Returns of Converſe with Heaven: He was therefore wont to retire alone into the Temple to pray, which he always performed kneeling and with the greateſt Reverence, till by his daily Devotions his Knees were become as hard and brawny as a Camels. And he who tells us, that *the effectual fervent Prayer of a righteous Man availeth much*, himſelf found it true by his own Experience, Heaven lending a more immediate Ear to his Petitions; ſo that when in a Time of great Drought he prayed for Rain, the Heavens preſently melted into fruitful Showers. Nor was his Charity towards Men leſs than his Piety towards God, he did Good to all, watched over Mens Souls, and ſtudied to advance their eternal Intereſts; his daily Errand into the Temple was to pray for the Happineſs of the People, and that God would not ſeverely reckon with them: He could forgive his fierceſt Enemies, and *overcome Evil with Good*. When thrown from the Top of the Temple, he made uſe of all

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the Breath he had left in him, only to ſend up this Petition to Heaven for the Pardon of his Murderers, *I beſeech thee, O Lord God, heavenly Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

He was of a moſt meek humble Temper, honouring what was excellent in others, and concealing what was valuable in himſelf: The Eminency of his Relation, and the Dignity of his Place did not exalt him in lofty Thoughts above the Meaſures of his Brethren, induſtriouſly hiding whatever might ſet him up above the reſt. Though he was our *Lord's Brother*, yet in the Inſcription of his Epiſtle he ſtiles himſelf but *the Servant of the Lord* Jeſus, not ſo much as giving himſelf the Title of an Apoſtle. His Temperance was admirable, he wholly abſtained from Fleſh, and drank neither Wine nor ſtrong Drink, nor ever uſed the Bath. His holy and mortified Mind was content with the meaneſt Accommodations, he went barefoot, and never wore other than Linnen Garments. Indeed he lived after the ſtricteſt Rules of the *Nazarite* Order, and as the Mitre, or ſacerdotal Plate which he wore upon his Head, evinced his Prieſthood, which was rather after *Melchiſedeck*'s, or the Prieſthood of the *Firſt-born*, than the *Aaronical* Order, ſo his never ſhaving his Head, nor uſing Unguents, his Habit and Diet, and the great Severity of his Life, ſhewed him to appertain to the *Nazarite* Inſtitution, to hich he was holy (ſays *Hegiſippus*) or conſecrated from his Mother's Womb: A Man of that divine Temper, that he was the Love and Wonder of his Age, and for the Reputation of his holy and religious Life was univerſally ſtiled, *James the Juſt*. Indeed the Safety and Happineſs of the Nation was reckoned

to

to depend upon his Prayers and Intereſt in Heaven, which gained him the honourable Title of *Oblias* or *Ozliam*, the *Defence* and *Fortreſs of the People*; as if when he was gone, their Garriſons would be diſmantled, and their Strength laid level with the Ground. And ſo we find it was, when ſome few Years after his Death the *Roman* Army broke in upon them, and turned all into Blood and Ruin. And what Wonder if the Judgments of God, like a Flood, come rowling in upon a Nation, when the Sluces are plucked up, and the *Moſes* taken away that before ſtood in the Gap to keep them? Eliſha *died, and a Band of the* Moabites *invaded the Land.* In ſhort, he was the Delight of all good Men, in ſo much favour and Eſtimation with the People, that they uſed to flock after him, and ſtrive who ſhould touch, though it were but the Hem of his Garment; his very Epiſcopal Chair, wherein he uſed to ſit, being (as *Euſebius* informs us) carefully preſerved, and having a kind of Veneration paid to it, even unto his Time: Loved and honoured, not by his Friends only, but by his Enemies, the *Jews* in their *Talmud* mentioning *James* as a Worker of Miracles in the Name of *Jeſus* his Maſter; yea the wiſeſt of them looked upon his Martyrdom as the Inlet to all thoſe Miſeries and Calamities that ſoon after flowed in upon them. Sure I am that *Joſephus* particularly reckons the Death of St. *James*, as that which more immediately alarmed the divine Vengeance, and haſtned the univerſal Ruin and Deſtruction of that Nation.

He wrote only one Epiſtle, probably not long before his Martyrdom, as appears by ſome Paſſages in it relating to the near approaching Ruin of the

Jewiſh

Jewiſh Nation. He directed it to the *Jewiſh* Converts, diſperſed up and down thoſe *Eaſtern* Countries, to comfort them under Sufferings, and confirm them againſt Error. He ſaw a great Degeneracy and Declenſion of Manners coming on, and that the Purity of the *Chriſtian* Faith began to be undermined by the looſe Doctrines and Practices of the *Gnoſticks*, who under a Pretence of Zeal for the legal Rites generally mixed themſelves with the *Jews*: He beheld Libertiniſm marching on apace, and the Way to Heaven made ſoft and eaſy; Men declaiming againſt good Works as uſeleſs and unneceſſary, and aſſerting a naked Belief of *Chriſtian* Doctrine to be ſufficient to Salvation. Againſt theſe the Apoſtle oppoſes himſelf, preſſes Purity, Patience and Charity, and all the Virtues of a good Life; and, by undeniable Arguments evinces, that that Faith only that carries along with it Obedience and an holy Life, can juſtify us before God, and entitle us to eternal Life. Beſides this Epiſtle, there is a kind of preparatory Goſpel aſcribed to him (ſtill extant at this Day) containing the Deſcent, Birth, and firſt Original of *Chriſt*, and the Virgin *Mary*; at the End whereof the Author pretends to have written it at a Time when *Herod* having raiſed a great Tumult in *Jeruſalem*, he was forced to retire into the Wilderneſs. But though in many Things conſiſtent enough with the Goſpels, yet has it ever been rejected as ſpurious and apocryphal, forged in that licentious Age, when Men took the Boldneſs to ſtamp any Writing with the Name of an Apoſtle.

The

The LIFE of St. *SIMON the Zealot.*

SAINT *Simon* the Apoſtle was, as ſome think, one of the four Brothers of our Saviour, Sons of *Joſeph* by his former Marriage, though no other Evidence appear for it, but that there was one *Simon* of the Number; too infirm a Foundation to build any Thing more upon than a meer Conjecture. In the Catalogue of the Apoſtles he is ſtiled *Simon the Canaanite*; whence ſome, led by no other Reaſon that I know of, than the bare Sound of the Name, have concluded him born at *Cana* in *Galilee*; as, for the ſame Reaſon, others have made him the Bridegroom, at whoſe Marriage our Lord was there preſent, when he honoured the Solemnity with his firſt Miracle, turning Water into Wine. But this Word has no Relation to his Country, or the Place from whence he borrowed his Original, as plainly deſchending from that *Hebrew* Word which ſignifies *Zeal*, and denotes a hot and ſprightly Temper. Therefore what ſome of the Evangeliſts call *Canaanite*, others rendering the *Hebrew* by the *Greek* Word, ſtile him *Simon Zelotes*, or the *Zelot*: So called, not (as *Nicephorus* thinks) from his burning Zeal, and ardent Affection to his Maſter, and his eager Deſire to advance his Religion in the World, but from his warm active Temper, and zealous Forwardneſs in ſome particular Way and Profeſſion of Religion before his coming to our Saviour.

For the better underſtanding of this we are to know, that as there were ſeveral Sects and Parties among the *Jews*, ſo was there one, either a diſtinct Sect, or at leaſt a Branch of the *Phariſees*, called the Sect of the *Zealots*: They were mighty Aſſertors of the Honour of the Law, and the Strictneſs and Purity of Religion, aſſuming a Liberty to themſelves to queſtion notorious Offenders, without ſtaying for the ordinary Formalities of Law, nay, when they thought good, and when the Caſe required, executed capital Vengeance upon them. Thus when a Blaſphemer curſed God by the Name of any Idol (ſays *Maimonides*) the Zealots that next met him might immediately kill him, without ever bringing him before the *Sanhedrim*. They looked upon themſelves as the Succeſſors of *Phineas*, who in a mighty Zeal for the Honour of God, did immediate Execution upon *Zimri* and *Cozbi*: An Act which was *counted unto him for Righteouſneſs unto all Poſterities for evermore*, and God ſo well pleaſed with it, that he made with *him, and his Seed after him, the Covenant of an everlaſting Prieſtood, becauſe he was zealous for his God, and made an Atonement for* Iſrael. In Imitation thereof theſe Men took upon them to execute Judgment in extraordinary Caſes, and that not only by the Connivance, but with the Leave both of the Rulers and the People, till in After-times under a Pretence of this, their Zeal degenerated into all Manner of Licentiouſneſs and wild Extravagance, and they not only became the Peſts of the Commonwealth at home, but opened the Door for the *Romans* to break in upon them, to their final and irrecoverable Ruin; they were continually prompting the People to throw off the *Roman* Yoke,

Yoke, and vindicate themſelves in their native Liberty; and when they had turned all things into Hurry and Confuſion, themſelves in the mean while fiſhed in theſe troubled Waters. *Joſephus* gives a large Account of them, and every where bewails them as the great Plague of the Nation: He tells us of them, that they ſcrupled not to rob any, to kill many of the prime Nobility, under Pretence of holding Correſpondence with the *Romans*, and betraying the Liberty of their Country, openly glorying, that herein they were the Benefactors and Saviours of the People. They abrogated the Succeſſion of antient Families, thruſting obſcure and ignorant Perſons into the High-prieſt's Office, that ſo they might oblige the moſt infamous Villains to their Party; and, as if not content to injure Men, they affronted Heaven, and proclaimed Defiance to the Divinity itſelf, breaking into, and profaning the moſt Holy Place. Stiling themſelves *Zealots* (ſays he) *as if their Undertakings were good and honourable, while they were greedy and emulous of the greateſt Wickedneſſes, and out-did the worſt of Men.* Many Attempts were made, eſpecially by *Annas* the High-prieſt, to reduce them to Order and Sobriety: But neither Force of Arms, nor fair and gentle Methods could do any good upon them; they held out, and went on in their violent Proceedings, and joining with the *Idumeans*, committed all Manner of Outrage, ſlaying the High-prieſts themſelves. Nay, when *Jeruſalem* was ſtraitly beſieged by the *Roman* Army, they ceaſed not to create Tumults and Factions within, and were indeed the main Cauſe of the *Jews* ill Succeſs in that fatal War. 'Tis probable, that all that went under the Notion of

this Sect were not of this wretched and ungovernable Temper, but that ſome of them were of a better Make, and of a more ſober and peaceable diſpoſition: And as it is not to be doubted, but that our *Simon* was of this Sect in general, ſo there's Reaſon to believe he was of the better Sort. However this makes no more Reflection upon his being called to the Apoſtleſhip, than it did for St. *Matthew*, who was before a *Publican*, or St. *Paul*'s being a *Phariſee*, and ſo zealouſly perſecuting the Church of God.

Being inveſted in the apoſtolical Office, no farther Mention appears of him in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel. Continuing with the Apoſtles till their Diſperſion up and down the World, he then applied himſelf to the Execution of his Charge. He is ſaid to have directed his Journey towards *Egypt*, thence to *Cyrene*, and *Africk* (this indeed *Baronius* is not willing to believe, being deſirous that St. *Peter* ſhould have the Honour to be the firſt that planted *Chriſtianity* in *Africk*) and throughout *Mauritania* and all *Libya*, preaching the Goſpel to thoſe remote and barbarous Countries. Nor could the Coldneſs of the Climate benumb his Zeal, or hinder him from ſhipping himſelf and the *Chriſtian* Doctrine over to the *Weſtern* Iſlands, yea, even to *Britain* itſelf. Here he preached, and wrought many Miracles, ond after infinite Troubles and Difficulties which he underwent (if we may believe our Authors, whom, though *Baronius* in this Caſe makes no great Account of, yet never ſcruples freely to uſe their Verdict and Suffrage when they give in Evidence to his Purpoſe) ſuffered Martyrdom for the Faith of *Chriſt*, as is not only affirmed by *Nicephorus* and *Dorotheus*,

theus, but expreſly owned in the *Greek Menologies*, where we are told, that he went at laſt into *Britain*, and having enlightned the Minds of many with the Doctrine of the Goſpel, was crucified by the *Infidels*, and buried there.

I know indeed that there want not thoſe who tell us, that after his preaching the Goſpel in *Egypt*, he went into *Meſopotamia*, where he met with St. *Jude* the Apoſtle, and together with him took his Journey into *Perſia*, where having gained a conſiderable Harveſt to the *Chriſtian* Faith, they were both crowned with Martyrdom; which *Baronius* himſelf confeſſes to be founded upon no better Authority, than *the Paſſions of the Apoſtles*, a Book which at every Turn he rejects as trifling and impertinent, as falſe and fabulous. But however, wide is their Miſtake who confound our Apoſtle with *Simeon* the Son of *Cleophas*, Succeſſor to St. *James the Juſt* in the See of *Jeruſalem*, who was crucified in the hundred and twentieth Year of his Age, in the Perſecution under *Trajan*: The different Character of their Perſons, and the Account both of their Acts and Martyrdoms being ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed in the Writings of the Church.

The

The LIFE of St. *JUDE.*

THERE are ſeveral Names by which this Apoſtle is deſcribed in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel, *Jude*, *Thaddæus*, and *Lebæus*, it being uſual in the holy Volumes for the ſame Perſon to have more proper Names than one. For the firſt, it was a Name common among the *Jews*, recommended to them as being the Name of one of the great Patriarchs of their Nation. This Name he ſeems to have changed afterwards for *Thaddæus*, a Word ſpringing from the ſame Root, and of the very ſame Import and Signification, which might ariſe from a double Cauſe: Partly, from the ſuperſtitious Veneration which the *Jews* had for the Name *Jehovah*, which they held unlawful to be pronounced by any but the High-prieſt, and not by him neither, but at the moſt ſolemn Times. Hence it was, that when any Man had a Name, wherein there was the major Part of the Letters of this ineffable Title (and ſuch was *Jehuda* or *Juda*) they would not raſhly pronounce it in common Uſage, but chuſe rather to mould it into another like it, and of the ſame Importance, or that which had a near Affinity and Reſemblance with it: And, partly, from a peculiar Diſlike of the Name of *Judas* among the Apoſtles, the bloody and treaſonable Practices of *Judas Iſcariot* having render'd that Name very odious and deteſtable to them. To prevent therefore all Poſſibility of Miſtake, and that they might not confound the Righ-

teous

teous with the Wicked, St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* never call him by this, but by ſome other Name; as no Queſtion for the ſame Reaſon he both ſtiles himſelf, and is frequently called by others, *Judas the Brother of James*; and that this was one great Deſign of it, the Evangeliſt plainly intimates, when ſpeaking of him, he ſays, *Judas*, not *Iſcariot*. As for his Name *Lebbæus*, it ſeems to have been derived either from the *Hebrew* Word ſignifying *an Heart*, whence St. *Hierom* renders it *Corculum*, probably to denote his Wiſdom and Prudence; or elſe, from the *Hebrew* Word ſignifying *a Lion*, and therein to have Reſpect to old *Jacob*'s Prophecy concerning *Judah*, *That he ſhould be as a Lion, an old Lion, and as a Lion's Whelp*; which probably might have a main Stroke in faſt'ning this Name upon St. *Jude*. From this Patriarchal Prophecy we are told, that one of the Schools or Synagogues of learned Men among the *Jews* (who to avoid Confuſion were wont to diſtinguiſh themſelves by different Appellations) took Occaſion to denominate themſelves *Labbii*, as accounting themſelves the Scholars and Deſcendants of this *Lion-like* Son of *Jacob*; and that St. *Jude* was of this Society, and becauſe of his Eminency among them, retained the Title of *Labius*, or, as it was corruptly pronounced, *Lebbæus*. I confeſs I ſhould have thought the Conjecture of a learned Man very probable, that he might have derived his Name from the Place of his Nativity, as being born at *Lebba*, a Town which, he tells us, *Pliny* ſpeaks of in the Province of *Galilee*, not far from *Carmel*, but that is not *Lebba*, but *Jebba*, in all Copies of *Pliny* that I have ſeen. But let the Reader pleaſe himſelf in which Conjecture he likes beſt.

As

As for his Deſcent and Parentage, he was of our Lord's Kindred, *Nicephorus* truly making him the Son of *Joſeph*, and Brother to *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; that there was a *Jude* one of the Number is very evident, *Are not his Brethren* James, *and* Joſes, *and* Simon, *and* Judas? which makes me wonder the more at *Scaliger*, who ſo confidently denies that any of the Evangeliſts mention a *Jude the Brother of our Lord.* St. *Hierom* ſeems often to confound him with *Simon the Zealot*, whoſe Title he aſcribes to him, though ſecond Thoughts ſet him right, as indeed common Advertency could do no leſs, ſo plain is the Account which the Evangeliſts give of this Matter. When called to the Diſcipleſhip we find not, as not meeting with him, till we find him enumerated in the Catalogue of Apoſtles; nor is any Thing particularly recorded of him afterwards, more than one Queſtion that he propounded to our Saviour, who having told them what great Things he and his Father would do, and what particular Manifeſtations after his Reſurrection he would make of himſelf to his ſincere Diſciples and Followers, St. *Jude* (whoſe Thoughts, as well as the reſt, were taken up with the Expectations of a temporal Kingdom of the *Meſſiah*) not knowing how this could conſiſt with the publick Solemnity of that glorious State they looked for, asked him, What was the Reaſon that he would manifeſt himſelf to them, and not to the World? Our Lord replied, that the World was not capable of thoſe divine Manifeſtations, as being a Stranger, and an Enemy to what ſhould fit them for Fellowſhip with Heaven; that they were only good Men, Perſons of a divine Temper of Mind, and religious Obſervers of his Laws and Will,

Will, whom God would honour with thoſe familiar Converſes, and admit to ſuch particular Acts of Grace and Favour.

Euſebius relates, that ſoon after our Lord's Aſcenſion St. *Thomas* diſpatched *Thaddæus* the Apoſtle to *Abgarus* Governor of *Edeſſa*, where he healed Diſeaſes, wrought Miracles, expounded the Doctrines of *Chriſtianity*, and converted *Abgarus* and his People to the Faith: For all which Pains when the *Toparch* offered him vaſt Gifts and Preſents, he refuſed them with a noble Scorn, telling him, they had freely relinquiſhed and left themſelves. A large Account of this whole Affair is extant in *Euſebius*, tranſlated by him out of *Syriac* from the Records of the City of *Edeſſa*. This *Thaddæus* St. *Hierom* expreſly makes to be our St. *Jude*, though his bare Authority is not, in this Caſe, ſufficient Evidence; eſpecially ſince *Euſebius* makes him no more than one of the Seventy Diſciples, which he would ſcarce have done, had he been one of the Twelve. He calls him indeed an Apoſtle, but that may imply no more than according to the large Acceptation of the Word, that he was a Diſciple, a Companion, and an Aſſiſtant to them, as we know the Seventy eminently were. Nor is any Thing more common in antient eccleſiaſtick Writers, than for the firſt Planters and Propagators of *Chriſtian* Religion in any Country to be honoured with the Name and Title of Apoſtles. But however this be, at his firſt ſetting out to preach the Goſpel, he went up and down *Judea* and *Galilee*, then through *Samaria* into *Idumea*, and to the Cities of *Arabia*, and the neighbouring Countries, and after to *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*. *Nicephorus* adds, that he came at laſt to *Edeſſa*,

where *Abgarus* was Governor, and where the other *Thaddæus*, one of the Seventy, had been before him. Here he perfected what the other had begun, and having, by his Sermons and Miracles, eſtabliſhed the Religion of our Saviour, died a peaceable and quiet Death; though *Dorotheus* makes him ſlain at *Berytus*, and honourably buried there. By the almoſt general Conſent of the Writers of the *Latin* Church he is ſaid to have travelled into *Perſia*, where, after great Succeſs in his apoſtolical Miniſtry for many Years, he was at laſt, for his free and open reproving the ſuperſtitious Rites and Uſages of the *Magi*, cruelly put to Death.

That he was one of the married Apoſtles ſufficiently appears from his Grandſons mentioned by *Euſebius*, of whom *Hegiſippus* gives this Account: *Domitian* the Emperor, whoſe enormous Wickedneſſes had awakened in him the quickeſt Jealouſies, and made him ſuſpect every one that might look like a Corrival in the Empire, had heard that there were ſome of the Line of *David*, and *Chriſt*'s Kindred that did yet remain. Two Grand-children of St. *Jude*, the Brother of our Lord, were brought before him: Having confeſſed that they were of the Race and Poſterity of *David*, he asked what Poſſeſſions and Eſtate they had? They told him, that they had but a very few Acres of Land, out of the Improvement whereof they both paid him Tribute, and maintained themſelves with their own hard Labour, as by the Hardneſs and Callouſneſs of their Hands (which they then ſhewed him) did appear. He then enquired of them concerning *Chriſt*, and the State of his Kingdom, what kind of Empire it was, and when and where it would

would commence. To which they replied, That his Kingdom was not of this World, nor of the Seigniories and Dominions of it, but heavenly and angelical; and would finally take Place in the End of the World, when coming with great Glory, he would judge the Quick and the Dead, and award all Men Recompences according to their Works. The Iſſue was, that looking upon the Meanneſs and Simplicity of the Men, as below his Jealouſies and Fears, he diſmiſſed them without any Severity uſed againſt them; who being now beheld not only as Kinſmen, but as Martyrs of our Lord, were honoured by all, preferred to Places of Authority and Government in the Church, and lived till the Time of *Trajan*.

St. *Jude* left only one Epiſtle, of catholick and univerſal Concernment, inſcribed at large to all *Chriſtians*. It was ſome Time before it met with general Reception in the Church, or was taken notice of. The Author indeed ſtiles not himſelf an Apoſtle, but no more does St. *James*, St. *John*, nor ſometimes St. *Paul* himſelf. And why ſhould he fare the worſe for his Humility, only for calling himſelf the *Servant of Chriſt*, when he might have added not only *Apoſtle*, but *the Brother of the Lord*? The beſt is, he has added what was equivalent, Jude *the Brother of* James, a Character that can belong to none but our Apoſtle; beſide, that the Title of the Epiſtle, which is of great Antiquity, runs thus, *The general Epiſtle of* Jude *the Apoſtle*. One great Argument, as St. *Hierom* informs us, againſt the Authority of this Epiſtle of old, was its quoting a Paſſage out of an apocryphal Bood of *Enoch*. This Book, called the *Apocalypſe of Enoch*, was very early extant in the

Church, frequently mentioned, and Paſſages cited out of it by *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, and others, ſome of whom accounted it little leſs than canonical. But what if our Apoſtle had it not out of this apocrophal Book, but from ſome Prophecy current from Age to Age, handed to him by common Tradition, or immediately revealed to him by the Spirit of God? But ſuppoſe it taken out of that Book going under *Enoch*'s Name, this makes nothing againſt the Authority of the Epiſtle; every Thing, I hope, is not preſently falſe, that's contained in an apocryphal and uncanonical Writing; nor does the taking a ſingle Teſtimony out of it any more infer the Apoſtle's Approbation of all the reſt, than St. *Paul*'s quoting a good Sentence or two out of *Menander*, *Aratus*, and *Epimenides*, imply that he approved all the reſt of the Writings of thoſe *Heathen* Poets. And indeed nothing could be more fit and proper than this Way, if we conſider that the Apoſtle in this Epiſtle chiefly argues againſt the *Gnoſticks*, who mainly traded in ſuch traditionary and apocryphal Writings, and probably in this very Bood of *Enoch*. The ſame Account may be given of that other Paſſage in this Epiſtle concerning the Contention between *Michael* the Archangel and the Devil about the Burial of *Moſes*'s Body, no where extant in the holy Records, ſuppoſed to have been taken out of a *Jewiſh* Writing called *the Diſmiſſion of Moſes*, mentioned by ſome of the *Greek* Fathers, under the Title of *the Aſcenſion of Moſes*, in which this Paſſage was upon Record. Nor is it any more a Wonder that St. *Jude* ſhould do this, than that St. *Paul* ſhould put down *Jannes* and *Jambres* for the two Magicians of *Pharaoh*

Pharaoh that oppoſed *Moſes*, which he muſt either derive from Tradition, or fetch out of ſome uncanonical Author of thoſe Times, there being no Mention of their Names in *Moſes*'s Relation of that Matter. But be theſe Paſſages whence they will, it is enough to us, that the Spirit of God has made them authentick, and conſecrated them Part of the holy Canon.

Being thus ſatisfied in the Canonicalneſs of this Epiſtle, none but St. *Jude* could be the Author of it; for who but he was the Brother of St. *James*? A Character by which he is deſcribed in the evangelical Story more than once. *Grotius*, indeed, will needs have it written by a younger *Jude*, the fifteenth Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, in the Reign of *Adrian*; and becauſe he ſays that that Paſſage (*the Brother of* James) ſtood full in his Way, he concludes, without any Shadow of Reaſon, that it was added by ſome Tranſcriber. But is not this to make too bold with ſacred Things? Is not this to indulge too great a Liberty? This once allowed, it will ſoon open a Door to the wideſt and moſt extravagant Conjectures, and no Man ſhall know where to find ſure Footing for his Faith. But the Reader may remember what we have elſewhere obſerved concerning the poſthumous Annotations of that learned Man: Not to ſay that there are many Things in this Epiſtle that evidently refer to the Time of this Apoſtle, and imply it to have been written upon the ſame Occaſion, and about the ſame Time, with the *Second Epiſtle of* Peter, between which and this, there is a very great Affinity, both in Words and Matter; nay, there want not ſome that endeavour to prove this Epiſtle to have been written no leſs than twenty-ſeven Years before

before that of *Peter*, and that hence it was that *Peter* borrowed thoſe Paſſages that are ſo near akin to thoſe in his Epiſtle.

The Deſign of the Epiſtle is to preſerve *Chriſtians* from the Infection of *Gnoſticiſm*, the looſe and debauched Principles vented by *Simon Magus* and his Followers, whoſe wretched Doctrines and Practices he briefly and elegantly repreſents, perſuading *Chriſtians* heartily *to contend for the Faith that had been delivered to them*, and to avoid theſe pernicious Seducers as Peſts and Fire-brands, not to communicate with them in their Sins, leſt they periſh with them, in that terrible Vengeance that was ready to overtake them.

The LIFE of St. *MATTHIAS*.

SAINT *Matthias* not being an Apoſtle of the firſt Election, immediately called and choſen by our Saviour, particular Marks concerning him, are not to be expected in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel. He was one of our Lord's Diſciples (probably one of the Seventy) that had attended on him the whole Time of his publick Miniſtry, and after his Death was elected into the Apoſtleſhip upon this Occaſion: *Judas Iſcariot* (ſo called, probably from the Place of his Nativity, *a Man of Keroth*, a City antiently ſituated in

in the Tribe of *Judah*) had been one of the *Twelve*, immediately called by *Chriſt* to be one of his intimate Diſciples, equally impowered and commiſſioned with the reſt to preach and work Miracles, *was numbered with them, and had obtained Part of their Miniſtry*. And yet, all this while he was a Man of vile and corrupt Deſigns, branded with no better Character than *Thief* and *Murderer*. To let us ſee that there may be bad Servants in *Chriſt*'s own Family, and that the Wickedneſs of a Miniſter does not vacate his Commiſſion, nor render his Office uſeleſs and ineffectual. The unworthineſs of the Inſtrument hinders not the Ends of the Miniſtration; ſeeing the Efficacy of an Ordinance depends not upon the Quality of the Perſon, but the divine Inſtitution, and Bleſſing which God had entailed upon it. *Judas* preached *Chriſt*, no doubt, with Zeal and Fervency, and, for any Thing we know, with as much Succeſs as the reſt of the Apoſtles; and yet he was a bad Man, a Man actuated by ſordid and mean Deſigns, one that had proſtituted Religion and the Honour of his Place to Covetouſneſs and evil Arts. The Love of Money had ſo intirely poſſeſſed his Thoughts, that his Reſolutions were bound for nothing but Intereſt and Advantage. *But they that will be rich fall into a Temptation and a Snare.* This covetous Temper betrayed him, as in the Iſſue, to the moſt fatal End, ſo to the moſt deſperate Attempt (as *Origen* calls the putting *Chriſt* to death, the moſt prodigious Impiety that the Sun ever ſhone on) the betraying of his innocent Lord into the Hands of thoſe who he knew would treat him with all all the Circumſtances of inſolent Scorn and Cruelty.

How

How little does Kindneſs work upon a diſingenuous Mind! It was not the Honour of the Place, to which (when thouſands of others were paſſed by) our Lord had called him, the admitting him into a free and intimate Fellowſhip with his Perſon, the taking him to be one of his peculiar Domeſticks and Attendants, that could divert the Wretch from his wicked Purpoſe. He knew how deſirous the great Men of the Nation were to get *Chriſt* into their Hands, eſpecially at the Time of the Paſſover, that he might, with the more publick Diſgrace, be ſacrificed before all the People, and therefore bargains with them, and for no greater a Sum than under four Pounds, to betray the *Lamb of God* into the Paws of theſe Wolves and Lions: In ſhort, he heads the Party, conducts the Officers, and ſees him delivered into their Hands.

But there's an active Principle in Man's Breaſt, that ſeldom ſuffers daring Sinners to paſs in Quiet to their Graves: Awakened with the Horror of the Fact, Conſcience begins to rouze and follow cloſe, and the Man was unable to bear up under the furious Stings of his own Mind; as, indeed, all wilful and deliberate Sinners, and eſpecially the Guilt of Blood, are wont more ſenſibly to alarm the natural Notions of our Minds, and to excite in us the Fears of ſome preſent Vengeance that will ſeize upon us. And how intolerable are thoſe Scourges that laſh us in this vital and tender Part? The Spirit of the Man ſinks under him, and all Supports ſnap aſunder: As what Eaſe and Comfort can he enjoy, that carries a Vulture in his Boſom, always gnawing and preying upon his Heart? Which made *Plutarch* compare an evil Con-

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S.t John the Divine.

ſcience to a Cancer in the Breaſt, that perpetually gripes and ſtings the Soul with the Pains of an intolerable Repentance.

Guilt is naturally troubleſome and uneaſy, it diſturbs the Peace and Serenity of the Mind, and fills the Soul with Storm and Thunder. *Did ever any harden himſelf againſt God and proſper?* And, indeed, how ſhould he, when God has ſuch a powerful and inviſible Executioner in his own Boſom? Whoever rebels againſt the Laws of his Duty, and plainly affronts the Dictates of his Conſcience, does that Moment bid Adieu to all true Repoſe and Quiet, and expoſe himſelf to the ſevere Reſentments of a ſelf-tormenting Mind. And though, by ſecret Arts of Wickedneſs, he may be able, poſſibly, to drown and ſtifle the Voice of it for a while, yet every little Affliction or petty Accident will be apt to awaken it into Horror, and to let in Terror like an armed Man upon him. A Torment infinitely beyond what the moſt ingenious Tyrants could ever contrive. Nothing ſo effectually invades our Eaſe, as the Reproaches of our own Minds. The Wrath of Man may be endured, but the Irruptions of Conſcience are irreſiſtible; it is (as *Chryſoſtom* very elegantly ſtiles it) to be choaked or ſtrangled with an evil Conſcience, which oft reduces the Man to ſuch Diſtreſſes, as to make him chuſe Death rather than Life. A ſad Inſtance of all which we have in this unhappy Man; who being wearied with furious and melancholy Reflections upon what was paſt, threw back the Wages of Iniquity in open Court, and diſpatched himſelf by a violent Death; vainly hoping to take Sanctuary in the Grave, and that he ſhould meet with that Eaſe

in another World which he could not find in this. *He departed and went and hanged himſelf, and falling down burſt aſunder, and his Bowels guſhed out*; leaving a memorable Warning to all treacherous and ingrateful, to all greedy and covetous Perſons, not to let the World inſinuate itſelf too far into them; and, indeed, to all *to watch and pray, that they enter not into Temptation.* Our preſent State is ſlippery and inſecure; *Let him that thinketh he ſtandeth, take Heed leſt he fall.* What Privileges can be a ſufficient Fence, a Foundation firm enough to rely upon, when the Miracles, Sermons, Favours, and familiar Converſation of *Chriſt* himſelf, could not ſecure one of the Apoſtles from ſo fatal an Apoſtaſy?

A Vacancy being thus made in the College of Apoſtles, the firſt Thing they did, after their Return from Mount *Olivet*, where our Lord took his Leave of them, to St. *John*'s Houſe, in Mount *Sion* (the Place, if we may believe *Nicephorus*, where the Church met together) was to fill up their Number with a fit and proper Perſon. To this Purpoſe *Peter* acquainted them, that *Judas*, according to the prophetical Prediction, being fallen from his Miniſtry, it was neceſſary that another ſhould be ſubſtituted in his Room, one that had been a conſtant Companion and Diſciple of the holy *Jeſus*, and conſequently capable of bearing Witneſs to his Life, Death, and Reſurrection. Two were propounded in order to the Choice, *Joſeph*, called *Barſabas*, and *Juſtus* (whom ſome make the ſame with *Joſes*, one of the Brothers of our Lord) and *Matthias*, both duly qualified for the Place.

The

The way of Election was by Lots, a way frequently uſed both among *Jews* and *Gentiles*, for the Determination of doubtful and difficult Caſes, and eſpecially the chuſing Judges and Magiſtrates: And this way was here taken (ſays one of the Antients) on purpoſe to comply with the old Cuſtom obſerved among the *Jews*, that in an Election of an Apoſtle they might not ſeem to depart from the way that had been uſed under the legal State. The *Pſeudo-Dionyſius*, Author of the *Eccleſiaſtick Hierarchy*, together with his two Paraphraſts, expreſly ſays, that it was not a Lot that was uſed in this Caſe, to determine the Matter, but ſome immediate and extraordinary Sign from Heaven, falling upon the Candidate, and diſcovering him to be the Perſon choſen by God. But this is directly contrary to the very Words of the ſacred Story, which ſay, that *they gave forth their Lots, and that the Lot fell upon* Matthias. And this Courſe the Apoſtles the rather took, becauſe the Holy Ghoſt was not yet given, by whoſe Aid and Inſpirations they were chiefly guided afterwards: And that the Buſineſs might proceed with the greater Regularity and Succeſs, they firſt ſolemnly make their Addreſs to Heaven, that the omniſcient Being that governed the World, and perfectly underſtood the Tempers and Diſpoſitions of Men, would immediately guide and direct the Choice, and ſhew which of theſe two he would appoint to take that Part of the apoſtolical Charge, from which *Judas* was ſo lately fallen. The Lots being put into the Urn, *Matthias* his Name was drawn out, and thereby the Apoſtolate devolved upon him.

Not long after the promiſed Powers of the Holy Ghoſt were conferred upon the Apoſtles, to fit them for that great and difficult Employment, upon which they were ſent; and among the reſt St. *Matthias* betook himſelf to his Charge and Province. The Firſt-fruits of his Miniſtry he ſpent in *Judea*, where having reaped a conſiderable Harveſt, he betook himſelf to other Provinces.

An Author, I confeſs, of no great Credit in theſe Matters, tells us, that he preached the Goſpel in *Macedonia*, where the *Gentiles*, to make an Experiment of his Faith and Integrity, gave him a poiſoning and intoxicating Potion, which he chearfully drunk off, in the Name of *Chriſt*, without the leaſt Prejudice to himſelf; and that when the ſame Potion had deprived above two hundred and fifty of their Sight, he laying his Hands upon them, reſtored them to their Sight; with a great deal more of the ſame Stamp, which I have neither Faith enough to believe, nor Leiſure enough to relate.

The *Grecks*, with more Probability, report him to have travelled *Eaſtward*, he came (ſays *Nicephorus*) into the *firſt*, (ſays *Sophronius*) into the *ſecond Ethiopia*, and in both, I believe, it is a Miſtake, either of the Authors or Tranſcribers; for *Cappadocia*, his Reſidence, being principally near the Irruption of the River *Aſparus*, and the Haven *Hyſſus*, both Places in *Cappadocia*. Nor is there any *Ethiopia* nearer thoſe Places than that conterminous to *Chaldea*, whereof before. And as for thoſe that tell us, that he might well enough preach both in the *Aſian* and *African Ethiopia*, and that both might be comprehended under that general

general Name, as the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Parts of the World were heretofore contained under the general Title of the *Indies*, it is a Fancy without any other Ground to ſtand on, than their own bare Conjecture.

The Place whither he came, was very barbarous, and his Uſage was accordingly: For meeting with a People of a fierce and intractable Temper, he was treated by them with great Rudeneſs and Inhumanity; from whom, after all his Labours and Sufferings, and a numerous Converſion of Men to *Chriſtianity*, he obtained, at laſt, the Crown of Martyrdom, *Ann. Chriſti* 61, or, as others, 64.

Little Certainty can be retrieved concerning the Manner of his Death. *Dorotheus* will have him to die at *Sebaſtople*, and to be buried there, near the Temple of the *Sun*. An antient *Martyrology* reports him to have been ſeized by the *Jews*, and as a Blaſphemer to have been firſt ſtoned, and then beheaded. But the *Greek Offices*, ſeconded herein by ſeveral antient Breviaries, tell us that he was crucified, and that as *Judas* was hanged upon a Tree, ſo *Matthias* ſuffered upon a Croſs. His Body is ſaid to have been kept a long Time at *Jeruſalem*, thence thought, by *Helen* the Mother of *Conſtantine*, to have been tranſlated to *Rome*, where ſome Parts of it are ſhewed with great Veneration at this Day. Though others, with as great Eagerneſs, and probably as much Truth, contend that his Relicks were brought to, and are ſtill preſerved at *Triers* in *Germany*, a Controverſy wherein I ſhall not concern myſelf.

His Memory is celebrated in the *Greek* Church the 9th of *Auguſt*, as appears not only from their Meno-

Menologies, but from a novel Conſtitution of *Manuel Commenus*, appointing what Holy-days ſhould be kept in the Church, while the *Weſtern* Churches kept the twenty-fourth of *February* ſacred to his Memory.

Among many other apocryphal Writings aſcribed to the Apoſtles, there was a Goſpel publiſhed under his Name, mentioned by *Euſebius* and the Antients, and condemned with the reſt, by *Gelaſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, as it had been rejected by others before him: Under his Name alſo there were extant Traditions, cited by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, from whence, no Queſtion, it was that the *Nicolaitans* borrowed that Saying of his, which they abuſed to ſo vile and beaſtly Purpoſes, as under the pretended Patronage of his Name and Doctrines the *Marcionites* and *Valentinians* defended ſome of their moſt abſurd and impious Opinions.

The LIFE of St. *MARK the Evangeliſt.*

SAINT *Mark*, though carrying ſomething of *Roman* in his Name, probably aſſumed by him, upon ſome great Change or Accident in his going for *Italy* and *Rome*; was doubtleſs born of *Jewiſh* Parents, originally deſcended of the Tribe of

of *Levi*, and the Line of the Prieſthood, and (if *Nicephorus* ſays true) Siſter's Son to *Peter*; though by others, againſt all Reaſon, confounded with *John*, ſirnamed *Mark*, the Son of *Mary* and *Mark*, Siſter's Son to *Barnabas*. By the Antients he is generally thought to have been one of the Seventy Diſciples, and *Epiphanius* expreſly tells us, that he was one of thoſe, who taking Exception at our Lord's Diſcourſe of *eating his Fleſh, and drinking his Blood, went back and walked no more with him*, but was ſeaſonably reduced and reclaimed by St. *Peter*. But no Foundation appears either for the one or for the other; nay, *Papias* Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, who lived near thoſe Times, poſitively affirms that he was no Hearer nor Follower of our Saviour.

He was converted by ſome of the Apoſtles, and probably by St. *Peter*, who is ſaid to have been his Undertaker at his Baptiſm (if I underſtand *Iſidore* aright) for no other Reaſon, I ſuppoſe, but becauſe he calls him his Son. Indeed he was his conſtant Attendant in his Travels, ſupplying the Place of an *Amanuenſis* and Interpreter; for tho' the Apoſtles were divinely inſpired, and among other miraculous Powers had the Gift of Languages conferred upon them, yet was the Interpretation of Tongues a Gift more peculiar to ſome than others. This might probably be St. *Mark*'s Talent, in expounding St. *Peter*'s Diſcourſes, whether by Word or Writing, to thoſe who underſtood not the Language wherein they were delivered. He accompanied him in his apoſtolical Progreſs, preached the Goſpel in *Italy*, and at *Rome*; where, at the Requeſt of the *Chriſtians* of thoſe Parts, he compoſed and wrote his Goſpel.

By

By *Peter* he was ſent into *Egypt*, to plant *Chriſtianity* in thoſe Parts, fixing his main Reſidence at *Alexandria*, and the Places thereabouts; where ſo great (ſays *Euſebius*) was the Succeſs of his Miniſtry, that he converted Multitudes both of Men and Women, not only to the embracing of the *Chriſtian* Religion, but to a more than ordinary ſtrict Profeſſion of it, inſomuch that *Philo* wrote a Book of their peculiar Rites and Way of Life, the only Reaſon why St. *Hierom* reckons him among the Writers of the Church. Indeed, *Philo* the *Jew* wrote a Book, extant at this Day, wherein he ſpeaks of a Sort of Perſons called *Therapeutai*, who, in many Parts of the World, but eſpecially in a pleaſant Place near the *Mareotic* Lake in *Egypt*, had formed themſelves into religious Societies, and gives a large Acnout of their Rites and Cuſtoms, their ſtrict, philoſophical, and contemplative Courſe of Life. He tells us of them, that when they firſt entered upon this Way, they renounced all ſecular Intereſts and Employments, and leaving their Eſtates to their Relations, retired into Groves, Gardens, and Places devoted to Solitude and Contemplation; that they had their Houſes or Colleges, not contiguous, that ſo being free from Noiſe and Tumult, they might the better miniſter to the Deſign of a contemplative Life; nor yet removed at too great a Diſtance, that they might maintain mutual Society, and be conveniently capable of helping and aſſiſting one another. In each of theſe Houſes there was an Oratory, wherein they diſcharged the more ſecret and ſolemn Rites of their Religion; divided in the middle with a Partition-wall, three or four Cubits high, the one Apartment being for the Men, and the other

other for the Women: Here they publickly met every Seventh-day, where being ſet according to their Seniority, and having compoſed themſelves with great Decence and Reverence, the moſt aged Perſon among them, and beſt skilled in the *Dogmata* and Principles of their Inſtitution came forth into the midſt, gravely and ſoberly diſcourſing on what might make the deepeſt Impreſſion upon their Minds, the reſt of them attending with a profound Silence, and only teſtifying their Aſſent, with the Motion of their Eyes or Head. Their Diſcourſes were uſually myſtical and allegorical, ſeeking hidden Senſes under plain Words; and of ſuch an allegorical Philoſophy conſiſted the Books of their Religion, left them by their Anceſtors: The Law they compared to an Animal, the Letter of it reſembling the Body, while the Soul of it lay in thoſe abſtruſe and recondite Notions which the external Veil and Surface of the Words concealed from vulgar Underſtandings.

He tells us alſo that they took very little Care of the Body, perfecting their Minds by Precepts of Wiſdom and Religion; the Day they entirely ſpent in pious and divine Meditations, in reading and expounding the Law and the Prophets and the holy Volumes of the antient Founders of their Sect, and in ſinging Hymns to the Honour of their Maker; abſolutely temperate and abſtemious, neither eating nor drinking till Night, the only Time they thought fit to refreſh and regale the Body; ſome of them, out of an inſatiable Deſire of growing in Knowledge and Virtue, faſting many Days together. What Diet they had was very plain and ſimple, ſufficient only to provide againſt Hunger and Thirſt, a little Bread, Salt

and Water, being their conſtant Bill of Fare: Their Clothes were as mean as their Food, deſigned only for a preſent Security againſt Cold and Nakedneſs: And this not only the Caſe of Men, but of pious and devout Women that lived (though ſeparately) among them; that they religiouſly obſerved every Seventh-day, and eſpecially the preparatory Week to the great Solemnity, which they kept with all Expreſſions of a more ſevere Abſtiſtence and Devotion. This and much more he has in that Tract concerning them.

Theſe excellent Perſons *Euſebius* peremptorily affirms to have been *Chriſtians*, converted and brought under theſe admirable Rules and Inſtitutions of Life by St. *Mark*, at his firſt coming hither, accomodating all Paſſages to the Manners and Diſcipline of the *Chriſtians*; followed herein by *Epiphanius*, *Hierom*, and others of old, as by *Baronius*, and ſome others of later Time; and this ſo far taken for granted, that many have hence fetched the Monaſteries and religious Orders among *Chriſtians*.

But whoever ſeriouſly and impartially conſiders *Philo*'s Account, will plainly find, that he intends it of *Jews* and Profeſſors of the *Moſaic* Religion, though whether *Eſſenes*, or of ſome other particular Sect among them, I ſtand not to determine. That they were not *Chriſtians*, is evident, (beſides that, *Philo* gives not the leaſt Intimations of it, partly,) becauſe it is improbable that *Philo*, being a *Jew*, ſhould give ſo great a Character and Commendation of the *Chriſtians*, ſo hateful to the *Jews*, at that Time, in all Parts of the World; partly, in that *Philo* ſpeaks of them as an Inſtitution of ſome conſiderable ſtanding, whereas *Chriſtians* had but

but lately appeared in the World, and were later come into *Egypt*; partly, because many Parts of *Philo*'s Account do no way suit with the State and Manners of *Christians* at that Time; as that they withdrew themselves from publick Conversation and all Affairs of civil Life, which *Christians* never did, but when forced by violent Persecutions; for ordinarily, as *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* tells us, they promiscuously dwelt in Towns and Cities, plowed their Lands, and followed their Trades, eat and drank, and were clothed and habited like other Men. So when he says, that besides the Books of *Moses* and the Prophets, they had the Writings of the antient Authors of their Sect and Institution; this cannot be meant of *Christians*: For though *Eusebius* would understand it of the Writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, yet, besides that, they were few of them published when *Philo* wrote this Discourse, they were, however, of too late an Edition to come under the Character of antient Authors. Not to say that some of their Rites and Customs were such, as the *Christians* of those Days were mere Strangers to, and not taken up in the *Christian* Church, till many Years, and some of them not till some Ages after. Nay, some of them never used by any of the primitive *Christsans*; such were their religious Dances, which they had at their festival Solemnities, especially that great one which they held at the End of every seven Weeks; when their Entertainment being ended, they all rose up, the Men in one Company, and the Women in another, dancing with various Measures and Motions, each Company singing divine Hymns and Songs, and having a *Precentor* going before them, now one singing,

ing, and anon another, till in the Concluſion they joined in one common Chorus, in Imitation of the triumphant Song ſung by *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites*, after their Deliverance at the *Red-Sea*.

To all which let me add, what a learned Man has obſerved, that the *Eſſenes* (if *Philo* means them) were great Phyſicians (thence probably called *Healers*) though *Philo*, who is apt to turn all Things into Allegory, refers it only to their curing *the Souls of Men, infected and overcome with difficult and deſperate Diſtempers, created by Pleaſures and extravagant Appetites, and a long Train of other Luſts and Paſſions.*

Joſephus reports of them, that they accurately ſtudied the Writings of the Antients, excurping thence whatever is conducive either to Soul or Body; and that, for the curing of Diſeaſes they diligently enquired into the Virtues of Roots and Stones, that were moſt proper to drive away Diſtempers: An Account no way agreeing with the *Chriſtians* of thoſe Times, who miraculouſly cured Diſeaſes without the Arts of Phyſick, or any other Preparations than calling on the Name of *Chriſt* over the afflicted Perſon. Doubtleſs that which led *Euſebius* into the Miſtake, was the Conformity which he obſerved between a certain Sect of *Chriſtians* in and before his Time, who enter'd upon a more ſtrict and ſevere Courſe of Life, and theſe *Therapeutai* deſcribed by *Philo*, an ordinary Fancy being able to draw a fair Parallel between them, and ſo it was but removing them ſome Ages higher, and imagining them to have been converted and founded by St. *Mark*, and the Work was done. Indeed it is not to be doubted, but that the Perſons educated under theſe excellent Rules and

and Methods of Life, were more than ordinarily prepared for the Reception of *Chriſtianity* (between which and their Principles and Rules of Life, there was ſo great an Affinity and Agreement) which muſt needs render our Evangeliſt's Succeſs great in thoſe Parts, and open the Way for Men to come flocking over to the Faith.

St. *Mark* did not confine his Preaching to *Alexandria*, and the *Oriental* Parts of *Egypt*, but removed *Weſtward* to the Parts of *Libya*, going through the Countries of *Marmorica*, *Pentapolis*, and others thereabouts, where though the People were both barbarous in their Manners, and idolatrous in their Worſhip, yet by his Preaching and Miracles he made Way for the Entertainment of the Goſpel, and left them not till he had not only gained them to, but confirmed them in the Profeſſion of it.

Returning to *Alexandria* he preached freely, and ordered and diſpoſed the Affairs of the Church, and wiſely provided for a Succeſſion by conſtituting Governors and Paſtors of it. But the reſtleſs Enemy of the Souls of Men would not long ſuffer him to be quiet: It was the Time of *Eaſter*, at what Time the great Solemnities of *Serapis* happened to be celebrated, when the Minds of the People being excited to a paſſionate Vindication of the Honour of their Idol, broke in upon St. *Mark*, then engaged in the ſolemn Celebration of divine Worſhip, and binding his Feet with Cords, dragged him through the Streets and the moſt craggy Places to the *Bucelus*, a Precipice near the Sea, and for that Night thruſt him into Priſon, where his Soul was, by a divine Viſion, refreſhed and encouraged under the Ruins of his ſhattered Body. Early the

the next Morning the Tragedy began again, dragging him about in the ſame Manner, till his Fleſh being racked off, and his Blood run out, his Spirits failed, and he expired. But their Malice died not with him, *Metaphraſtes* adds, that they burnt his Body, whoſe Bones and Aſhes the *Chriſtians* there decently entombed near the Place where he was wont to preach. His Body, at leaſt the Remains of it, were afterwards with great Pomp removed from *Alexandria* to *Venice*, where they are religiouſly honoured, and he adopted as the Tutelar Saint and Patron of that State, and one of the richeſt and ſtatelieſt Churches erected to his Memory, that the World can boaſt of at this Day. He ſuffered in the Month *Pharmuthai*, on the twenty-fifth of *April*, though the certain Year of Martyrdom is not preciſely determined by the Antients. *Kirſtenius* out of the *Arabic* Memoirs of his Life ſays, it was in the fourteenth of the laſt Year of *Claudius*: St. *Hierom* places it in the eighth of *Nero*. But extravagantly wide is *Dorotheus*'s Computation, who makes him to ſuffer in the Time of *Trajan*, with as much Truth as *Nicephorus*, on the other hand, affirms him to have come into *Egypt* in the Reign of *Tiberias*. If in ſo great Variety of Opinions I may interpoſe my Conjecture, I ſhould reckon him to have ſuffered about the End of *Nero*'s Reign: For ſuppoſing him to have gone with St. *Peter* to *Rome* about the fifth or ſixth Year of *Nero*, he might thence be diſpatched to *Alexandria*, and ſpend the Reſidue of his Life, and of that Emperor's Reign, in planting *Chriſtianity* in thoſe Parts of the World. Sure I am that *Irenæus* reports St. *Mark* to have outlived *Peter* and *Paul*, and that after his Deceaſe he

he compoſed his Goſpel out of thoſe Things which he had heard *Peter* preach: But whatever becomes of that, it is evident that *Irenæus* ſuppoſed (whoſe Suppoſition certainly was not founded upon meer Fancy and Conjecture) that St. *Mark* for ſome conſiderable Time ſurvived the Martyrdom of thoſe two great Apoſtles. A Paſſage that ſo troubled *Chriſtopherſon* (one of thoſe who in theſe latter Ages firſt tranſlated *Euſebius* into *Latin*) becauſe croſſing the Accounts of their Writers in this Matter, that he choſe rather to expunge the Word, *Deceaſe*, and ſubſtitute another of a quite different Senſe, expreſly contrary to the Faith of all antient Copies, and to the moſt antient Verſion of *Irenæus* itſelf. But to return.

St. *Mark*, as to his Perſon, was of a middle Size and Stature, his Noſe long, his Eye-brows turning back, his Eyes graceful and amiable, his Head bald, his Beard prolix and grey, his Gate quick, and the Conſtitution of his Body ſtrong and healthful.

His Goſpel, the only Book he left behind him, was, as before we obſerved, written at the Intreaty of the Converts at *Rome*; who, not content to have heard *Peter* preach, preſſed St. *Mark* his Diſciple, that he would commit to Writing an hiſtorical Account of what he delivered to them: Which he performed with no leſs Faithfulneſs than Brevity, all which St. *Peter* peruſed, ratified with his Authority, and commanded to be publickly read in their religious Aſſemblies. And though, as we noted but now, *Irenæus* ſeems to intimate that it was written after *Peter*'s Death, yet all that can be inferred hence will be, what in itſelf is a Matter of no great Moment and Importance, that the

the Antients were not agreed in aſſigning the exact Time when the ſeveral Goſpels were publiſhed to the World. If we will give way to the Conjectures of a learned Man, the Difficulty will ſoon ceaſe: He tells us that the *Greek* Words in *Irenæus* ſhould be render'd, not *after their Death*, but *after their Departure, viz.* from *Rome*. And if this be not the common Uſage of the Word, yet might it have been admitted, had there been any Authority of the Antients to prove that St. *Peter* was twice at *Rome*. Therefore not relying upon this, he flies to an antient Copy, where the Words are read, *after the Publication* of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel; whereof *Irenæus* had ſpoken in the Words before. But he ſhould have done well to have named this ancient Copy he refers to, no ſuch having been hitherto mentioned by any other Writer. And therefore it leaves a Suſpicion that he had no better Authority, than the Boldneſs of *Chriſtopherſon*, who indeed thruſts ſuch a Conjecture into the Margin of his Book, and accordingly ſo renders it in his Tranſlation; with what Deſign, we obſerved before. But to return.

It was frequently ſtiled *St. Peter's Goſpel*, not ſo much becauſe dictated by him to St. *Mark*, as becauſe he principally compoſed it out of that Account which St. *Peter* commonly delivered in his Diſcourſes to the People. This probably is the Reaſon of what *Chryſoſtome* obſerves, that in his Stile and Manner of Expreſſion he delights to imitate St. *Peter*, repreſenting much in a few Words. Though he commonly reduces the Story of our Saviour's Acts into a narrower Compaſs than St. *Matthew*, yet want there not Paſſages, which he relates more largely than he. The laſt Chapter of his

his Goſpel, at leaſt Part of it, was (as *Hieronym* informs us) wanting in all antient *Greek* Copies, rejected upon Pretence of ſome Diſagreement with the other Goſpels; though, as he there ſhews, they are fairly conſiſtent with each other. His great Impartiality in his Relations appears from hence, that he is ſo far from concealing the ſhameful Lapſe and Denial of *Peter*, his dear Tutor and Maſter, that he ſets it down with ſome particular Circumſtances and Aggravations, which the other Evangeliſts take no notice of.

Some Diſpute has been made in what Language it was written, whether in *Greek* or *Latin*; that which ſeems to give moſt Countenance to the *Latin* Original, is the Note that we find at the End of the *Syriack* Verſion of this Goſpel, where it is ſaid, that *Mark* preached and declared his holy Goſpel at *Rome*, in the *Roman* or *Latin* Tongue. An Evidence that, with me, would almoſt carry the Force of a Demonſtration, were I aſſured that this Note is of equal Value and Authority with that antient Verſion, generally ſuppoſed to come very few Centuries ſhort of the Apoſtolick Age. But we know how uſual it is for ſuch Additions to be made by ſome later Hands. And what Credit is to be given to the *Subſcriptions* at the End of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, we have ſhewed elſewhere. Beſides, that it is not here ſaid that he *wrote*, but that he *preached* his Goſpel at *Rome* in that Language. The Advocates of the *Romiſh* Church plead, that 'tis very congruous and ſuitable, that it ſhould at firſt be conſigned to Writing in that Language, being principally deſigned for the Uſe of the *Chriſtians* at *Rome*. An Objection that will eaſily vaniſh, when we conſider, that as the Con-

vert *Jews* theee underſtood very little *Latin*, ſo there were very few *Romans* that underſtood not *Greek*, it being (as appears from the Writers of that Age) the genteel and faſhionable Language of thoſe Times. Nor can any good Reaſon be aſſigned, why it ſhould be more inconvenient for St. *Mark* to write his Goſpel in *Greek* for the Uſe of the *Romans*, than that St. *Paul* ſhould in the ſame Language **write** his Epiſtle to that Church. The original *Greek* Copy written with St. *Mark*'s own Hand, is ſaid to be extant at *Venice* at this Day: Written (they ſay) by him at *Aquileia*, and thence, after many hundreds of Years tranſlated to *Venice*, where it is ſtill preſerved, though the Letters ſo worn out with Length of Time, that they are not capable of being read. A Story which as I cannot abſolutely diſprove, ſo I am not very forward to believe, and that for more Reaſons than I think worth while to inſiſt on in this Place.

The LIFE of St. *LUKE* *the Evangeliſt.*

SAINT *Luke* was born at *Antioch*, the Metropolis of *Syria*, a City celebrated for its extraordinary Bleſſings and Eminences, the Pleaſantneſs of its Situation, the Fertility of its Soil, the Riches of

of its Traffick, the Wiſdom of its Senate, the Learning of its Profeſſors, the Civility and Politeneſs of its Inhabitants, by the Pens of ſome of the greateſt Orators of their Times; and yet above all theſe renowned for this one peculiar Honour, that here it was that *the Diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians.* It was an Univerſity, repleniſhed with Schools of Learning, wherein were Profeſſors of all Arts and Sciences. So that being born in the very Lap of the Muſes, he could not well miſs of an ingenuous and liberal Education, his natural Parts meeting with the Advantages of great Improvements. Nay, we are told, that he ſtudied not only at *Antioch*, but in all the Schools both of *Greece* and *Egypt*, whereby he became accompliſhed in all Parts of Learning and human Sciences.

Being thus furniſhed out with Skill in all the preparatory Inſtitutions of Philoſophy, he more particularly applied himſelf to the Study of Phyſick, for which the *Grecian* Academies were moſt famous; though they that hence infer the Quality of his Birth and Fortune, forget to conſider, that this noble Art was in thoſe Times generally practiſed by Perſons of no better Rank than Servants: Upon which Account a learned Man conceives St. *Luke*, though a *Syrian* by Birth, to have been a Servant at *Rome*, where he ſometimes practiſed Phyſick, and whence being manumitted, he returned into his own Country, and probably continued his Profeſſion all his Life; it being ſo fairly conſiſtent with, and in many Caſes ſo ſubſervient to the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and the Care of Souls.

Beſides his Abilities in Phyſick, he is ſaid to have been very skilful in Painting, and there are no leſs than three or four ſeveral Pieces ſtill in Being, pretended to have been drawn with his own Hand; a Tradition which *Gretſer* the *Jeſuit* ſets himſelf with a great deal of Pains, and to very little Purpoſe, to defend, though his Authors, either in reſpect of Credit or Antiquity, deſerve very little Eſteem and Value. Of more Authority with me would be an antient Inſcription found in a Vault near the Church of St. *Mary in via lata* at *Rome*, ſuppoſed to have been the Place where St. *Paul* dwelt, wherein Mention is made of a Picture of the Bleſſed Virgin,

UNA EX VII. AB LUCA DEPICTIS,

being one of the ſeven painted by St. Luke.

He was a *Jewiſh* Proſelyte, *Antioch* abounding with Men of that Nation, who had here their Synagogues and Schools of Education; ſo that we need not, with *Theophylact*, ſend him to *Jeruſalem* to be inſtructed in the Study of the Law. As for that Opinion of *Epiphanius* and others, that he was one of the Seventy Diſciples, one of thoſe that deſerted our Lord for the unwelcome Diſcourſe he made to them, but recalled afterwards by St. *Paul*, I behold it as a Story of the ſame Coin and Stamp with that of St. *Mark*'s leaving *Chriſt* upon the ſame Occaſion, and being reduced by *Peter*, and that the one was made to anſwer the other; as upon no better Ground it is ſaid that he was one of thoſe two Diſciples that were going to *Emmaus*. For beſides the Silence of the Scripture in the Caſe, he himſelf plainly confeſſes, that he was not from the

the Beginning an *Eye-witneſs, and Miniſter of the Word.* Moſt probable it is, that he was converted by St. *Paul* during his abode at *Antioch*, when, as the Apoſtles, of Catchers of Fiſh were become Fiſhers of Men; ſo he, of a Phyſician of the Body became a Phyſician of the Soul. This, *Nicephorus* will have to have been done at *Thebes*, the chief City of *Bœotia*, about forty Miles from *Athens*, though it appears not to me by any credible Author that ever St. *Paul* was there. He became ever after his inſeparable Companion and Fellow-labourer in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, eſpecially after his going into *Macedonia*, from which Time, in recording the Hiſtory of St. *Paul*'s Travels, he always ſpeaks of himſelf in his own Perſon He followed him in all his Dangers, was with him at his ſeveral Arraignments at *Jeruſalem*, accompanied him in his deſperate Voyage to *Rome*, where he ſtill attended on him to ſerve his Neceſſities, and ſupply thoſe miniſterial Offices, which the Apoſtle's Confinement would not ſuffer him to undergo, and eſpecially in carrying Meſſages to thoſe Churches where he had planted *Chriſtianity*. This infinitely endeared him to St. *Paul*, who own'd him for his *Follow-labourer*, called him *the beloved Phyſician*, and *the Brother whoſe Praiſe is in the Goſpel, throughout all the Churches*; which the Antients, and eſpecially *Ignatius*, apply to our Evangeliſt.

Probable it is that he did not wholly leave St. *Paul* till he had finiſhed his Courſe, and crowned all with Martyrdom; though there are that tell us, that he left St. *Paul* at *Rome*, and returned back into the *Eaſt*, travelled into *Egypt* and the Parts of *Libya*, preached the Goſpel, wrought Miracles,

racles, converted Multitudes, conſtituted Guides and Miniſters of Religion; yea, that he himſelf took upon him the epiſcopal Charge of the City of *Thebes*.

Epiphanius gives us this Account, That he firſt preached in *Dalmatia* and *Galatia* (he reads it in *Gaul*, or *France*, and peremptorily affirms, that they are all miſtaken that ſay that it was *Galatia* where *Creſcens* preached, though ſome think that himſelf in the mean while is under the moſt confident Miſtake) then in *Italy* and *Macedonia*, where he ſpared no Pains, declined no Dangers, that he might faithfully diſcharge the Truſt committed to him.

The Antients are not very well agreed, either about the Time or Manner of his Death; ſome affirming him to die in *Egypt*, others in *Greece*; the *Roman Martyrology*, in *Bethynia*; *Dorotheus*, at *Epheſus*; ſome make him die a natural, others a violent Death. Indeed neither *Euſebius* nor St. *Hierom* take any notice of it; but *Nazienzen*, *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, and ſeveral others expreſly aſſert his Martyrdom, whereof *Nicephorus* gives this particular Account, That coming into *Greece* he ſucceſsfully preached, and baptized many Converts into the *Chriſtian* Faith, till a Party of *Infidels* making Head againſt him, drew him to Execution, and in want of a Croſs whereon to diſpatch him preſently, hanged him on an Olive-tree, in the eightieth (the eighty-fourth ſays St. *Hierom*) Year of his Age.

Kirſtenius, from an antient *Arabic* Writer, makes him to have ſuffered Martyrdom at *Rome*; which he thinks might probably be after St. *Paul*'s firſt Impriſonment there, and Departure thence, when St.

St. *Luke* being left behind as his Deputy to ſupply his Place, was ſhortly after put to Death; the Reaſon (ſays he) why he no longer continued his Hiſtory of the *Apoſtles Acts*, which ſurely he would have done, had he lived any conſiderable Time after St. *Paul*'s Departure. His Body afterwards, by the Command of *Conſtantine*, or his Son *Conſtantius*, was ſolemnly removed to *Conſtantinople*, and buried in the great Church built to the Memory of the Apoſtles.

Two Books he wrote for the Uſe of the Church, his *Goſpel*, and the Hiſtory of the *Apoſtles Acts*, both dedicated to *Theophilus*, which many of the Antients ſuppoſe to be but a feigned Name, denoting no more than *a Lover of God*, a Title common to every *Chriſtian*. While others, with much better Reaſon, conclude it the proper Name of a particular Perſon; eſpecially ſince the Stile of *Moſt Excellent* is attributed to him, the uſual Title and Form of Addreſs in thoſe Times to Princes and great Men. *Theophylact* ſtiles him *a Man of Conſular Dignity, and probably a Prince*; the Author of the *Recognitions* makes him a Nobleman of *Antioch*, converted by *Peter*, and who, upon his Converſion, gave his Houſe to the Church for the Place of their publick and ſolemn Meetings. We may probably ſuppoſe him to have been ſome Magiſtate, whom St. *Luke* had converted and baptized, to whom he now dedicated theſe Books, not only as a Teſtimony of honourable Reſpect, but as a Means of giving him farther Certainty and Aſſurance of thoſe Things, wherein he had been inſtructed by him. As for his *Goſpel*, St. *Hierom* ſuppoſes it to have been written in *Achaiah*, during his Travels with St. *Paul* in thoſe Parts, whoſe Help

Help he is generally ſaid to have made uſe of in the compoſing of it, and that this the Apoſtle primarily intends when he ſo often ſpeaks of *his Goſpel.* But whatever Aſſiſtance St. *Paul* might contribute towards it, we are ſure the Evangeliſt himſelf tells us, that he derived his Intelligence in theſe Matters from thoſe, *who from the Beginning had been Eye-witneſſes and Miniſters of the Word.* Nor does it in the leaſt detract from the Authority of his Relations, that he himſelf was not preſent at the doing of them; for if we conſider who they were from whom he derived his Accounts of Things, *Habuit utique authenticam paraturam,* as *Tertullian* ſpeaks, he had a Stock both of Credit and Intelligence ſufficiently authentick to proceed upon; delivering nothing in his whole Hiſtory but what he had immediately received from Perſons preſent at, and concerned in the Things which he has left upon Record.

The Occaſion of his writing it, is thought to have been partly to prevent thoſe falſe and fabulous Relations which even then began to be obtruded upon the World; partly, to ſupply what ſeemed wanting in thoſe two Evangeliſts that wrote before him, and the Additions or larger Explications of Things are particularly enumerated by *Irenæus.*

He mainly inſiſts upon what relates to *Chriſt*'s prieſtly Office, and though recording other Parts of the evangelical Story, yet it ever is with a peculiar Reſpect to his Prieſthood. Upon which Account the Antients, in accommodating the four ſymbolical Repreſentments in the Prophets Viſion to the four Evangeliſts, aſſigned the Ox or Calf to St. *Luke.*

His Hiſtory of the Apoſtolick *Acts* was written, no doubt, at *Rome*, at the End of St. *Paul*'s two Years Impriſonment there, with which he concludes his Story; it contains the Actions, and ſometimes the Sufferings of ſome principal Apoſtles, eſpecially St. *Paul*; for, beſides that his Activity in the Cauſe of *Chriſt* made him bear a greater Part both in doing and ſuffering, St. *Luke* was his conſtant Attendant, an Eye-witneſs of the whole Carriage of his Life, and privy to his moſt intimate Tranſactions, and therefore capable of giving a better and more ſatisfactory Account and Relation of them; ſeeing no Evidence or Teſtimony in Matters of Fact can be more rational and convictive, than his who reports nothing but what he has heard and ſeen.

Among other Things, he gives us a particular Account of thoſe great Miracles which the Apoſtles did for the Confirmation of their Doctrine. And this (as *Chryſoſtome* informs us) was the Reaſon why, in the primitive Times, the Book of the *Acts*, though containing thoſe Actions of the Apoſtles that were done after *Pentecoſt*, were yet uſually read in the Church before it, in the Space between that and *Eaſter*, whereas at all other Times thoſe Parts of the Goſpel were read which were proper to the Seaſon; it was, ſays he, becauſe the Apoſtles Miracles being the grand Confirmation of the Truth of *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection, and thoſe Miracles recorded in that Book, it was therefore thought moſt proper to be read next to the Feaſt of the Reſurrection.

In both theſe Books his Way and Manner of writing is exact and accurate, his Stile polite and elegant, ſublime and lofty, and yet clear and per-

ſpicuous, flowing with an eaſy and natural Grace and Sweetneſs, admirably accommodated to an hiſtorical Deſign, all along expreſſing himſelf in a Vein of purer *Greek*, than is to be found in the other Writers of the Holy Story. Indeed being born and bred at *Antioch* (than which no Place more famous for Oratory and Eloquence) he could not but carry away a great Share of the native Genius of that Place, though his Stile is ſometimes allayed with a Tang of the *Syriac* and *Hebrew* Dialect. It was obſerved of old (as St. *Hierom* tells us) that his Skill was greater in *Greek* than *Hebrew*, that therefore he always makes uſe of the *Septuagint* Tranſlation, and refuſes ſometimes to render Words, when the Propriety of the *Greek* Tongue will not bear it. In ſhort, as an Hiſtorian, he is faithful in his Relations, and elegant in his Writings; as a Miniſter, careful and diligent for the Good of Souls; as a *Chriſtian*, devout and pious; and who crowned all the reſt with the laying down his Life for the Teſtimony of that Goſpel, which he had both preached and publiſhed to the World.

The End of the Lives of the Apoſtles.

The

The LIFE of St. *STEPHEN*, the Proto-martyr.

DIvine Hiſtory relates no Particulars of the Country or Kindred of this holy Man. He was certainly a *Jew*, but whether born of *Hebrew* Parents or Proſelytes, whether at *Jeruſalem* or elſewhere, is uncertain. Yet this is certain, that he was a Man of great Zeal and Piety, endowed with extraordinary Meaſures of the Divine Spirit, and peculiarly qualified for that eminent Station, to which he was advanced on the following Occaſion.

The Church in its priſtine State was illuſtrious, as for other Virtues, ſo eſpecially for Charity: They lived and loved as Brethren, *were of one Heart and Soul, and continued together with one accord.* None could want, for *they had all Things common*, being all ſupply'd from one publick Stock, which the Apoſtles themſelves diſtributed as every one's Caſe required, till the Churches Increaſe hinder'd them therein, by which means a due Equality and Proportion was not obſerved. This cauſed ſome Heats in the firſt and pureſt Church (Heaven only enjoying perfect Tranquillity) the *Grecians murmuring againſt the* Hebrews, *becauſe their Widows were neglected in the daily Miniſtration.*

These *Grecians*, or *Helleniſts*, oppoſed to the *Hebrews*, are generally thought to be *the diſperſed among the Gentiles*, that is, *Jews* born and bred in *Greece*, or *Heathen* Countries, who ſpake the *Greek* Language, but greatly mixt with *Hebraiſms*, and uſed no other Bible but the *Greek* Verſion of the LXX. But ſome learned Men more probably think they were *Greek* or *Gentile* Proſelytes, now converted to *Chriſtianity*; but not of *Hebrew* Race, which perhaps might occaſion their Widows to have leſs Care taken of them than thoſe of the native *Jews*, to whom for the moſt part that Miniſtration was entruſted.

The Apoſtles well knowing the Conduciveneſs of Order and Unity to the Deſigns of Religion, immediately convened the Church, and adviſed them to chuſe ſome other Perſons duly qualified to diſpoſe of the common Treaſure, and take Care of the Poor, ſo that they might *give themſelves continually to Prayer, and to the Miniſtry of the Word*, attending the Care of Souls without Interruption.

Hence Deacons in the *Chriſtian* Church had their Original, being primarily ordained to *ſerve Tables*, or take Charge of the Church's Treaſure: Which yet was not the whole of their Office, as appears by the Qualifications required in them, but they were alſo to attend at the *Lord's Table*. Thus *Juſtin Martyr* informs us it was in his Time, that *when the Preſident of the Aſſembly had conſecrated the Euchariſt, the Deacons diſtributed the Bread and Wine to all preſent*. Yea, they were ſometimes allow'd to preach and baptize, as did *Philip* one of this Number, eſpecially when they had the Warrant of the Biſhop to authorize them.

For

For the right Management of this Function, the Apoſtles preſcribed the Number as well as Qualifications of theſe Officers, ſpecifying Seven, probably for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they thought theſe ſufficient, without deſigning any peculiar Myſtery, which ſome would fain extract out of it. The People were extremely pleaſed with this Determination, which had this happy Effect, that the *Chriſtian* Religion prevailed, Converts flocked in, yea many of the Prieſts and *Levites*, tho' of all others moſt zealous for the *Jewiſh*, in Oppoſition to the *Chriſtian* Doctrine.

All theſe Deacons, according to *Epiphanius*, were choſen out of the Seventy Diſciples, of whom St. *Stephen* being Chief, is often by the Antients ſtiled an *Arch-Deacon*. As he is firſt in the Catalogue, ſo he is particularly characterized, *a Man full of Faith and of the Holy Ghoſt*. He was endow'd with divers miraculous Gifts, of exquiſite Skill in all Parts of *Chriſtianity*, and fitted with great Eloquence to publiſh, and Courage to defend it; confirming alſo his Doctrine by many undoubted Miracles. But Truth, Innocency, and having a better Cauſe, being the uſual Occaſions of bad Mens Hatred, the *Jews* were ſoon awaken'd, by the Zeal and Succeſs of his Miniſtry, to contradict and oppoſe him.

In *Jeruſalem*, as the *Jews* tell us, there were no leſs than 480 Synagogues for Prayer and expounding the Law; appertaining to which were Schools or Colleges for the Inſtruction of Pupils; many whereof were built at the Expence of thoſe *Jews* who lived in foreign Parts, and therefore called by their Names. Five of theſe combined together to ſend ſome of their Society to encounter St. *Stephen.*

phen. A ſhameful Inequality! they thought ſure to run him down by a Crowd of Aſſailants, whom they could not vanquiſh by Dint of Argument. In the Front appeared ſome of the *Synagogue of the Libertines*, denoting ſuch as had been captivated by the *Romans*, but were now manumitted or ſet at Liberty. Many ſuch *Libertine Jews* returning from *Rome*, erected this Synagogue for themſelves, and the uſe of their Countrymen, who from *Rome* reſorted thither, and therefore 'twas denominated from them. Such doubtleſs St. *Luke* means when, among the ſeveral Nations in *Jeruſalem* at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, he mentions *Strangers of Rome*, and they both *Jews* and *Proſelytes*. The next Antagoniſts were of the *Synagogue of the Cyrenians*; that is, *Jews* inhabiting *Cyrene*, a noted City of *Lybia*. The third were of the *Synagogue of the Alexandrians*. The fourth they of *Cicilia*, a known Province of the Leſſer *Aſia*; the Metropolis of which was *Tarſus*, the Birth-place of St. *Paul*, who doubtleſs bore a principal Part among theſe Aſſailants, being afterwards ſo active in St. *Stephen*'s Death. The laſt were thoſe of the *Synagogue of Aſia*, properly ſo called, being part of *Aſia* the Leſs near *Epheſus*.

Theſe Parties of different Countries, all well acquainted with the Subtilties of their Religion, roſe up at once to diſpute with St. *Stephen*: What were the Particulars of the Diſputation appears not, but we may imagine them to accoſt him after this manner: "Let us know, young Man, what leads "you thus raſhly to reproach the Divine Majeſty, "and with fallacious Stories, and pretended Mi- "racles, to amuſe the People to their Ruin? The "Streſs of the Controverſy lies here, Whether it "be

on Zelotes one of the twelve Apostles.
St. Luke 6. 15.

" be poſſible that he ſhould be God who was Son " of a Carpenter, born in a Stable, and laid in a " Manger, liable to Hunger and Thirſt, and all " human Infirmities? Who was forced to fly from " *Herod*'s Rage, and when taken could not eſcape, " when bound and buffeted could not avenge him- " ſelf, nor when hang'd on the Croſs ſave him- " ſelf from ſo curſed and ſhameful a Death? Would " you have us conceit him above the Skies, whom " we know to be under the Earth? Is it imagin- " able the moſt High would endure ſuch Indig- " nities, and not conſume them with an ireful " Breath, who ſhould have dar'd to aſſault his ſa- " cred Perſon? Forbear then theſe bold Attempts, " or elſe prepare your ſelf for the like Fate."

To which Harangue we conceive St. *Stephen* replied to this Purpoſe: " Where, Sirs, lies the Ab- " ſurdity of all this? Don't your own *Moſes* ex- " preſly ſpeak of this great Prophet? And have " not the following Prophets long ſince predicted " he ſhould be conceived in the Womb of a Vir- " gin, be born at *Bethlehem*, and fly into *Egypt*? " That he ſhould bear our Griefs, and carry our " Sorrows? That his Enemies ſhould pierce his " Hands and Feet, and hang him on a Tree? " That he ſhould be buried, riſe again, and aſ- " cend into Heaven? Either therefore name ſome " other in whom all theſe Prophecies were ful- " filled, or elſe acknowledge the Authority of our " Saviour, whom you indeed ignorantly took for " a mere Man: For had you *known him, you would* " *not have crucified the Lord of Glory*. But alas, " you denied the Holy and Juſt One, and put to " death the Prince of Life."

Which

Which Reply he made with that Vigour, and Zeal, and majeſtick Elocution, that his Adverſaries *were not able to reſiſt the Wiſdom and Spirit by which he ſpake.* Who, aſhamed and perplexed to be ſo openly baffled by one ſingle Opponent, reſolved now to attempt, by by baſe Arts and Perjury, what they could not effect by fair and forcible Reaſonings; and therefore tamper with Men of profligate Conſciences, who were ſoon brought to ſwear whatever their Tutors would ſuggeſt to them.

And now all Things being ready, Appeal is made to the Magiſtrates: The Court is ſummoned; the pretended Criminal is haled to the Bar; the Indictment given in; the Evidence produced. They ſuborned Witneſſes, who ſaid, *We have heard him ſpeak Blaſphemy againſt* Moſes *and againſt God ——againſt this holy Place and the Law,* ſaying, *That* Jeſus *of* Nazareth *ſhall deſtroy this Place, and ſhall change the Cuſtoms that* Moſes *delivered.* Which we may imagine them thus aggravating: *He hath preſumed to ſpeak againſt our juſtly venerated Legiſlator; to blaſpheme that* Moſes *who miraculouſly releaſed our Progenitors from Bondage; who turning the Waters into Walls, overwhelmed the* Egyptian *Armies in the Sea; who turned Darkneſs into Light by a fiery Pillar; who ſupply'd our Fathers with Bread from Heaven, and with Water from the flinty Rock. Yea, he hath blaſphemed God himſelf, and ſet up a dead Man for an Anti-God to the Maker of the World. He has impudently reproached his Temple, where the divine Oracles are expounded, and where himſelf peculiarly reſides. He bluſhes not to pronounce his Laws but* Shadows, *and the antient Rites but mere* Types *and* Figures. *He makes the* Gali-

Galilean *greater than* Moſes, *and ſets the Son of* Mary *above our Lawgiver, and threatens us with his dead Maſter. This young Man, not conſidering with what Wiſdom this ſacred Place was contrived, nor at what Expence of Treaſure and Time it was built, dotingly prates, that* Jeſus *of* Nazareth *muſt deſtroy it, and change the Cuſtoms which* Moſes *delivered us. Our moſt holy Sabbaths muſt be turned out of doors! our Sacrifices no longer acepted with God, and all our Divine Ceremonies thrown aſide! as if we were Strangers to this* Nazarene's *End, who, forſooth, muſt be our Judge! Silly Impoſtor! to ſcare us with a Judge, who is himſelf a Priſoner in the Grave.*

This then is a Breviate of the Charge, that he ſhould threaten the Deſtruction of the Temple, and the Abolition of the legal Ceremonies, and irreligiouſly aſſert that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* ſhould nullify that Religion which *Moſes*, yea God himſelf had eſtabliſhed. For the Rites of which the *Jews* had an exceſſive Veneration, little conſidering how ſoon they would be taken away, and the Temple itſelf levell'd to the Ground; which was accompliſh'd within a few Years by the *Roman* Army under the Conduct of *Titus Veſpaſian*. By theſe the Temple was totally burnt, and could never afterwards be repaired; ſo fix'd and irrevocable was the Sentence by which it was doom'd to Ruin. Inſomuch that when *Julian* the Emperor, in ſpite to the *Chriſtians*, not only permitted, but commanded and incouraged the *Jews* to rebuild the Temple (hoping thereby to prove our Saviour a falſe Prophet) no ſooner had they begun to lay the Foundation, but a terrible Earthquake ſhattered it, kill'd the Undertakers, and tumbled

down all the Buildings about it. And the Attempt being renewed on the following Day, great Balls of Fire ſuddenly breaking forth, conſumed all that were near, and ſo conſtrained them to give over. A wonderful Inſtance of God's Diſpleaſure againſt a Place he had devoted to final Deſtruction! which yet is not only related by *Chriſtian* Writers, but the Subſtance of it atteſted by *Marcellinus* a *Heathen* Hiſtorian.

That St. *Stephen*'s Adverſaries might proceed againſt him with a greater Shadow of Juſtice, they give him Liberty to plead for himſelf, the Goodneſs of whoſe Cauſe ſufficiently appeared in the extraordinary Serenity and Chearfulneſs of his Countenance. Whereupon the High-prieſt having ask'd him, whether guilty or not? He made his Defence to this Purpoſe:

" That, whatever Opinion they had of the Splen-
" dor of the Temple, and its Services, as if they
" were indiſpenſibly neceſſary, and that it was
" Blaſphemy to imagine God might be accept-
" ably ſerv'd without them, they might ſoon be
" convinced of the contrary, by looking back to
" the Original of their Nation, and conſidering
" that God choſe *Abraham* to be the Father and
" Founder of it; not when he inhabited *Jeruſalem*
" and worſhipped in the Temple, but while he
" remained among the idolatrous *Heathen*. Then
" God called him into an intimate Acquaintance
" with himſelf, wherein he continued many Years
" without any of thoſe external Rites and Cere-
" monies. And God afterward entring into a
" more peculiar Covenant with him, required no
" other Ceremony than Circumciſion. And with-
" out any other fixed Rite, the ſucceeding Pa-
" triarchs

" triarchs ſerved God throughout ſeveral Ages,
" till the Time of *Moſes*. Him indeed God com-
" manded to erect a Tabernacle for a Place of
" publick Worſhip, which yet was to be only
" tranſient and temporary, and in ſome Years to
" give place to the ſtanding Temple by *Solomon*:
" Which was yet not deſigned to be of perpetual
" Duration, God declaring, that *the Heaven was*
" *his Throne, and the Earth his Footſtool*, ſignify-
" ing he could not be confined within a material
" Temple, nor would be tied to any particular
" Mode of Worſhip. Beſides, he put them in
" mind, that their own Law-giver *Moſes* had
" plainly foretold a Change, often inculcating this
" Leſſon to their Anceſtors, *A Prophet ſhall the*
" *Lord your God raiſe up unto you of your Bre-*
" *thren like unto me, him ſhall ye hear*. Intimating
" that God would ſend among them a mighty
" Prophet, who ſhould like *Moſes* introduce new
" Rites, and ſet up more excellent Inſtitutions,
" to whom they ſhould yield moſt diligent At-
" tention and ready Obedience.

" Then he concludes his Speech, by declaring
" them like their Anceſtors, a ſtiff-neck'd and ob-
" ſtinate Generation, circumciſed in Body but not
" in Heart, and always reſiſting the Holy Ghoſt;
" and that as their Fathers had perſecuted and
" ſlain the Prophets who foretold the Coming of
" the *Meſſiah*, ſo they, their unhappy Poſterity,
" had actually betrayed and murdered his Perſon,
" without regard to their own Law, given them
" by the Miniſtry of Angels."

By this Time the Conſciences of his guilty Au-
ditors were ſo ſtung by the too near Approach of
theſe ungrateful Truths, that they ſum'd and fret-

ted, and expreſs'd all Symptoms of Indignation. But he not heeding what was done below, had his Eyes and Heart fixed on a nobler Object; looking up, *he ſaw the Heavens opened*, and obſerved ſome refulgent Appearances of the Divine Majeſty, and the *Holy Jeſus* in our glorified Nature, not *ſitting* (as uſually deſcribed) but (as prepar'd to protect and reward his ſuffering Servant) *ſtanding at the Right-hand of God.*

With this Viſion the good Man was inexpreſſibly raviſhed, his Soul was inſpired with new Courage, and Longing to arrive at that bleſſed Place; his Heart overflowed with Joy, and he could not forbear ſignifying his Happineſs, without regard to the ill Uſe his Enemies woul make of it: *Behold*, ſays he, *I ſee the Heavens opened, and the Son of Man ſtanding on the Right-hand of God.*

But the heavenly Viſion on the contrary more enraged the *Jews*, who now taking it for granted, that he had proved himſelf a Blaſphemer, reſolved on his Death without any further Proceſs. And ſuch is the Fury of a blind Zeal, they produce no Warrant from the *Roman* Governor, which alone could impower them to put any one to Death; nay, they ſtaid not for the judicial Sentence of the *Sanhedrim*, but like Zealots (wont to execute Vengeance without ordinary Forms of Juſtice) ſtopping their Ears againſt his ſuppoſed Blaſphemies, or expected Cries for Mercy, they with great Clamour ruſhed upon him, and furiouſly hal'd him out of the City, and there with a Tempeſt of Stones ſatiated their Rage againſt him. The Witneſſes laid *their Hands firſt upon him* (according to the Law and Cuſtom in the Caſe of Blaſphemy) and to

be

be the more active therein, ſtripped off their outer Garments, and laid them at the Feet of a zealous Youth called *Saul*, who, as he himſelf afterward with great Sorrow acknowledged, was in a particular manner *conſenting to his Death*. Thus prepared, they began the Tragedy, and were ſoon followed by the furious Multitude. In the mean time the holy Martyr was was upon his Knees, ſending up Prayers for them faſter than they could rain down Stones upon him, *that God would not charge this Guilt upon them*; and ſo having piouſly recommended his Soul to his Saviour, he, as the divine Writer elegantly expreſſes it, *fell aſleep*: Death being to a good Man as a ſoft and eaſy Pillow, on which he willingly reſts after the Toils of this weariſom Life. Thus St. *Stephen* had the Honour to be the firſt Martyr of the *Chriſtian* Church, obtaining a Reward truly anſwerable to his Name [in *Greek*, *Stephanos*] a *Crown*.

He was one in whom the Beauties of a divine Life were very conſpicuous, *A Man full of Faith and of the Holy Ghoſt*; of eminent Zeal for God and Religion, his Courage invincible againſt the Frowns and Threats of his Adverſaries; his Spirits did not ſink tho' he ſtood alone, and had neither Kinſman nor Friend to comfort him. In all his Tortures a Lamb-like Meekneſs and Innocency appeared in him; his charitable Mind forgave the greateſt Injuries, and like his Maſter, he pray'd for the Pardon of thoſe who were imbruing their Hands in his Blood: Nor was Heaven deaf to his Petition, as appear'd by the ſpeedy and wonderful Converſion of St. *Paul*.

Chronologers are not agreed in what Year he ſuffered, ſome ſuppoſing it three Years, others no

leſs than ſeven Years after *Chriſt*'s Paſſion; but Biſhop *Pearſon* upon moſt probable Grounds, places it in the Year 34: And, if I may be allow'd to add my own Conjecture, he died at the Time of the Paſſover, about eleven Months after our Saviour's Aſcenſion, and, as is generally ſuppoſed, while he himſelf was young.

He was martyr'd without the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, near the Gate on the North-ſide, called formerly, as ſome ſay, the *Gate of Ephraim*, but afterwards *St. Stephen's Gate*; where ſome undertake to ſhew the very Place where St. *Paul* ſat when he kept the Clothes of his Murderers. Wherever the Place was, the Empreſs *Eudocia* Wife of *Theodoſius*, erected over it a beautiful Church to the Honour of St. *Stephen*, wherein ſhe herſelf was afterward buried. The great Stone whereon he ſtood when he ſuffered Martyrdom, is ſaid to be long preſerved in a Church built on Mount *Sion*, to the Honour of the Apoſtles; yea, that one of thoſe wherewith he was kill'd was preſerved by ſome *Chriſtian*, and afterward carried into *Italy*, and choicely laid up at *Ancona*, where a Church was built to this Marryr's Memory.

The Fall of this pious and good Man made a deep Wound in the Church, and was ſuitably reſented. *Devout Men* (probably Proſelytes) *carried* Stephen *to his Burial, and made great Lamentation over him.* One of the Antients tell us, (pretending a Viſion to prove it) that the Funeral Rites were ſolemnized, not only by the Allowance, but alſo with the Aſſiſtance of *Gamaliel* the Preſident of the *Sanhedrim*, (who many ſuppoſe became a *Chriſtian*) and that the Body was by his Order, and at his Charge convey'd to a Place, called

called the *Village of Gamaliel*, and there buried in his own Monument, cauſing alſo a ſolemn Mourning to be there kept for him 70 Days. But however his Body was diſpoſed of, it reſted quietly till, as *Sozomen* and others relate, it was found in the Reign of *Honorius*, together with the Bones of the Prophet *Zachary*, and carried in great Triumph to the Church that ſtood upon Mount *Sion*, the Place where he had perform'd the Office of a Deacon. His Remains were afterwards removed, as ſome tell us, to *Conſtantinople*, by a certain Lady called *Juliana*, who through Miſtake carried them thither inſtead of thoſe of her deceaſed Husband *Alexander* a Senator, who had been buried in the ſame Place. They alſo mention ſeveral ſtrange Circumſtances relating thereto, which I doubt the Reader would hardly have Faith enough to believe, ſhould I give a particular Account of them. The *Roman* Martyrology ſays, but without Proof, the Remains of this Martyr were in the Time of Pope *Pelagius* carried thence to *Rome*, and there lodg'd in the Sepulchre of St. *Lawrence*.

I inſiſt not upon the Miracles reported by *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours*, and others after him, to have been done by this Martyr's Remains; Superſtition having been the peculiar Genius and Humour of thoſe middle Ages of the Church, whereby the *Chriſtian* World was miſerably overrun with an exceſſive Veneration for the Reliques of departed Saints. Yet I'll venture to tell the Reader one Story, which is ſolemnly averred by *Baronius*, that St. *Gaudioſus* an *African* Biſhop, flying from the *Vandalic* Perſecution, brought with him a Bottle of St. *Stephen*'s Blood to *Naples*, where it was fam'd eſpecially for one miraculous Effect,

that

that being ſet upon the Altar at the Time of Maſs, it was wont every third of *Auguſt* (the Day whereon St. *Stephen*'s Body was firſt diſcovered) to melt and bubble, as if but newly ſhed. But the Miracle of this Miracle was, that when Pope *Gregory* XIII. reformed the *Roman* Account, and made it differ no leſs than ten Days from the former, the Blood in the Vial ceaſed to bubble on the third of *Auguſt*, according to the old Computation, and inſtead thereof bubbled upon the ſame Day, according to the new Reformation. A mighty Juſtification (as *Baronius* remarks) of the Divine Authority of the *Gregorian* Kalendar, and of the Popes Conſtitutions! But ſure it was ill done to ſet the Kalendars at odds, ſince both had been alike juſtified by the Miracle. But 'tis not hard to imagine how eaſily the World might be amuſed with ſuch Tricks, eſpecially in thoſe Ages.

Somewhat more Credit perhaps may be due to divers ſtrange Relations of this kind, given in the more early Ages of the Church, by *Lucian* and *Photius*, and eſpecially by St. *Auguſtine*, who ſeems to have been uſually inquiſitive about Matters of Fact. This Father relates ſeveral miraculous Cures wrought by the Remains of St. *Stephen* at *Hippo* his own City, which therefore may poſſibly induce the judicious Reader to think it not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that God might ſuffer ſtrange and miraculous Effects to be produced in a Place where Multitudes yet perſiſted in their Infidelity, and made this a great Objection againſt the *Chriſtian* Faith, that whatever Miracles were pretended to be wrought heretofore, yet now they were ceaſed, though ſtill neceſſary to perſuade the World to the Belief of *Chriſtianity*.

But

But whatever may be thought of thoſe Times, in vain does the Church of *Rome* pretend ſtill to the ſame Power: The feigned Miracles of that Church being generally trifling and ludicrous, the manner of their Operation obſcure and ambiguous, the Occaſions of them light and frivolous; and after all, the Facts themſelves for the moſt part falſe, and the Reports ſo extravagant, that a Man muſt himſelf be a Miracle if he believes them. To conclude, in all the Stories related by St. *Auguſtine* we find no Inſtance of praying to the Martyr, or that they ſought Cure by his Merits or Interceſſion, but God was the only and immediate Object of their Addreſſes and Prayers.

The LIFE of St. *PHILIP*, the Deacon and Evangeliſt.

SAINT *Pilip* the Deacon, whom ſeveral of the Antients, as well as Moderns, very miſtakingly confound with the Apoſtle of the ſame Name, was born at *Cæſarea*, an eminent Port-Town in the Province of *Samaria*, between *Joppa* and *Ptolemais*. He was one of the Seventy Diſciples, and Collegue with St. *Stephen* in the Deaconſhip, which ſhews him to be a Perſon of great Reputation in the Church, and endowed with miraculous Gifts, *full of Wiſdom and of the Holy Ghoſt*, Qualifications required of all choſen into that Office. In this Station he continued at *Jeru-*

Salem ſome Months, after which the Diſperſion of the Church conſtrained him to quit the ſame.

The *Jews* were now reſolved on the Extirpation of the whole Church, the Blood of the Protomartyr lately ſacrificed not ſatisfying their Revenge. And the principal Agent in this Perſecution was *Saul*, whoſe fiery Genius and paſſionate Concern for the *Jewiſh* Traditions made him purſue this Deſign with the Rage of a Zealot, and the Fury of a Madman: Being commiſſioned by the *Sanhedrim*, he immediately broke into Houſes, ſeizing all he ſuſpected to be the Diſciples of the crucified *Jeſus*, whom, without regard to Age or Sex he beat and halled to Priſon, blaſpheming and breathing out nothing but Threatnings and Blood. By this Means the Church was ſcattered into ſeveral Countries, the Apoſtles only privately remaining at *Jeruſalem*.

But what the Enemies of *Chriſtianity* deſigned for its Ruin proved an effectual Means to propagate it, the diſperſed *Chriſtians* every where publiſhing the glad Tidings of the Goſpel, and making known the Doctrine of Salvation. One of this ſcatter'd Number was our Evangeliſt, ſo called not from his Writing, but Preaching the Goſpel; which he began at *Samaria* the Metropolis of the Province called by the ſame Name, which City had been lately re-edified by *Herod* the Great, and in Honour of *Auguſtus* called *Sebaſte*, in Alluſion to his Name in the *Greek* Language.

The *Samaritans* were a mixt People, the Remains of the captivated Ten Tribes, together with thoſe *Heathen* Colonies which the *Aſſyrians* placed in their room. Their Religion likewiſe was a Medley of *Judaiſm* and *Paganiſm*, which yet they

ſo

ſo highly valued, as to vie with the Worſhip of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*; which cauſed an inveterate Enmity between the *Jews* and them. This occaſioned the Woman of *Samaria* to admire that our Lord *being a* Jew, *ſhould ask Drink of her* — becauſe *the* Jews *had no Dealing with the* Samaritans. The *Jews* deſpiſed them as *Heathens*, curſed them, would not permit them to become Proſelytes, ſuffered no *Iſraelites* to eat with them or ſay *Amen* to their Bleſſing; and alledged it as the greateſt Reproach againſt our Saviour, that he was a *Samaritan, and had a Devil.* But God regards not the Prejudices of Men; and therefore tho' at firſt *Chriſt* charged his Diſciples *not to enter into any City of the* Samaritans, yet now, by his Death having *broken down the Partition-wall*, he came and *preached Peace as well to thoſe that were far off, as thoſe that were nigh.* To theſe therefore *Philip* readily publiſhed the Goſpel, evidencing the Truth of it, to the Senſes of the Meaneſt, by great and uncontrollable Miracles.

The Succeſs was anſwerable; the *Chriſtian* Doctrine being generally embraced in this City, where dwelt one *Simon*, born at *Gitton*, a neighbouring Town, who by Magical Arts had ſtrangely twiſted himſelf into the Veneration of the People, who were ſo aſtoniſhed at his diabolical Sophiſtries, that they really thought him the ſupreme Divinity, he having perhaps given out himſelf to be the Son of God, who was to viſit the *Jews* as the *Meſſiah*; as afterwards among the *Gentiles* he ſtiled himſelf the *Holy Ghoſt.* But St. *Philip*'s Arrival, and more undoubted Miracles, quickly turned the Scale; to whom the People now, ſenſible of their Error, univerſally flocked, became his Converts, and were

by Baptiſm initiated into the *Chriſtian* Faith: Yea the Sorcerer himſelf being amazed at St. *Philip*'s mighty Works, profeſs'd to be his Proſelyte, and was baptized by him; being either really convinced or for ſome baſe Deſign pretending himſelf to be ſo: Which vile Craft, as *Euſebius* tells us, his Diſciples uſed in his Time, creeping like a Leproſy into the *Chriſtian* Societies, with a Deſign to poiſon and corrupt them.

This happy News ſoon reach'd *Jeruſalem*; whereupon the Apoſtles preſently diſpatched *Peter* and *John*, two of their own Number, to confirm theſe new Converts in the Faith; who being come, pray'd for them with Impoſition of Hands, probably ordaining ſome to be Governors of that Church; and immediately the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt fell upon them. A very clear Proof, as *Epiphanius* and *Chryſoſtom* obſerve, that communicating the Holy Ghoſt was a Faculty not belonging to *Philip*, but peculiar to the Apoſtles. The Magician obſerving this, hoped, if he could but obtain this Power, to recover his Reputation with the People; and therefore, ſuppoſing others like himſelf, he attempted to corrupt the Apoſtles by Money to beſtow the ſame upon him. *Peter* reſenting this Motion with Indignation, told the Wretch the Wickedneſs of his Offer, and the Danger of his State, adviſed him to make his Peace with Heaven by true Repentance, and thereby, if poſſible, to prevent his miſerable State.

We can't determine whether St. *Philip* kept at *Samaria*, or returned with the Apoſtles to *Jeruſalem*, as *Chryſoſtom* conjectures; but wherever he was, an Angel comes from God to him, requiring him to go and inſtruct a Stranger in the Faith,

Faith; a Work, one would think, likely to be better performed by the Angel himſelf: But the *God of Order* will not ſuffer thoſe heavenly Spirits to aſſume that Province which he has committed to his Miniſters on Earth. This Commiſſion was to go towards the *South unto the Way leading from* Jeruſalem *to* Gaza, a City antiently remarkable for the Wonders done there by *Sampſon*, for his Captivity, his Death, and the Burial of himſelf and his Enemies in the ſame Ruin.

St. *Philip* having received this Order, immediately aroſe and went without diſputing how unlikely it was he ſhould meet with Auditors in a deſolate Wilderneſs, more likely to preſent him with Rocks and wild Beaſts than Men; herein approving himſelf a true Son of *Abraham*, of whom it is recorded to his eternal Honour, That *he obey'd the divine Command, and went out, not knowing whither he went.* As this divine Meſſenger was journeying, he eſpied *a Man of* Ethiopia, *an Eunuch of great Authority under* Canadice *Queen of the* Ethiopians, *who had the Charge of all her Treaſure, and had come to* Jeruſalem *to worſhip.* The Name *Ethiopia* is ſomewhat general, and therefore ambiguous; but this is commonly thought to mean the *African Ethiopia*, lying under or near the Torrid Zone: This Eunuch is therefore ſaid by St. *Hierom* to come from the *fartheſt parts of the World.* The Manners of that People were very rude and barbarous, and the People themſelves contemptible to a Proverb; whence God by the Prophet thus reproaches the *Jews, Are ye not as the Children of the* Ethiopians *to me?* Yea it was accounted an unlucky Omen only to meet an *Ethiopian.* But the Badneſs of a Country is no Bar to Heaven;

Heaven; for *in every Nation he that fears God and works Righteouſneſs is accepted of him*..

Ethiopia here probably means only that Part of it called *Meroe*, and by *Joſephus*, *Saba*; ſituate in a large Iſland between the *Nile* and two other Rivers; where, as *Pliny* tells us, Queens had a long Time governed under the Tittle of *Candace*; as *Ptolomy* was the common Name of the *Egyptian*, *Artaxerxes* of the *Perſian* Kings, and *Caſar* of the *Roman* Emperors.

This Queen, whoſe proper Name, they ſay, was *Lacaſa*, and that ſhe out-lived our Saviour's Death four Years, had among the great Officers of her Court at leaſt one Eunuch, it being the Cuſtom of thoſe Eaſtern Countries to imploy ſuch in Places of Honour, eſpecially near the Queen's Perſon, probably to avoid Suſpicion; whence the Name Eunuch was ſo far from being, as it is amongſt us, of a contemptible Sound, that on the contrary they had them in the greateſt Eſteem. Our Eunuch's Name (as an *Ethiopian* Confeſſion has it) was *Indich*; he was an Officer of the firſt Quality, and probably ſo continued; Magiſtracy being no way inconſiſtent with *Chriſtianity*. Thus St. *Peter* baptized *Cornelius*, and St. *Paul Sergius* the Pro-conſul of *Cyprus*; neither of them finding fault with their Proſelytes for their Places of Authority, as *Philip* did not with his for being Lord Treaſurer to the *Ethiopian* Queen. As to his Religion, he had been, if not a *Proſelyte of Juſtice*, and ſo circumciſed, at leaſt a *Proſelyte of the Gate*, and endowed with the Knowledge of the true God, and had now come to *Jeruſalem*, probably at the Paſſover or Pentecoſt, to worſhip him, though an *Ethiopian* dwelling many thouſand Miles diſtant, and

and being a great Stateſman, neceſſarily crouded with much Buſideſs; ſhewing that no Length of Way, no Difficulty or Charge will hinder a good Man from attending the Concerns of Religion.

Returning from the publick Worſhip of the Temple, he left not his Religion behind him; but like a truly good Man, improving even common Minutes, he read the holy Scriptures in his Chariot; his Affections always travelling towards Heaven. In the way of Duty God is to be met with. While the Eunuch is thus employ'd, *Philip* is commanded either by a Voice from Heaven or ſome immediate Inſpiration, *to go near the Chariot*, as God's Meſſenger to him: Who coming, found him reading a Paſſage of *Iſaiah*'s Prophecy concerning the Death and Sufferings of the *Meſſiah*, and his Meekneſs and Innocency under the barbarous Treatment of his Enemies. The noble Traveller not well underſtanding the Words, deſired St. *Philip* to explain them; who being courteouſly received into the Chariot, ſhewed him that all this was ſpoken of, and accompliſhed in the Bleſſed *Jeſus*; and thence took Occaſion to diſcourſe of the Nativity, Life, and Miracles of our Saviour; to declare to him his Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion into Heaven; and in ſhort, to give him a brief Syſtem of *Chriſtianity*. This Diſcourſe had its deſired Effect; the Eunuch being fully ſatisfied of our Lord's Divinity, and wanting nothing but Baptiſm to make him a *Chriſtian* Proſelyte; which alſo, being now come to a convenient Water, he quickly received, upon his Deſire, and Profeſſion of his Faith in the *Son of God*.

They *both went down into the Water*, where *Philip* baptized him, as a Symbol that this *Ethiopian* was

was now made white in the Blood of the Lamb, and purify'd by his Spirit.

This Water is moſt probably placed by *Euſebius* and St. *Hierom* near *Bethſoron*, a Village twenty Miles diſtant from *Jeruſalem* towards *Hebron*. No ſooner was this ſacred Rite adminiſtred, but Heaven ſet an extraordinary Seal to his Admiſſion into the *Chriſtian* Faith; ſome very antient Manuſcripts adding, that being baptized, *the Holy Ghoſt fell upon him.*

At the ſame Time *the Spirit of the Lord caught away* Philip, *and the Eunuch ſaw him no more*, who yet *went on his Way rejoicing*, though he had loſt his Tutor, that he had found the *Pearl of great Price*, the Knowledge of *Chriſt* and Salvation. St. *Jerom* calls this Eunuch *the Apoſtle of the* Ethiopians, becauſe being returned home, he preached the ſame divine Doctrine to his Countrymen. And the *Ethiopians* glory that by the Miniſtry of this Eunuch they received Baptiſm almoſt as ſoon as any in the *Chriſtian* Church. They were indeed Worſhippers of the true God from the Days, and by the means of that Queen of *Sheba*, who converſed with *Solomon*, as is commonly believed among them. Their Traditions alſo tell us more particularly, that the Eunuch firſt converted his Miſtreſs *Candace*, and then propagated the Faith throughout the Country; and that afterwards meeting with St. *Matthew* the Apoſtle, by their joint Endeavourr Idolatry was wholly expelled out of thoſe Parts; and that after this he went over the Red Sea, and preached in *Arabia*, *Perſia*, *India*, and many other Eaſtern Parts, till at length, in an Iſland ſince called *Ceylon*, he laid down his Life in Confirmation of the Goſpel.

Philip

Philip having done his Errand, was immediatelly removed, doubtleſs by the Miniſtry of an Angel, and ſet down at *Azotus*, antiently called *Aſhdod*, a *Philiſtine* City bordering on the Tribe of *Dan*. This City was formerly noted for the Temple and Reſidence of *Dagon*, and for the Ark's being ſome Time there in Captivity; but was now more famous for being enlighten'd by St. *Philip*'s Preaching, who publiſhed the Goſpel in all Parts till he came to *Cæſarea*, ſo called by *Herod* the Great in Honour of *Cæſar Auguſtus*; in which, after he had rebuilt it, he erected a ſtately Palace of Marble called *Herod's Judgment-Hall*, wherein his Nephew, for his Ambition in receiving the blaſphemous Acclamations of the People, had a fatal Execution ſerved upon him, and died miſerably.

This City was alſo noted for many illuſtrious and pious Men. Here *Cornelius* with his Friends were baptized by St. *Peter*; hither came *Agabus* the Prophet, who predicted St. *Paul*'s Bonds and Martyrdom. Here St *Paul* himſelf was a Priſoner, and bravely apologized for himſelf before *Felix*, then *Feſtus*, and afterwards *Agrippa*. Here alſo St. *Philip* had his Family, to which he now probably retired, and ſpent the Remainder of his Life: For here St. *Paul* and his Company, many Years after, *entered into the Houſe of* Philip *the Evangeliſt, who was one of the Seven, and abode with him. And the ſame Man had four Daughters, Virgins, who did propheſy*, or foretel future Contingencies; an eminent Inſtance of God's fulfilling an antient Promiſe, That in the Days of the *Meſſiah* he would *pour out of his Spirit upon all Fleſh, on their Sons and Daughters, Servants and Handmaids; and they ſhould propheſy.*

The Remainder of St. *Philip*'s Life lies more in the Dark, as how long he ſurvived his Return, or whether he went any more from *Caſarea* to propagate *Chriſtianity*, in doing which, ſome report he ſuffered Martyrdom: But 'tis moſt likely he died a natural Death, and was buried, as alſo his Daughters, in this City. The *Greek Menæon* indeed tells us, two of theſe named *Hermione* and *Eutychis*, came, after St. *John*'s Death, into *Aſia*, and that the former was buried at *Epheſus*. To conclude, 'tis ſaid that *Paula* a *Roman* Lady, in St. *Hierom*'s Time, going through *Caſarea* in her Journey to the *Holy Land*, viſited the Houſe of this Evangeliſt, and with Admiration viewed the Apartments of his Virgin Daughters.

The LIFE of St. *TIMOTHY* the Evangeliſt.

LYSTRA, the chief City of *Lycaonia* was probably the Birth place of St. *Timothy*, who might be ſaid in ſome ſort to be at once a *Jew*, a *Gentile*, and a *Chriſtian*; his Father being a *Greek* by Country, and *Gentile* by Religion, or at moſt but *a Proſelyte of the Gate*, and his Mother *Eunice* a *Jeweſs*. Both his Mother and Grandmother were eminent for Piety, and probably ſome of the moſt early Converts to *Chriſtianity*, and took ſuch Care of his Education in Religion, that *from a Child he was acquainted with the holy Scriptures.*

tures. This Tincture of divine Truth which his Mind ſo early received, prepared him for the Embracement and Propagation of *Chriſtianity*, to which he was afterward called by St. *Paul*: Who miraculouſly curing an impotent Cripple at *Lyſtra*, diſpoſed many to become Converts to the *Chriſtian* Doctrine, among whom, we are told, were St. *Timothy*'s Parents, who kindly entertained the Apoſtle, committing their Son wholly to his Care.

Him, being generally approved, this Apoſtle about two Years after choſe an Evangeliſt to attend him in his Travels, and aſſiſt him in his important Work; having firſt cauſed him to be circumciſed, that he might not ſcandalize the *Jews*, but the more eaſily gain upon them, who were ſtill zealous for the legal Rites. Being thus become a Meet-helper to the Apoſtle, they ſet forward together in their religious Progreſs; and paſſing through ſeveral other Places, at length arrived at *Philippi*, a principal City of *Macedonia*. Being here perſecuted, they went to *Theſſalonica*, and thence fled from the Fury of the *Jews* to *Berea*, where they met with Perſons of a more generous Temper diſpoſed to embrace *Chriſtianity*, having firſt tried it by the holy Scriptures. But neither here would the violent Spirit of the *Jews* ſuffer them to reſt quietly. St. *Paul* was therefore ſecretly conducted to *Athens*, whilſt *Timothy* and *Silas*, being not ſo much ſpited by them, ſtaid behind to confirm thoſe that were converted in the Doctrine they had received. After this we hear no more of him till St. *Paul*'s Remove to *Corinth*.

From the laſt mentioned City *Timothy* was diſpatched by the Apoſtle to *Theſſalonica* to eſtabliſh

them in the Gospel, and enquire into their State. Whence returning, he brought the grateful News of their Constancy, mutual Charity, and particular Love to St. *Paul*, with which he was greatly comforted. And to shew his paternal Care of them, he presently wrote his first Epistle *to encourage them to retain and adorn their* Christian *Profession, notwithstanding their Sufferings for it; inserting the Names of* Timothy *and* Silas *with his own*, partly in honour of his Fellow-Labourers, and partly that their united Authority might have the more Influence on them. Thus he did also in his second Epistle, which quickly followed, to supply the want of his Presence, whereof he had given them some Hopes in the former. After near two Years Stay at *Corinth*, St. *Paul* went to *Jerusalem*, but quickly returned thence, and having visited several Churches by the Way, came back to *Ephesus*, where the Gospel, though greatly opposed, met with a happy Success.

The Apostle was so detained by the Affairs of this City, that he could not, as he desired, go to *Macedonia* himself, but was constrained to send *Timothy* and *Erastus* in his stead, who having dispatched their Business, returned hither to him. St. *Paul* now going from *Macedonia*, after three Years Residence at *Ephesus*, constitutes *Timothy* Bishop of that City, which being the Metropolis of *Asia* strictly so called, *Theodoret* hence calls him *the Apostle of the* Asians. To this Office he was ordained according to some preceding Prophecies, and by the special Direction of the Holy Ghost; which extraordinary Designation, as it was granted to several Bishops in the primitive Church, so it gave them a mighty Veneration among

among the People. Such a Recommendation was particularly neceſſary to *Timothy*, that none might deſpiſe him for his *Youth*; which Word is uſed by the Antients with a far greater Latitude than it commonly has with us, they expreſſing ſuch by that Epithet who had attained to the Age of thirty or thirty-five Years, as well as thoſe that were under it. However, ſuppoſing *Timothy* between 30 and 40 Years old, he might be juſtly called a Youth in Compariſon of other Governors of the Church, who received the Title of *Presbyters* or *Elders*, becauſe they were generally ſuch by Age when admitted to that Office.

We have afterwards no certain Account of this Biſhop and Evangeliſt, till the Time of St. *Paul*'s firſt Impriſonment at *Rome*, when he ſent for *Timothy*, who accordingly came thither, and joined with him in writing thence his Epiſtles to the *Philippians*, to the *Coloſſians*, and to *Philemon*, as his Name perfixed to thoſe Epiſtles ſhews. Here alſo he was Partaker with the Apoſtle in his Bonds, but was ſet at Liberty before St. *Paul* left *Italy*, whence he was diſmiſſed by him in the Year 63, with an Epiſtle to the *Hebrew Chriſtians* in *Judea, to inſtruct them more fully in the Excellency of the Goſpel above that of the Law, and thereby to fortify them againſt all Temptations of forſaking* Chriſt, *and relinquiſhing the great Doctrines of* Chriſtianity.

But though St. *Paul* was releaſed from his Impriſonment, being found not guilty of the Breach of any *Roman* Law, yet the very next Year *Nero* began a violent Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, commonly called *the firſt General Perſecution*. For the far greater Part of the ſtately City of *Rome*, having

having been reduced to Aſhes by his Order, either becauſe he liked not the manner of its Building, or for ſome other extravagant Reaſon; and thereupon fearing the Reſentments of the provoked People, he caſt all the Odium of it opon the innocent *Chriſtians*, as knowing they were greatly hated by the looſer ſort, and ſo cauſed them to be perſecuted as the Incendiaries; whereupon they were expoſed to many violent and barbarous Treatments.

However the Apoſtle being yet at liberty, travelled from one Country to another to viſit the ſeveral Churches, till at length he came to *Philippi*, from whence he wrote his firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*, who was now returned back from *Judea* to *Epheſus*, where, as ſome of the Antients inform us, he converſed with, and was ſome Time an Auditor of St. *John* the Apoſtle. In this Epiſtle he directs him *how to demeam himſelf in his eminent Station, laying down the Qualifications that ought to to found in thoſe that are called to the miniſterial Work, and the Care that ſhould be uſed in conſtituting them therein.* He alſo *encourages him againſt the Aſſaults of Perſecutors, and cautions him to beware of falſe Teachers, deſcribing ſome of their peſtilent Doctrines and malignant Deſigns; as alſo their great Craft and Subtilty in the Proſecution of them.* This Epiſtle, the Antients tell us, ought to be continually before the Eyes of all that are engaged in the miniſterial Work, and may well be ſtiled *St. Paul's Directory*, for the Management of the Affairs of the Church of God.

St. *Paul* being aſſured of his approaching Martyrdom, went now again to *Rome*, and there diligently imploying himſelf in converting both

Jews

Jews and *Gentiles*, *Nero* the Emperor was greatly enraged at his Doctrines, which he called *Peſtilent Innovations*; and his Fury was the more excited againſt him, becauſe, as St. *Chryſoſtom* informs us, he converted one of his Concubines, of whom he was moſt fond, to a Life of Chriſtianity, Sobriety, and ſerious Godlineſs. Hereupon he again caſt him into Priſon, in which Confinement he ſent his ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, who was then in ſome part of *Aſia*, but not at *Epheſus*; which being written, as appears by the Epiſtle itſelf, but a little before his Death, is ſtiled by the abovementioned Father, *St. Paul's laſt Will and Teſtament*: Herein *he warns him to expect to meet with Perſecutions, and exhorts him to be zealous in his Preaching againſt ſuch Oppoſers as cannot endure ſound Doctrine; and, notwithſtanding all Difficulties, to go on vigorouſly in the diſcharge of his great Work. He alſo deſires him, if poſſible, to come to him before Winter, telling him, that none of his old Friends and Companions now remained with him beſides St.* Luke.

We have juſt ground to believe that St. *Timothy*, according to the Deſire of this great Apoſtle, went hereupon to *Rome*, and took his laſt Leave of him, who, as he here tells him, was now *ready to be offered, and the Time of his departure at hand*; and accordingly at the beginning of the next Year he was beheaded as a Martyr for that Goſpel which he had ſo zealouſly and ſucceſsfully propagated. Nor is there any Doubt to be made, but that when he left *Rome*, he returned again to his Charge at *Epheſus*, and probably never went more from that Place, till he there confirmed the Doctrine he had preached, by laying down his Life for it, to which

which he was called under the Reign of *Nerva*, though himſelf a peaceable Prince, upon the following Occaſion.

The Votaries of *Diana* celebrating a Feſtival, called *Catagogion*, in which they carried about the Images of their Gods, and by means of their Masks and Clubs, committed a thouſand Inſolences, St. *Timothy* being moved with a holy Zeal, ſtood in the Street to reprove this execrable Cuſtom, which ſo enraged the People, that falling on him with Stones and Clubs, they left him for dead; and though the *Chriſtians*, perceiving ſome Life in him, took care of him, yet two days after he died of the ſame Wounds. Thus after he had long laboured and endured many Difficulties, he died in the Cauſe of Religion, about the beginning of *Nerva*'s Reign, and was decently interred in a Mountain called *Pyon*, or *Pyron*; whence ſome tell us *Conſtantine*, others his Son *Conſtantius*, removed his Body to a great Church built by the former of thoſe Emperors at *Conſtantinople*, to the Honour of the Apoſtles.

He was one of a very crazy Body, but of a vigorous Temper and active Soul; and filled with Zeal for God, he ſo emacerated himſelf with extraordinary Abſtinence, Bread and Water being his uſual Fare, that St. *Paul* ſaw it neceſſary to impoſe it as a kind of Law upon him, to *drink no longer Water, but uſe a little Wine for his Stomach's ſake, and his often Infirmities.* His eminent Virtues gave him a large Share in the moſt indeared Affections of that illuſtrious Apoſtle, who never mentions him without Titles of great Reſpect, ſometimes calling him his *Brother*, and *Fellow-Labourer in the Goſpel*; moſt uſually his *Son*, his

beloved

beloved Son, and his *dearly beloved Son*; and tells the *Chriſtians* at *Philippi*, *he had no Man like-minded, who would naturally care for their Eſtate.* To conclude, he lived near as long as St. *John*, the longeſt liver of the Apoſtles, ſo he was, as the Antients teſtify, highly eſteemed by him, and is generally accounted the Perſon whom that Apoſtle ſtiles *The Angel of the Church at* Epheſus.

The LIFE of St. *TITUS*, Biſhop of *Crete*.

SOME conjecture St. *Titus* to be born at *Corinth*, but moſt in *Crete*, now called *Candia*, a famous Iſland of the *Ægean* Sea. There are that will have him of the Blood Royal, deſcended from *Minos* King of that Iſland, and that he had a learned and generous Education; but theſe Things we paſs as uncertain. Whoever were his Parents, he was undoubtedly a *Greek* by Nation, and alſo as is probable by Religion, till his Converſion by St. *Paul* to *Chriſtianity*, the Time or Place of which we cannot determine. Being converted, he became either St. *Paul*'s Attendant in his Travels, or elſe a fix'd Member of the famous Church at *Antioch*, where the Diſciples were firſt dignify'd with the honourable Name of *Chriſtians*.

Hither came ſome *Jewiſh* Teachers, who aſſerted the Neceſſity of impoſing the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies upon the *Gentile Chriſtians*, and that *unleſs*

they were circumciſed after the Manner of Moſes, *they could not be ſaved.* And it being agreed to refer the Determination of that Controverſy to the Apoſtles and Elders at *Jeruſalem*, St. *Paul* went thither, and took *Titus* along with him to the Synod. No ſooner were they arrived there, but as the Apoſtle intimates in his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, ſome profeſſed *Chriſtians* who were zealous for the *Jewiſh* Law, inſinuated themſelves as Spies into their Company, to obſerve what Liberty he would uſe in relation to the Legal Rites, that they might find Matter of Accuſation againſt him. But though they failed not to exclaim againſt him, that he familiarly converſed with the *Gentiles*, and that he had now brought *Titus* an uncircumciſed *Greek* as his Companion, yet the Apoſtle would by no means yield he ſhould be circumciſed, leſt he ſhould thereby betray the *Chriſtian* Liberty, harden the *Jews* in their Prejudices, and ſcandalize and diſcourage the *Gentiles* from embracing the Goſpel. He indeed afterward, upon wiſe and charitable Conſiderations, readily conſented to circumciſe *Timothy*, who was a *Jew* by his Mother's ſide, that he might pleaſe that People to their Edification, and gain the more upon them.

When this great Affair was diſpatched in the Synod, *Titus* no doubt continued to attend St. *Paul* in his Travels, till having viſited the Churches in ſeveral Countries, the Apoſtle at laſt came to *Epheſus*, where he remained no leſs than three Years. Thence he ſent *Titus* on ſome Meſſage to *Corinth*, and ſoon after went himſelf to *Troas*, hoping there to meet with him: In which being diſappointed, he tells the *Corinthians*, he had

had no reſt in his Spirit, becauſe that he found not his Brother Titus *there*; ſuch was his longing to know their State by him. Wherefore miſſing him there, he proceeds on his Voyage to *Macedonia*; where being arrived, *Titus* at length came thither to him from *Corinth*, with the welcome News of the good Effects of his former Epiſtle among them, and the kind Entertainment they had given himſelf, who went as his Meſſenger to them: Which Tidings were a great Refreſhment to the Apoſtle's Spirit, amidſt the various Troubles that then attended him.

St. *Paul* being at *Philippi* in *Macedonia*, when that grateful Meſſage came to him, where he had lately received a liberal Contribution for the poor Saints at *Jeruſalem*, he preſently ſent back *Titus* with St. *Luke* to *Corinth*, to excite them alſo to make theirs ready againſt his arrival. By the ſame Hands he alſo ſent his ſecond Epiſtle to that Church, wherein *he excuſes his not coming thither ſo ſoon as they expected, and as he himſelf had intended, aſſuring them that it was in a great meaſure owing to his Tenderneſs towards them, leſt he ſhould have been conſtrained to exerciſe Severity againſt them. He alſo vindicates his Miniſtry and Conduct from the Reproaches of falſe Teachers, that had induſtriouſly attempted to prejudice their Minds againſt him; and aſſerts his tender and fatherly Love towards them, and Care of their Welfare.*

We have no further Account of this Evangeliſt till after the Apoſtle's two Years Impriſonment at *Rome* were expired, when St. *Paul* having ſpent ſeven or eight Months in *Spain*, and thoſe Weſtern Parts, as ſeveral of the Antients tell us, ſailed

Eaſtward, and about the latter End of the Year 63, arrived at *Crete*, a populous Iſland, wherein were many Cities, which was therefore formerly called *Hecatompolis*, *i. e.* the Iſland of an hundred Cities. Having preached here ſome Time, and formed ſeveral Churches, he was himſelf called thence to take care of others, but conſtituted our St. *Titus* Biſhop of the Iſland, as the Antients generally declare. The ſame Thing alſo ſeems intimated by the Apoſtle in his Epiſtle to him: *For this Cauſe I left thee in* Crete, *that thou ſhouldſt ſet in order the Things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I have appointed thee.* It was about the beginning of the following Year when the Apoſtle thus left him in his Charge.

St. *Paul* in the mean Time went forward in his Work of travelling from Country to Country, to viſit and confirm the Churches; and being come into *Macedonia*, he thence wrote an Epiſtle to *Titus*, being then at *Crete*, wherein he *teaches him a due Demeanour in his Station, and excites him to an unwearied Vigilance in his Work, of eſtabliſhing* Chriſtians, *and oppoſing Gainſayers.* And indeed he had great need of ſuch Advices, having to do with a very untoward Generation of Men; for as the Country remarkably abounded with Fruits, ſo the People were no leſs fertile in Vice and Immorality. This ill Character, *Epimenides* one of their own Poets gives of them, as the Apoſtle puts him in mind, *The* Cretians *are always Liars, evil Beaſts, ſlow Bellies*; which Vices of Lying, Senſuality and Sloth, ſeveral other *Heathen* Writers alſo tax them with, and therefore no Wonder the Apoſtle bids him *rebuke them ſharply.* He alſo charges

charges him to be ſure to conſtitute ſuch Elders in the Church, as, beſides other Qualifications, were able to *convince Gainſayers*. And this he does with great Reaſon, ſeeing, whatever is reported that *Crete* bred no Serpents, or venomous Creatures, 'tis certain there were *many unruly, or vain-talkers*, eſpecially *Jews*, who corrupted *Chriſtianity* with the Poiſon of Errors and Hereſies, derived from *Jewiſh* Fables. In Conformity to theſe, the *Valentinians*, the *Baſilidians*, and the reſt of the *Gnoſtick* Crew, formed their ſenſeleſs and unintelligible Schemes, as you may learn more fully from *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Epiphanius*. St. *Paul*, towards the cloſe of the forementioned Epiſtle, requires *Titus* to meet him at *Nicopolis*, a City of *Epirus*, where he had reſolved to ſpend his Winter; and that the Churches might not ſuffer by his Abſence, promiſes to ſend *Artemas* and *Tychicus* to ſupply his Place.

We have juſt Reaſon to conclude, that he came to *Nicopolis*, and met St. *Paul* there according to his Requeſt; and after he had wintered there with him, 'tis probable the Apoſtle ſent him thence into *Dalmatia*, now under the *Venetians* and *Turks*, to plant that warlike Nation with the Goſpel of Peace, as is intimated by him in his ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*. This is the laſt Notice we have concerning him in the Divine Writings.

As for the Reports of his miraculouſly converting *Pliny* the Younger, Proconſul of *Bithynia*, and Privy-Counſellor to *Trajan* the Emperor, as alſo of his ſuffering Martyrdom in *Italy*, I paſs them by as uncertain: Nor do the Eccleſiaſtical Records give any further Memoirs to be depended on

on concerning him. Only the Antients tell us, that he lived long, and died a peaceable Death, about the nineth-fourth Year of his Age, and that he lies buried in *Crete*, where afterward a ſtately Church was built and dedicated to his Memory. His Feſtivals are obſerved in the Weſtern Churches on the 4th of *January*, and in the *Greek* Churches on the 25th of *Auguſt*.

THUS have we collected together from Scripture and antient Authors ſuch Memoirs of the *Lives* and *Memorable Tranſactions* of the *Apoſtles* and *Evangeliſts*, as we judged were authentic and to be depended upon; and we have the Satisfaction to ſay, that our Readers in general have expreſſed their Approbation of the Pains we have taken therein. This has encouraged us to begin the *Lives of the Fathers*, a Work no leſs uſeful and entertaining than the foregoing; ſince, as the firſt ſhewed us in what Manner *Chriſtianity* was firſt eſtabliſhed, this will diſcover by what Means it was ſpread and propagated into all Parts of the then known World. Tho' this will carry the Hiſtory into a greater Length than we at firſt intended, yet we are perſuaded our Readers will not grudge the additional Expence, when they conſider the Pleaſure and Inſtruction they will receive from the Peruſal of theſe great and primitive Examples.

THE

THE LIVES Of the Moſt Eminent Fathers OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The LIFE of St. *DIONYSIUS*, the *Areopagite*.

THE Deſign of *Chriſtianity* being to reform the World, and eradicate Vice and Idolatry, met with violent Oppoſition from all corrupt Intereſts conſpiring againſt it, whence *this Sect was every where ſpoken againſt*. The *Gentiles* ſlighted it for its Novelty, and could not endure their Philoſophy ſhould be controuled by a plain Doctrine without accurate Schemes, ſublime Speculations, or Eloquence. The *Jews*, perplexed to ſee their Expectations fruſtrated by the Appearance of a *Meſſiah* under mean Cir-

Circumſtances, who, inſtead of reſcuing them from the *Roman* Yoke, threatned their Country with final Ruin for their Infidelity, reproached his Perſon, ſlighted his Doctrine, traduced his Miracles, and at length violently took away his Life. And even that not ſatisfying their Revenge, they quickly let the World ſee that his Diſciples muſt expect no better Treatment than their Maſter, cruelly perſecuting and putting them to Death; and within a few Years after renew'd their Malice in the Martyrdom of St. *Dionyſius*: The Narrative of whoſe Life and Death we are about to give you.

St. *Dionyſius* drew his firſt Breath at *Athens*, a Place ſo famous throughout many Ages for Learning, that it was called, *the Eye of* Greece, *and Fountain of Literature.* Here none were admitted to be *Areopagite* Judges, as *Iſocrates*, who well knew, informs us, unleſs they were of a noble Family: And therefore this Father, being afterward advanced to that Dignity, gives us ground to believe, that his Parentage was honourable. His Education was doubtleſs anſwerable to his Deſcent, and the Place of his Reſidence in the midſt of Arts and Sciences. And accordingly *Suidas* tells us, he made vaſt Improvements in all the Learning of *Greece*, and was intimately acquainted with almoſt every Sect of Philoſophy.

But *Athens* itſelf could not, with all its Advantages, ſatisfy his capacious Mind; and therefore, when about twenty-five Years of Age, he reſolved to improve his Studies by Travel. Accordingly taking *Apollophanes*, a learned Rhetorician, and afterward Maſter to *Ariſtides* the *Chriſtian* Apologiſt, as the Companion of his Travels, he went into *Egypt*, a Country of the higheſt Eſteem in thoſe

thoſe Days for Improvements in Aſtronomy, and other the moſt myſterious Parts of Learning. And therefore *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Solon*, *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and, in a Word, all the antient Philoſophers, never thought they had enough till they acquainted themſelves with the *Egyptian* Sages.

He fixed his Reſidence at *Heliopolis*, a City not far from *Alexandria*, and moſt advantageouſly ſituated for the Contemplation of heavenly Bodies, and conſequently for the Study of Aſtronomy. Here, as *Suidas* relates, *Dionyſius* with his learned Companion, obſerving the wonderful Eclipſe which happened at our Saviour's Death, and knowing it to be preternatural, becauſe at the Full of the Moon, thereupon cried out, *Either the God of Nature ſuffers, or elſe the Frame of the World is like to be diſſolved.*

Having thus by his Studies prepared himſelf to ſerve his Country, he returned to *Athens*, and was accordingly advanced to a Station of very great Dignity, being made a Judge of the *Areopagus*, built upon an Hill of *Athens*, and the moſt famous Senate-houſe of all *Greece*. Before which Tribunal came all the more capital Caſes, eſpecially thoſe of Religion. None were admitted to ſit in this Council, but Men of Quality, Prudence, and ſtrict Virtue: And ſo impartial were they, that they heard Cauſes in the Dark, that they might know no Faces in Judgment.

Dionyſius ſat in this venerable Judicature when St. *Paul* at *Athens* vigorouſly aſſerted the Cauſe of *Chriſtianity* againſt the Stoick and Epicurean Philoſophers, who vehemently oppoſed it. The *Athenians* being exceedingly curious and ſuperſti-

tious in Religious Matters, underſtood not this ſtrange Doctrine, and therefore brought him before the *Areopagite* Senate, to whom the Judgment of ſuch Caſes belonged. Here, with great Freedom, and ſtrong Reaſons, *he demonſtrated the Abſurdity of their vain Deities, made known the infinite Maker and Governor of the World, and that he had ſent his Son to call Men to Repentance, by whom he would one Day judge the World in Righteouſneſs.* His Diſcourſe was by ſome entertained with Scorn, but happily convinced others of the Reaſonableneſs of *Chriſtianity*, among whom was our St. *Dennis*, one of the Judges upon the Bench, and *Damaris*, whom ſeveral of the Antients ſuppoſe to be his Wife.

After this his Converſion and Baptiſm, he is ſaid to have travelled with St *Paul* about three Years, and then to be made by him Biſhop of *Athens*. That he was the firſt Biſhop of that City, St. *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*, who lived ſoon after, aſſures us, as we find him cited in *Euſebius*. Hence we are told, having ſettled a Succeſſor, he went into *France*, and founded an Epiſcopal See at *Paris*; and thence about the 90th Year of his Age returned into the *Eaſt*, to converſe with St. *John* at *Epheſus*; and then again went to *Paris*, where he ſuffered Martyrdom: And among ſeveral other incredible Stories, he is reported to have carried his Head after it was cut off, two Miles, and there laid it and himſelf gently down, where he would be, and was honourably buried. This Fiction, I ſuppoſe, was occaſioned by an Account we have of another *Dionyſius*, who was indeed beheaded at *Paris* about the Year 250; yet I imagine none but a *Romaniſt* will believe he carried his own Head afterwards to its Funeral.

The

The only certain Account we have further of this Father, is what *Ariſtides* the *Chriſtian* Philoſopher, who lived *Athens* not long after him, relates in his Apology for *Chriſtianity*, *viz.* That after a reſolute Confeſſion of the Faith, and enduring ſeveral moſt ſevere Torments for it, he confirmed the ſame by laying down his Life. This moſt probably happened under the *Second General Perſecution*, begun by *Domitian* thirty-one Years after the firſt raiſed by *Nero* was ended, wherein Multitudes, and among others our St. *Dennis*, ſuffered Martyrdom for the Goſpel. Though I might mention many incredible Stories related by others, of numerous Miracles, not only done by him while alive, but alſo by his Reliques after his Death; I'll give you but one Paſſage concerning his Skull, which is ſaid to be kept in a Church dedicated to him, in a Village near *Treves* in *Luxemburg*. On the Crown thereof is a white Croſs, all other Parts being black, which is pretended to be made when St. *Paul* laid his Hands on him, which, if true, would be an Inſtance of Orders conferring an *indelible Character*, even in a literal Senſe.

He was, as the *Greek Menæon* deſcribes him, of a middle Stature, ſlender, fair, but inclining to Paleneſs; his Noſe gracefully bending, hollow-eyed, with ſhort Eye-brows; his Ears large, his Hair thick and white, his Beard moderately long but very thin. The Image of his Mind is deſcrib'd by the *Greeks* after their uſual manner in very lofty Strains: They call him the *Sacred Interpreter of hidden Myſteries*: They ſtile him, *An unfathomable Depth of Heavenly Knowledge*; and the *Trinity Divine*: They tell us, *that his Life was wonderful*,

derful, and his Diſcourſe more ſo: And that his Mind was *exactly like God.*

There are ſeveral Writings that bear his Name, *viz.*

Of the Celeſtial Hierarchy.
Of the Divine Names.
Of the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy.
Of the Myſtical Divinity.

Beſides ſeveral Epiſtles full of lofty Strains, and moſt abſtruſe and unintelligible Notions, which certainly are none of his, but written by ſome great Wits, as Mr. *Daille* thinks, in the ſixth Century, though ſome think ſooner, and aſcribed to this Great Name, probably to gain them a higher Eſteem and Veneration.

The LIFE of St. *CLEMENT*, Biſhop of *Rome.*

SAINT *Clement* was born at *Rome*, being the Son of one *Fauſtinus*, whoſe Profeſſion and Courſe of Life we know not. 'Tis indeed pretended in the *Recognitions*, that his Deſcent was Noble, and that he was nearly related to the Emperor. But this I take to ſpring wholly from a miſtaken Application to him of what was true concerning *Flavius Clemens* a Conſul, who was Couſin-German to *Domitian*, and ſuffered for *Chriſtianity* under him. But however that be, this Father was truly honourable for being by St. *Paul* rank[illegible]

ranked among his *Fellow-Labourers, whoſe Names were written in the Book of Life:* For of him all the Antients underſtand the Apoſtle.

The *Recognitions* further tell us, that being advanced in Years and Underſtanding, he fell into many Doubts concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and a future Life; and after many vain Endeavours to get Satisfaction from the Philoſophers, he earneſtly deſired, if poſſible, to ſee ſome one that had been in the inviſible World. While under theſe Perplexities, he heard that the Son of God had appeared, and publiſhed a moſt Divine Doctrine, into which he was ſoon after inſtructed by St. *Barnabas* at that Time come to *Rome*, whom *Clement* followed, till arriving in *Judea* he met St. *Peter*, by whom he was further taught and baptized.

St. *Clement* for the moſt part after this attended St. *Peter*, and coming with him to *Rome*, he was at length by him made Biſhop thereof, as all antient Writers agree, though they mightily differ in relating the Order and Time of his coming to it. Theſe Differences may more eaſily be reconciled by conſidering what the Antients generally agree in, that both *Peter* and *Paul* jointly laid the Foundations of the *Roman* Church; the former as the Apoſtle of the *Jews*, and the latter of the *Gentiles:* For that the kept ſome Time in diſtinct Societies, ſeems not only probable from their ſtrong Prejudices, but alſo intimated by St. *Luke*, telling us, that St. *Paul* coming to *Rome*, being rejected by the *Jews*, turned to the *Gentiles*, and preach'd the *Salvation and Kingdom of God* to them two Years together. This ſeems the firſt Foundation of a *Gentile* Church here, in the Government of which

which *Linus*, and after him *Cletus*, might ſucceed St. *Paul*, and *Clement* St. *Peter*, being ordained by him, as the Antients generally agree, for the Government of the *Jewiſh* Converts.

However this be, 'tis moſt probably believed, that St *Clement* wrote his celebrated Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* ſoon after the Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul* were martyr'd at *Rome*, whoſe Deaths were quickly followed by *Nero*'s violently putting a Period to his own Life, which had been long burdenſome to others, and was now become ſo to himſelf. This Epiſtle was written in the Name of the whole Church at *Rome* to that at *Corinth*, upon the Occaſions of ſome Diviſions therein concerning their Teachers; ſome being vainly conceited of their ſpiritual Gifts, who therefore deſpiſed their proper Paſtors. He therein *minds them of the Happineſs of their former Peace, the Danger of their preſent Diviſions, and how diſpleaſing they were to God; exhorting them to Repentance, and to yield due Obedience to their Paſtors, exciting them from the Example of* Chriſt's *Humility, and from the Hope of the Reſurrection, on which he much inſiſts, and thence preſſes the Practice of ſeveral* Chriſtian *Virtues*. 'Tis all written with ſtrong Argument, but in very ſoft Words, and with a very tender Concern for the Church of *Chriſt*.

Whenever it was that St. *Clement*'s Epiſcopacy commenced, 'tis agreed, that upon the Martyrdom of *Cletus* or *Anacletus*, about the End of *Domitian*'s 11th Year, he became ſole Biſhop of *Rome*, from which Time the Years of his Government are uſually computed. And ſoon after was written that celebrated Book, called *Paſtor*, by *Hermas* a *Roman* Convert, and moſt probably the ſame

St. MATTHEW 27. Verse 54.

After Christ's Resurrection, many of the Saints arose, and came out of their Graves.

ſame with him mentioned by St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*. How St. *Clement* managed this great Province we have no diſtinct Account, only in general we are told, that he appointed Notaries to enquire after, and faithfully to record all the Acts of the Martyrs that ſuffered within his Diviſion. We are alſo told, that he diſpatch'd Miniſters to preach the Goſpel where it was not yet known.

St. *Clement* with Patience and Prudence had got through the Storms of *Domitian's* Reign; but *Nerva's* peaceable one being very ſhort, the Tempeſt encreaſed under *Trajan's*. He was indeed a Prince naturally of an excellent Temper, inſomuch that it became a Cuſtom in future Times, upon the Choice of a new Emperor, to wiſh him, *The Fortune of* Auguſtus, *and the Goodneſs of* Trajan. Yet being exceeding ſuperſtitious and zealous for *Paganiſm*, he was a ſevere Enemy and Perſecutor of *Chriſtianity*. In the firſt Year of his Reign, according to *Metaphraſtes*, St *Clement* was by his Order baniſhed and condemned to dig in the Mines, for his converting ſeveral noted Perſons to the *Chriſtian* Religion. But in the midſt of theſe ſevere Sufferings the holy Biſhop made many Proſelytes, and ſpread *Chriſtianity* further than ever, which the Emperor hearing of, cauſed great Numbers of them to be put to death.

Trajan had not yet publiſhed any general Edict expreſly againſt the *Chriſtians*, but he had always forbidden the *Heteriæ*, or Societies, often kept among the *Romans*, under the Notion of Buſineſs and Friendſhip. Upon this Charge of *illegal Societies* the *Chriſtians* were ſeverely proſecuted in many Parts of the Empire, which was the more afflicting

afflicting in that they ſuffered under the Notion of Malefactors and Traitors, and under an Emperor generally famed for Juſtice and Moderation. This is uſually ſtiled the *Third General Perſecution*, begun but four years after the ſecond ended with *Domitian*'s Reign. Among the many Martyrs that ſuffered this year St. *Clement* was of chief Note, who being deſign'd for a ſpecial Example, was by the Emperor's Command caſt into the Sea, with an Anchor faſtned about his Neck, a kind of Execution uſed both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Thus died this illuſtrious Perſon, *Nov.* 24. a little above two Years after his Baniſhment, when he had been ſole Biſhop of *Rome* ſomewhat more than nine Years.

This Martyr was honoured at *Rome* by a Church built to his Memory, ſtanding in St. *Jerom*'s Time, but more honoured by his forementioned *Epiſtle to the Corinthians*, which was generally eſteemed by the Antients next to the ſacred Writings, and therefore publickly read for ſome Ages in *Chriſtian* Aſſemblies. Next to this in Eſteem was a Fragment of a *ſecond Epiſtle*, or rather *Homily*, containing a ſerious Exhortation to Piety: Both which are publiſhed in *Engliſh* by the Learned Dr. *Wake*. As to the *Apoſtolical Canons*, *Conſtitutions*, and *Recognitions*, though at leaſt part of them were written within the three firſt Centuries, they are certainly none of his. The like Judgment I conceive ought to be made of ſome other Pieces aſcribed to him.

The

The LIFE of St. *SIMEON*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*.

THIS St. *Simeon* hath been by ſeveral Writers taken to be the ſame with St. *Simeon* the *Canaanite*, one of the twelve Apoſtles, but very miſtakingly, this latter ſuffering Martyrom in *Britain*, or as others ſay, in *Perſia*, whereas *Simeon* the Biſhop is notoriouſly known to have been martyr'd in *Paleſtine* or *Syria*. The Antients generally account him nearly allied to our Saviour, being the Son of *Cleophas*, Brother to *Joſeph* our Lord's reputed Father; and, as ſome tell us, of that *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, who was Siſter to the holy Virgin. He was born about thirteen Years before the Incarnation of our Saviour.

His Education was according to the ſtricteſt Rules of the *Jewiſh* Religion, being of the Order of the *Rechabites*, as may be probably collected from antient Writers; which Order ſeems afterward to be imitated by the *Eſſenes*, a very religious Sect among the *Jews*. His firſt Inſtruction in *Chriſtianity* was probably under our Lord's own Miniſtry, being in all likelihood one of the Seventy Diſciples, and continued in that Station till *James* the *Juſt*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, was cruelly martyr'd by the *Jews*.

The Supply of this Place was, according to *Euſebius*, thought of ſo great Moment, that the Apoſtles and Diſciples of our Lord generally came from

all Parts to take care of it, and agreed that no Perſon was ſo fit for it as one of our Saviour's near Kinſmen, and therefore unanimouſly conferred the Honour upon our St. *Simeon*, who was now ſeventy-five Years of Age. Few Particulars of his Management in this Province are tranſmitted to us, but we may be ſure it was attended with many Difficulties, ſeeing it fell in with the blackeſt Period of the *Jewiſh* Church.

The Meaſure of the *Jews* Sins being now full, particularly their barbarous Treatment of the Bleſſed *Jeſus* and his Diſciples, brought the Divine *Wrath upon them to the uttermoſt*. Their often Rebellion, in order to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke, provoked *Nero* to ſend his Armies, which made dreadful Havock in ſeveral Places of *Judea*, and at length, under *Veſpaſian*, beſieged *Jeruſalem* itſelf. This formerly bleſſed, but now accurſed City, after it was long haraſſed by the Forces of the Enemy without, together with the Fury of the Seditious within, and pinch'd with a dreadful Famine, was at length ſtormed and taken: No leſs than 1100000 Lives were deſtroyed from firſt to laſt, beſides 97000 made Slaves, the City being then crowded by vaſt Numbers, come from all Parts to the Paſſover. The City and Temple were both totally deſtroyed; and in all Particulars the Prediction of our Saviour concerning it was moſt punctually fulfilled.

In the mean Time St. *Simeon*, and the Church under his Care, in Compliance with their Maſter's Warning to *flee into the Mountains*, and alſo, as *Epiphanius* tells us, by the particular Direction of an Angel, were fled to *Pella* a ſmall Town beyond *Jordan*, belonging to the *Gentiles*, where, as in

a

a little *Zoar*, they were ſo ſecured by the Divine Providence, that not one of them periſhed in the common Ruin.

There is no abſolute Certainty when the *Chriſtians* returned again to *Jeruſalem*, though it is moſt certain they were there before *Adrian*'s Time. But 'tis moſt probably thought they returned thither with their Biſhop *Simeon*, within two or three Years after the Devaſtation, when Things were again quieted and ſettled in *Judea*. Here they built a few Houſes, and a little Oratory for publick Worſhip upon Mount *Sion*, in the Place of that Upper-room where the Apoſtles aſſembled after our Lord's Aſcenſion, and received the miraculous Gift of Tongues.

About the ſame Time, 'tis moſt likely, St. *Barnabas* wrote his Epiſtle to the *Jewiſh* Converts, an Epiſtle ſo eſteemed by the Antients, that it was ſometimes read in *Chriſtian* Aſſemblies, tho' never received into the ſacred Canon. Its main Deſign is to prove, *that the Law was aboliſhed by the Goſpel, that the legal Ceremonies were then uſeleſs and unprofitable, and that it was neceſſary that* Jeſus Chriſt *ſhould be incarnate and ſuffer Death.* In the laſt Part of it, *he gives excellent Rules for Manners, deſiring the Prayers of them to whom he wrote, calling them the Children of Love and Peace.* This Epiſtle is likewiſe publiſhed in *Engliſh* by Dr. *Wake*.

The Church was at this Time free from Perſecution, but much diſturbed with Hereſies, which ſprung in a great meaſure from the Mixture of *Judaiſm* and *Chriſtianity*; particularly thoſe of *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, of which it may be uſeful to give a brief Account. *Ebion*, ſo called from

his affected Poverty, was born in *Cocaba* a Village in *Paleſtine*, and ſpread his Hereſy in *Trachonitis*, as alſo among the *Chriſtians* that had retired to *Pella*, where he gained many Followers. Theſe denied the Divinity of our Saviour; they acknowledged him indeed an excellent Perſon, but begotten of *Joſeph* as well as born of *Mary*. *Cerinthus* ſpread his Hereſy principally in *Epheſus* and *Aſia Minor*, which in ſome Things was the ſame with that of *Ebion*, particularly in the Denial of the Divinity of our Saviour, in the Acknowledgment only of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, and in exacting the Obſervation of the *Moſaick* Rites. To inſinuate himſelf among the Vulgar, he boaſted of ſtrange Revelations and Illuminations, and among other Things taught, That as *Jeſus* was but a meer Man, *Chriſt* deſcended upon him in the Likeneſs of a Dove; and that at laſt *Chriſt*, who was uncapable of ſuffering, forſook *Jeſus*, and left him to ſuffer Death.

But to return; as for St. *Simeon*, he doubtleſs adminiſtred his Province with all Diligence and Fidelity; in which God preſerved him, being ſo eminently uſeful in the Church, to a very great Age, when in the middle of *Trajan*'s Reign he was brought to give his laſt Teſtimony to his Religion by his Death, upon the ſlight Pretence of his being of the Line of *David*. The *Roman* Emperors were jealous of *Paleſtine*, becauſe of an antient and current Tradition, that thence one was to ariſe who ſhould be Monarch of the World; hereupon our aged Biſhop was by ſome malicious *Jews* accuſed not only of being a *Chriſtian*, but alſo of the Poſterity of the Kings of *Judah*. And being thereupon brought before the Proconſul, and

expoſed

expoſed for ſeveral Days to the Rack, he was at laſt commanded to be crucified, that he might die the ſame Death with his Couſin-German. All which he endured with ſuch a Compoſure of Mind, and ſo invincible a Patience and Courage, that the Proconſul himſelf, and all others preſent, were amazed, to ſee one of his great Age bear up under ſo many exquiſite Tortures.

He ſuffered Martyrdom in the 120th Year of his Age, in the 10th of *Adrian*'s Reign, having been Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* about 45 Years from the Death of his Brother St. *James*. The *Latins* keep his Feſtival *Feb.* 18. and the *Greeks* on *April* 27. His Death, as *Euſebius* intimates, concluded the Apoſtolical Age, he being the laſt of thoſe who converſed immediately with our Saviour.

The LIFE of St. *IGNATIUS*, Biſhop of *Antioch*.

ANTIENT Records afford nothing certain concerning the Country or Parentage of this Father, and therefore I ſhall not trouble my Reader with meer Conjectures. He is by many of the Antients affirmed to have been that very Child which our Saviour took in his Arms, and propoſed to his Diſciples as a lively Inſtance of Innocence and Humility, and therefore ſtiled by himſelf and others *Theophôrus*, *Borne* or *carried by God*. But this is as poſitively denied by St. *Chryſoſtom*, who

who affirms that *Ignatius* never ſaw our Saviour, yet tells us he was in his younger Years converſant with, and familiarly inſtructed by the Apoſtles; and others aſſure us, he was particularly a Diſciple of St. *John.*

Being fully inſtructed in *Chriſtianity*, he was, for his eminent Parts and Piety, choſen Biſhop of *Antioch*, the Metropolis of *Syria*, a Place not more famous for its being ſome Time the Oriental Seat of the *Roman* Emperors, and afterwards of their Viceroys, than for its early Entertainment of the *Chriſtian* Faith, and giving the venerable Name of *Chriſtians* to its Profeſſors, and for St. *Peter*'s firſt and peculiar Reſidence in it. He was here probably conſtituted Biſhop of the *Gentile* Church by St. *Paul*, as *Evodius* had been of the *Jewiſh* one by St. *Peter*; which two upon the Death of that Biſhop united together about the Time of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and ſo the whole Care devolved on St. *Ignatius* by the Appointment of St. *Peter* alſo; who, as *Theodoret* ſays, ordained him with his own Hands.

We have few Records of the Particulars of his Government, only in general, that with great Faithfulneſs and Diligence he diſcharged this Office near forty Years in very tempeſtuous Times, wherein, like a prudent Pilot, he ſat at the Stern, and averted the threatning Dangers by his Prayers and Tears, endeavouring by his conſtant preaching to eſtabliſh the weaker *Chriſtians*, leſt they ſhould be overborn by the Storms of Perſecution. He always rejoiced when the Church had a Calm, though he himſelf ſomewhat impatiently longed for Martyrdom, without which he thought *he could never ſufficiently expreſs his Love to* Chriſt, which

which accordingly afterward fell to his Lot, as we ſhall now relate out of the Acts of his Martyrdom, written by thoſe who were preſent.

Trajan the Emperor having lately obtained an eminent Victory over the *Scythians* and *Daci*, entered *Antioch* on *January* the 7th in Triumph, and immediately began to enquire about the Concerns of Religion, that being uſually his firſt Care. He revived his former Inquiſition againſt the *Chriſtians*, accounting it a Diminution of his other Victories to be conquered by them. Our Champion *Ignatius*, in Behalf of his Church, valiantly appeared before the Emperor without being ſent for, between whom there paſſed a formal Diſcourſe. *Trajan* wondering *how he durſt tranſgreſs his Laws*; the good Man vindicated his Innocency, declaring the *Divine Power they had received over evil Spirits*, and that *the Gods of the* Gentiles *were no better than* Dæmons, *there being but one ſupreme Deity, and his only begotten Son* Jeſus Chriſt, *who, though crucified under* Pilate, *had deſtroyed the Devil, and would ruin the whole Empire of* Dæmons.

Upon this Diſcourſe he was caſt into Priſon, where, as ſome report, he endured the moſt mercileſs Torments, being cruelly ſcourged, and forced to hold Fire in his Hands, while his Sides were burnt with Papers dipt in Oil, his Feet ſtood upon live Coals, and his Fleſh was torn with burning Pincers.

Remaining invincible under all theſe Torments, the Emperor pronounced his final Sentence, *That being incurably ſuperſtitious, he ſhould be carried in Bonds to* Rome, *and there be made a Prey to the wild Beaſts.* Which Death was counted by the *Romans*

Romans among the chief Punishments, and never inflicted but upon the vilest Malefactors, under which sort they ranked the *Christians*, who were so frequently thus treated, that, as *Tertullian* says, upon every frivolous Pretence the common Outcry was, [*Christianos ad Leones*] *Away with the Christians to the Lions.* The holy Martyr heartily rejoiced at the fatal Decree. *I thank thee, O Lord,* said he, *that thou hast condescended thus compleatly to honour me with thy Love, and hast thought me worthy with thy Apostle* Paul *to be bound with Iron Chains.* And so chearfully embracing his Chains, and frequently praying for his Church, he resigned himself to his Keepers, being ten Soldiers, appointed to attend him to his Execution. This was determined to be at *Rome*, probably in hopes that the Publickness of it might terrify all from embracing *Christianity*, and that so tedius a Journey in Winter might cool the old Man's Zeal, and bring him to deny his Faith; but whatever were the Designs of his Enemies, the Divine Providence made it a Means of advancing the Interest of the Gospel.

Being accompanied by *Philo* and *Agathopus*, two eminent *Christians*, he went on foot to *Seleucia*, where going on board, he, after a tedious Voyag, arrived at *Smyrna*. Here was a joyful Meeting between him and *Polycarp* Bishop of the Place, formerly his Fellow-pupil under St. *John*, who seeing him in Chains, was so far from being discouraged, that with much Chearfulness he earnestly pressed him to Perseverance. Hither also repaired to him the whole Country, especially the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons of the *Asian* Churches, to see this venerable Sight, to partake of

of his Prayers and Bleſſing, and to encourage him to Stedfaſtneſs.

To requite the Kindneſs of theſe *Chriſtians*, he hence wrote four Epiſtles to four ſeveral Churches, *to eſtabliſh them in the Faith and Practice of* Chriſtianity; one to the *Epheſians*, commending their Biſhop *Oneſimus* for his ſingular Charity; another to the *Magneſians*, whoſe City ſtood upon the River *Meander*, ſending it by *Damas* their Biſhop; and a fourth to the *Romans*, expreſſing *his earneſt Deſire to be with them to bear a Teſtimony for his Lord by Martyrdom.*

Then they ſet ſail from *Smyrna*, his Keepers not being willing to ſtay longer there, and in *September* came to *Troas*, being there refreſhed with the News of the Perſecution's ceaſing at *Antioch*. Hither Meſſengers from ſeveral Churches came to viſit and ſalute him, and hence he diſpatched three Epiſtles more: One to the *Philadelphians*, another to the Church at *Smyrna*, which he had lately left; and a third was a private Letter to *Polycarp* their Biſhop. Shortly after they ſailed from *Troas*, and after ſeveral Removes came at length to *Putcoli*; *Ignatius* deſiring, if it might have been granted, to go thence on Foot the ſame Way as St. *Paul* went to *Rome*. Hence a fair Gale ſoon brought them to the *Roman* Port at the *Tyber*'s Mouth, a few Miles from *Rome*; where the holy Martyr as much longed to be at the End of his Race, as his Keepers weary of their Voyage to be at the End of their Journey.

Coming near to *Rome*, the *Chriſtians* who waited for his Arrival, came to meet him, and received him with equal Sentiments of Joy to ſee ſo excellent a Perſon, and of Sorrow for his deſigned Exe-

cution. But ſome intimating that *poſſibly the People might be taken off from deſiring his Death*; he thereupon expreſſed a pious Indignation, deſiring them *to caſt no Rubs in his Way, nor give him the leaſt Hindrance, now he was haſtening to his Crown.*

Indeed he had long deſired his Martyrdom, as appears by his remarkable Words on this Journey, in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*: *Let*, ſaith he, *the Fire and the Croſs, the Aſſaults of wild Beaſts, the breaking of Bones, cutting off Limbs, yea all the Torments the Devil can invent come upon me, ſo I may but attain to be with* Jeſus Chriſt. Being brought to *Rome* and preſented to the Governor, while they made ready for his Martyrdom, he and the *Chriſtians* improved their Time in Devotion; he prayed with and for them, and recommended to our Saviour the State of his Church, earneſtly ſolliciting him *to ſtop the begun Perſecution, and to bleſs the* Chriſtians *with hearty Love and Charity towards one another.*

That the Execution might be more pompous and viſible, the Time of their *Saturnalia*, a ſolemn Feſtival, when they uſually entertained the People with bloody Sights, was pitched on for his Death. On *December* the 20th he was brought into the Amphitheatre, and the Lions let looſe on him, whoſe Roarings he entertained with ſaying, That *now as God's own Corn, he ſhould be ground between the Teeth of thoſe Beaſts, and become pure Bread for his heavenly Maſter.* And as he deſired the Bellies of wild Beaſts for his Grave, ſo they quickly diſpatched him, leaving only what they could not well devour, a few hard Bones. Thus died the renowned *Ignatius* at a great Age, after he had been ſole Biſhop of *Antioch* about thirty-ſeven Years.

Years, being ſucceeded by *Heron*, an eminent Perſon, who alſo followed him in laying down his Life for his Flock.

The Bones of this Martyr that were left by the wild Beaſts, ſome of the mournful Spectators gathered up and tranſported to *Antioch*, where they were joyfully received, and honourably interred in a Cœmetary without the City, but afterward, by the Emperor *Theodoſius*, with Solemnity removed to a Temple within the City, which was conſecrated to his Memory. I think it not worth while to relate the many Miracles ſaid to be done by them, nor how thoſe few Bones came to ſupply ſo many Places and Countries as they are ſaid to be in, nor the ſtrange Travels of his Head, and how at laſt it came to the Jeſuits College at *Rome*, where it is pretended to be, and is there ſolemnly and religiouſly worſhipped.

St. *Ignatius* was a Perſon in whoſe Breaſt the true Spirit of Religion did eminently dwell, of very moderate and mortified Affections to the World, laborious in propagating the Goſpel, a prudent, diligent, and faithful Paſtor, and like his Maſter *laying down his Life for the Flock*. He eſteemed his Sufferings an Honour and Privilege, looking on his Chains as his Jewels and Ornaments. To which we may add that moſt exemplary Humility which after all abounded in him.

The only genuine Remains of this Martyr are his ſeven forementioned Epiſtles, which were highly eſteemed by the Antients, and need no other Commendation than what *Polycarp* has given of them; telling us, *They contain Inſtructions and Exhortations to Faith and Patience, and whatſoever is neceſſary to edify us in the Religion of our Saviour.*

Theſe genuine Epiſtles are publiſhed in *Engliſh* by Dr. *Wake*. There are alſo eight other Epiſtles attributed to this Father, but theſe are by all Learned Men look'd upon as ſpurious.

The LIFE of St. *POLYCARP*, Biſhop of *Smyrna*.

AS *Smyrna* was the Epiſcopal Seat of St. *Polycarp*, ſo I ſee no Reaſon why we may not fix it as the Place of his Nativity. And if ſo, as this remarkable City of *Ionia*, in the Leſſer *Aſia*, was famous for ſeveral other Things, and particularly for its firſt Claim to be the Birth-place of *Homer*, ſo it will be more ſo for being the Place of this eminent Father's Birth and Education, as it certainly was his Charge, and the Scene of his Martyrdom. He was probably born in the Time of *Nero*'s Reign, and educated, as the *Greek Menæon* tells us, at the Charge of a noble Matron, whoſe Granaries being at a certain Time exhauſted by relieving the Poor, were again ſuddenly filled by his Prayers. He was, while young, St. *John*'s Diſciple, and inſtructed by other Apoſtles, being familiarly acquainted with many who had ſeen our Saviour on Earth, as *Irenæus* aſſures us.

The Seat of *Smyrna* being vacant by the Death of *Bucolus*, St. *Polycarp* was conſtituted Biſhop in his room by St. *John*, as the Antients unanimouſly agree, and alſo by ſome other Apoſtles joining with

with him, as *Irenæus* intimates, and *Euſebius* more fully affirms. It was no ſmall Honour to him that he was that *Angel of the Church at* Smyrna, to whom St. *John* writes with great Commendations of him, as is unqueſtionably proved by Archbiſhop *Uſher*. It was alſo a great Argument of his Judgment and Fidelity, that *Ignatius* recommended his Church at *Antioch* to his peculiar Care, in an Epiſtle which he ſent him from *Troas*, when upon his Journey to his Martyrdom at *Rome*, by which the Church was bereft of his own Guidance.

Soon after the Death of St. *Ignatius*, the holy *Polycarp* collected his ſeven Epiſtles, and ſent them to the Church of the *Philippians*, prefixing thereto an Epiſtle of his own, highly eſteemed by the Antients: Herein *he congratulates the* Chriſtians *at* Philippi, *for receiving the impriſoned Saints as they ought, whoſe Chains he calls* the Crowns of God's Elect. *Then he extols their Piety, exhorting them to continue and increaſe therein, laying down many excellent Inſtructions in order thereto. He farther taught them the Reality of our Saviour's Incarnation and Death, condemning thoſe who disbelieved the Reſurrection and the future Judgment, as the Firſt-born of Satan. Then he modeſtly expreſſes his Unfitneſs to inſtruct them, who had had* St. Paul *among them, acknowledging his Deficiency in the Knowledge of ſeveral Things contained in the holy Scriptures.* This Epiſtle he ſent to them by a *Chriſtian* whoſe Name was *Creſcens.*

After this we have no diſtinct Account of St. *Polycarp* till he became more publick, by endeavouring to extinguiſh the Flame that began to ariſe between the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Churches about the

the *Quartodeciman* Controverſy concerning the Time of keeping *Eaſter*; the former keeping it according to the *Jewiſh* Paſſover, as a fixed Feaſt at the Full-moon; and the latter as a moveable Feaſt, according to the Reſurrection, on the *Sunday* after. To this Purpoſe he goes to *Rome* to converſe with *Anicetus*, then Biſhop of that Province, as *Irenæus* aſſures us. They both indeed pleading Apoſtlical Practice for their Warrant, could not prevail on each other to quit their Cuſtoms herein. But notwithſtanding this, and ſome other leſſer Differences, they amicably agreed in Charity, as knowing the Vitals of Religion lay not in ſuch external Obſervances. In Token of which they communicated together at the holy Sacrament; and *Anicetus*, to ſhew his Reſpect for St. *Polycarp*, admitted him to conſecrate the Elements in his own Church; after which they amicably parted, each Side maintaining Peace and *Chriſtian* Communion.

Indeed the pious Mind of this Father was zealouſly affected againſt the venomous and peſtilent Principles which then corrupted the *Chriſtian* Faith. So that when he heard them, he commonly uſed to ſtop his Ears, crying out, *Good God, to what Times haſt thou reſerved me, that I ſhould hear ſuch Things!* immediately avoiding the Place. During his ſtay at *Rome*, he gained many to the Communion of the Church, who had been infected with the pernicious Hereſies of *Marcion* and *Valentinus*, *affirming two Gods, one good, and the other evil*, &c. And when one Day *Marcion* met him, and reſented it that he did not ſalute him, ſaying, *Polycarp, Own us:* He replied in a juſt Indignation, *I own thee to be the Firſt-born of Satan.*

Satan. This his Zeal againſt Hereticks he probably learned from St. *John*, who once going into a Bath where was *Cerinthus* a grand Heretick, he immediately ſtarted back, ſaying, *Let us be gone, leſt the Bath wherein this Enemy of Truth is, fall on our Heads*; which Paſſage, *Irenæus* tells, ſome then alive heard from St. *Polycarp*'s own Mouth.

Theſe are all the remarkable Paſſages I find recorded by the Antients concerning *Polycarp* during his Government at *Smyrna*, till Perſecution brought him on the publick Stage, which grew vehement under the Reign of *Antoninus Philoſophus*. At this Time the general Cry at *Smyrna* was, *Away with the Impious*, or Atheiſts (ſo ſtiling the *Chriſtians*, for denying their falſe Gods) *let* Polycarp *be ſought for*. At which this Champion was not ſurprized, tho' through the great Importunity of his Friends he was prevailed on to withdraw himſelf into a neighbouring Village, continuing with a few Companions Day and Night in Prayer, as his Manner was, for the Tranquillity of all the Churches. Three Days before he was apprehended, as he was at Prayer in his Bed, he fell into a Trance, dreaming he ſaw the Pillow under his Head all on Fire, which he interpreted as a Preſage, *That he ſhould be burnt alive for the Cauſe of* Chriſt.

St. *Polycarp* was in the mean Time diligently ſought for; and being diſcovered by a Youth, conſtrained thereto by the Force of Torments, though he might ſtill have eſcaped his Enemies, he refuſed, ſaying, *The Will of the Lord be done*; and ſo came to his Perſecutors, ſaluting them with a very chearful Countenance, and invited them to refreſh themſelves at his Table, only requeſting

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an Hour's Time for Prayer. This being granted, he continued in his Devotions near two Hours, with ſuch Sweetneſs and Fervour, that all that heard him admired, ſeveral of the Soldiers repenting they were imploy'd againſt ſo venerable an old Man. His Prayer being ended, they ſet him on an Aſs, and carried him towards the City, being met on the Road by *Herod* the *Irenarch* (a kind of Juſtice of the Peace) and his Father *Nicetes*, being chief Agents in this Perſecution.

They taking him up into their Chariot, ſought to undermine his Conſtancy, asking him, *What Harm there was in calling the Emperor* Dominus, *and ſacrificing, by which he might eſcape Puniſhment?* To which at preſent he made no Reply, till being vehemently urged, he utterly refuſed to comply. Whereupon, their ſeeming Kindneſs being turned into open Rage, they ſo violently thruſt him out of the Chariot, that his Thigh was bruiſed with the Fall. At which nothing daunted, he chearfully haſted to his Execution, where, amidſt the Clamours of the People, a Voice from Heaven was heard by many, ſaying to him, *Be corageous*, Polycarp, *and quit thy ſelf like a Man*; which could not but remind him of that glorious Promiſe made him about ſeventy Years before by our Saviour, *Be thou faithful unto Death, and I will give thee a Crown of Life.*

When he was brought before the Tribunal, the Multitude ſhouted and rejoiced at his being taken; and the Proconſul having asked if he were *Polycarp?* perſuaded him to recant. *Regard*, ſaid he, *thy great Age*; *ſwear by the Genius of* Cæſar; *repent, and ſay with us, Take away the Impious*; the Terms uſually propoſed to *Chriſtians*, who were generally

generally traduced as Traitors, for refuſing to ſwear by the Emperor's Genius. The holy Man looking up to Heaven, and then beholding the *Heathen* Multitude, and bec'oning towards them, ſaid, with a ſevere Countenance, *Take awry the Impious*; but in a very different Senſe from that wherein he was required to ſay ſo. The Proconſul then promiſing to releaſe him if he would ſwear and blaſpheme *Chriſt*; he replied, *Fourſcore and ſix Years I have ſerved him, and he never did me any Injury; how then ſhall I now blaſpheme my King and my Saviour?* And the Proconſul ſtill importuning him to ſwear by *Cæſar's Genius*; he replied, *Since you are ſo vainly ambitious I ſhould ſwear by the Emperor's* Genius, *as you call it, hear my Confeſſion, I am a* Chriſtian. *And if you deſire to know more of my Religion, appoint a Time and you ſhall hear it.* The Proconſul bidding him perſuade the People, he anſwered, *I rather addreſs myſelf to you, we being commanded to give Princes all due Honour: I think not the People competent Judges to receive an Account of my Faith.*

The Proconſul now ſeeing Perſuaſions fruitleſs, came to more ſevere Arguments: *I have wild Beaſts,* ſays he, *ready to devour you, unleſs you repent.* To which the Martyr replied, *Call for them, for we will not turn from Good to Evil, it only becoming us to turn from Vice to Virtue.* The Proconſul hereupon added, That ſeeing he made ſo light of wild Beaſts, he would tame him with the more terrible Puniſhment of Fire. But *Polycarp* bravely replied, *You threaten me with a Fire that is preſently extinguiſhed, but are ignorant of the eternal Fire of God's Judgment reſerved for the Wicked in the other World. But why do you delay? Order what*

Puniſhment you pleaſe. All this and much more he expreſt with a chearful Countenance and ſteady Mind, inſomuch that the Proconſul himſelf was amazed; but finding he could not prevail, he commanded the Crier (as was uſual in ſuch Caſes) thrice to make open Proclamation, Polycarp *has confeſt himſelf a* Chriſtian! Upon this the whole Multitude cried, with a mighty Shout, *This is the Great Doctor of* Aſia, *and the Father of the* Chriſtians! *This is the Deſtroyer of our Gods, who teaches Men not to ſacrifice to, or worſhip the Deities!* Thereupon they deſired *Philip* the *Aſiarch* to let looſe the Lions upon him; which he excuſing, that Exerciſe being over, they as one Man demanded that he ſhould be burnt alive, a Death which he had foretold ſhould befal him.

This was no ſooner pronounced than executed, every one ſtriving to have a hand in the Tragedy, eſpecially the *Jews*, whoſe Enmity to *Chriſtians* is almoſt as natural as the Fire's burning. The Fewel being ready, he began to lay aſide his Garments, and to put off his Shoes, which Office *Chriſtians* were wont to eſteem their Honour to perform for him, being venerated from his Youth for his admirable Life. The Officers coming to nail him to the Stake, he deſired them to forbear, aſſuring them, That he who ſtrengthened him to endure the Fire, would enable him, without nailing, to ſtand immoveable in the hotteſt Flames. Then being tied as a Sheep ready for the Slaughter, a grateful Sacrifice to God, he poured out the following Prayer. " O Lord God Omnipotent, the " Father of thy dearly-beloved and ever-bleſſed " Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, by whom we have received " the Knowledge of Thee the God of Angels,

" Powers,

" Powers, and of every Creature, and eſpecially " of all juſt Men who live in thy Preſence: I " bleſs thy ſacred Name, that thou haſt vouch- " ſafed to bring me to this Day, and to this Hour, " that I may receive a Portion among the bleſſed " Martyrs, and drink of thy Son's Cup, for the " Reſurrection to eternal Life, both of Soul and " Body, in the Incorruption of the Holy Spirit. " Into which Number grant I may this Day be " received, as an amiable and acceptable Sacri- " fice, as thou the only true and faithful God " haſt prepared, foreſhewn, and now accompliſh- " ed. For this, and all other Benefits I laud " thee, I bleſs thee, I glorify thee, through the " eternal High-prieſt thy dear Son, *Jeſus Chriſt*, " to whom, with thee, and the Holy Ghoſt, be " Glory both now and for ever. *Amen.*"

His Prayer being ended, and the Fire blown up, the Flames wonderfully formed themſelves into an Arch, gently encompaſſing his Body, which remained in the Fire purified Gold, and withal ſent forth a delightful Fragrancy, as the Church at *Smyrna* aſſures us, who were Eye-witneſſes of his Martyrdom. The Infidels beholding this wondrous Sight, were the more enraged, and commanded the Executioner to ſtab him with a Sword: Which being done, drew ſo much Blood as extinguiſhed the Fire, to the great Wonder of the Beholders. The *Chriſtians* deſirous to give him an honourable Funeral, were prevented by ſome, eſpecially the *Jews*, who inſtigated the Proconſul to deny them his Body, leſt leaving their crucified Maſter, they ſhould now worſhip *Polycarp*: *Little conſidering* (as the Relaters add) *how impoſſible it was that the* Chriſtians *ſhould be brought to forſake their*

Lord, whom they adore as the Son of God, to follow the Martyrs whom they eſteem only as his Diſciples.

Upon this the Centurion ordered his Body to be burnt to Aſhes; nevertheleſs the *Chriſtians* gathered up his Bones as a choice Treaſure, and decently interred them, reſolving, if poſſible, to meet annually in the ſame Place, and commemorate his Martyrdom, to ſhew their Reſpect to the departed Saint, and encourage others to teſtify the Truth in like Manner: Which Conſiderations gave Birth to the yearly Commemoration of the Martyrs, ſo generally obſerved in the primitive Church.

Thus died this apoſtolical Man, the Diſciple of St. *John*, about the hundredth, or according to *Hegiſippus*, the hundred and twentieth Year of his Age, having been Biſhop of *Smyrna* about eighty-four Years, he made his *Exit* on *Saturday*, *Feb.* 23. upon which Day his Memory is celebrated by the *Greek* Church, but by the *Latin* on *January* 26. His Tomb is on the *South-Eaſt* Part of the City of *Smyrna*, ſtill maintained by the charitable Contribution ef Strangers.

This famous Doctor's, and eminent Martyr's Memory, was not only reverenced by *Chriſtians*, but, as *Euſebius* obſerves, was every where mentioned with Honour. We have nothing of his certainly Genuine, but that excellent Epiſtle which he wrote to the *Philippian Chriſtians*, and prefix'd to thoſe of *Ignatius*, which was valued by the Antients next to the Divine Writings, and publickly read, as St. *Jerom* aſſures us, in the Aſſemblies of the *Aſian* Churches. Of which Epiſtle we have now an excellent *Engliſh* Verſion by Dr. *Wake*.

The

The Life of St. *QUADRATUS*, Biſhop of *Athens*.

THE Eccleſiaſtical Records give us no diſtinct Account of the Birth-place of St. *Quadratus*: But his Reſidence and Government at *Athens*, make it probable that he was born there. As Nature furniſhed him with excellent Parts, ſo this Seat of Literature was of mighty Advantage to his Education: The *Greeks* teſtifying him to be a Man of great Learning, and trained uy in the moſt uſeful Parts of Philoſophy. He was alſo imbued with *Chriſtian* Knowledge by Apoſtolical Inſtruction, being, as *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* more than once aſſure us, an Auditor of the Apoſtles, and particularly of St. *John*; and therefore, together with *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, *Papias*, and others, reckoned by *Euſebius* in the firſt Rank among the Apoſtles Succeſſors.

He was choſen Biſhop of *Athens* in the room of *Publius* (thought to be that very *Publius* whom St. *Paul* converted at *Melita*) as this had ſuceeded in the room of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* in that Province. As the Conſequence of that Biſhop's Martyrdom, and the Perſecution attending it, his People were generally ſcattered, their publick and ſolemn Aſſemblies deſerted, their Zeal grown cold and languid, their Manners corrupted, and they were almoſt reduced to a total Apoſtacy from *Chriſtianity*. In this diſmal State *Quadratus* found this

this Church when he undertook the Care of it; who therefore applied himſelf with a fervent Zeal to revive the antient Spirit of Religion, re-eſtabliſhing Order and Diſcipline, and blowing up their Faith and Fervor into a holy Flame. He preached the Word with ſuch Diligence, ſo enlarged the Bounds of the Church by daily Converts, and in a little Time reduced it to ſo excellent a Temper, that *Origen* who lived ſome Time after, inſtances in that Church at *Athens*, to ſhew the Glory of *Chriſtianity* in the excellent Effects of it above all other Religions in the World.

For this his extraordinary Work he was fitted by ſupernatural Endowments, being endued with a Spirit of Prophecy, of ſpeaking *extempory* upon emergent Occaſions, and of expounding difficult Scriptures, as *Euſebius* aſſures us, affirming that as he was contemporary with *Philip*'s Virgin Daughters, ſo like them he had the Gift of Prophecy. And the Greek *Menæon* tells us, he had ſuch a Power of Miracles, that by his Prayers he ruined the *Heathen* Temples, thereby counfounding the *Infidels*, and increaſing the *Chriſtian* Church.

But now, after a long Tranquillity, there aroſe a mighty Tempeſt of Perſecution, under *Adrian*'s Reign. Indeed *Tertullian* tells us, that *Adrian* had publiſhed no Edict againſt the *Chriſtian* Church; but while *Trajan*'s were unrepealed there wanted not Inſtruments to proſecute them, eſpecially when *Adrian* came to the Empire, whoſe Cruelty they knew too well to ſuppoſe him an Enemy to ſuch Proceedings. This Prince was indeed zealous for his own Religion, but therefore the greater Hater of *Chriſtians*, whom he ſtigmatizes with a baſe and infamous Character in his Letters to *Servianus* the Conſul.

Adrian

Adrian was eſpecially fond of the *Greek* Learning and Philoſophy, which brought him about the ſixth or ſeventh Year of his Reign to *Athens*, where he was initiated into the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries, which being eſteemed the moſt ſacred ones of the *Gentile* World, were emphatically called *the Myſteries*. Here he continued the whole Winter, and his ſuperſtitious Zeal for Paganiſm was counted ſufficient Warrant for active Zealots to oppreſs the *Chriſtians*. Upon which the Perſecution growing fierce, ſeveral undertook to remonſtrate and declare their Caſe to the Emperor, among whom were *Ariſtides* a *Chriſtian* Philoſopher.

Our *Quadratus* alſo addreſt him with an excellent Apology, defending the *Chriſtian* Religion from the Cavils and Reproaches of its Enemies, particularly pleading our Saviour's Miracles: "The Works (ſaith he) of our Saviour were al-"ways conſpicuous, becauſe true; thoſe who "were cured and raiſed from the Dead by him, "openly appeared, and were ſeen of all, and "that not only while he converſed on Earth, but "long after: Yea (he adds) ſome of them ſur-"vived to our Time." Beſides this Apology we hear from the Antients of no other Writing he left behind him.

It providentially happened that about the ſame Time the Proconſul of *Aſia* wrote Letters to the Emperor, concerning the Injuſtice of the uſual Proceedings againſt *Chriſtians*, being put to Death meerly to gratify the Clamours of the People, without any legal Proceſs. Theſe, together with the above-mentioned Apologies, took off the Keenneſs of his Fury; and that greater Moderation might

might be ſhewed toward them, he wrote Letters to the Governors of his Provinces, requiring, That malicious and fraudulent Informers ſhould be diſcouraged, that all Cauſes againſt them ſhould be fairly heard; and that if any Accuſation appeared to be from Malice and Spite, their Accuſers ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed.

This was the preſent peaceable State of the Church, but we find nothing concerning *Quadratus* after *Adrian* left *Athens* beſides what the Greek *Menæon* tells us, that by the Violence of his Perſecutors he was driven from his Charge there, and went and preached the Goſpel at *Magneſia*, a City of *Ionia* in *Aſia Major*, and that there he ſuffered Martyrdom, having been firſt tormented with various Puniſhments, about the End of *Adrian*'s Reign, as is ſuppoſed, and that he lies entombed in the ſame City. Which, if ſo, became now memorable for this, as it had been before for the Death of *Themiſtocles* that famous Commander and Citizen of *Athens*.

The Life of this Father being ſhort, I ſhall take Leave to inſert a remarkable Paſſage that happened about the Time of his Death. After many deplorable Calamities that had befallen the *Jews*, the Emperor *Adrian* conſidering that the Remains of their holy City and Temple was one great Cauſe of their Rebellion, ordered the City, and eſpecially the Temple, to be entirely raſed and ploughed up, according to the *Roman* Cuſtom, by which was entirely accompliſhed the Prediction of our Saviour, that *one Stone ſhould not remain upon another*: And at the ſame Time all the *Jews* remaining in *Paleſtine* were for ever baniſhed out of their native Country, and their whole

whole Race forbidden ſo much as to come within View of *Jeruſalem*, even from the higheſt Hill, upon the Penalty of immediate Death. In the ſame Year *Adrian*, out of the Ruins of the old City, built a new one; and to efface the Name of *Jeruſalem*, he called it, *Ælia Capitolina*, by which Name it was known for ſeveral Ages, cauſing it alſo to be inhabited wholly by *Romans* and Foreigners. In this City Mount *Calvary*, the ordinary Place of Execution, was now incloſed within the Walls, and Mount *Sion* the Place of the Temple, and all the Southern Parts of the old City excluded, left deſolate, and afterwards covered with Wood, Weeds, and Rubbiſh. He alſo erected a *Roman* Theatre, and built idolatrous Temples here, and put over the Gate leading to *Bethlehem* the Figure of a Swine, which of all Beaſts the *Jewiſh* Nation moſt abhorred.

This ſad Deſolation of the *Jews* opened the Eyes of great Numbers, who now clearly ſaw the Hand of Heaven, and embraced *Chriſtianity*: And as this new City became inhabited, a new Church of *Chriſtians* was eſtabliſhed here, conſiſting all of *Gentile* Converts, and of ſuch as entirely renounced Circumciſion and the Ceremonies of the Law. Of theſe St. *Mark*, a *Gentile Chriſtian*, and a moſt learned and celebrated Perſon, was Biſhop: He was the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* of the Uncircumciſion, and continued about twenty Years in that Station. At this Time the *Chriſtians* of this City exceedingly flouriſhed, and were ſo renowned for their Miracles, that *Aquila* himſelf, the Emperor's Father-in-Law and Overſeer of the Buildings, being convinced, was baptized, and embraced *Chriſtianity*. But though he changed

his Religion, he purſued his old Magical Errors, for which, after frequent Admonitions, he was caſt out of the Church. This he reſented as ſo great an Affront, that he renounced the Faith, was circumciſed, and became a *Jewiſh* Proſelyte; after which he made himſelf Maſter of the *Hebrew* Tongue, and tranſlated the Bible into *Greek*, with Deſign both to ruin the Reputation of the *Septuagint*, and to corrupt and darken the Prophecies relating to our Saviour, which Tranſlation is therefore highly eſteemed by the *Jews*.

The LIFE of St. *JUSTIN*, the Martyr.

SAINT *Juſtin* was born about the ſixth Year of *Trajan*'s Reign at *Neapolis*, anciently called *Sychem*, a noted City of *Paleſtine* in the Province of *Samaria*. His Father was one *Priſcus*, the Son of *Bacchius* a *Gentile*, who took care to have him educated in all the Learning and Philoſophy of the *Gentile* World, of which we have large Proof in his Writings. To advance himſelf in which, while young he travelled into Foreign Parts, eſpecially *Egypt*, a Country moſt remarkably conducive to this Purpoſe; where, as himſelf tells us, he had an Account at *Alexandria* of the Seventy Interpreters, and was ſhewed the Cells wherein they performed that elaborate Work. Of all the Sects of Philoſophers, he moſt eſteemed

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and followed that of *Plato*, which he afterwards tells us came neareſt the Principles of *Chriſtianity*.

But neither in this, nor any other Study of Philoſophy could he find Satisfaction, till he came to be aſſured of the Truth and Divinity of the *Chriſtian* Religion, to which he arrived, at about thirty Years of Age, by the following Means, as he informs us in his Dialogue with *Trypho*. As he was walking in a ſolitary Place by the Sea-ſide, he met with a grave old Man of a venerable Aſpect, with whom diſcourſing of Philoſophy in general, and *Platoniſm* in particular, *Juſtin* affirmed this to teach *the only true Way to Happineſs*: The other at large refuted this Opinion, and inſtead thereof directs him to the inſpired Prophets of the Old Teſtament, concluding with this Advice, *Above all Things pray that the Gates of Light may be ſet open to you, for theſe Things are not perceived and underſtood by any, unleſs* God *and* Chriſt *grant Men the Knowledge of them*; and then he departed. This wiſe Diſcourſe made a great Impreſſion upon his Mind, and inflamed his Soul with an ardent Love to the Prophets, and to thoſe excellent Perſons who were Friends to *Chriſt*. And now enquiring ſeriouſly into the *Chriſtian* Religion, he confeſſes, he found it the only certain Philoſophy, and beſt fitted to yield a ſweet Serenity of Mind; in which he was greatly confirmed by beholding the innocent and excellent Lives of *Chriſtians*, and their Conſtancy in enduring the greateſt Torments, and moſt terrible Deaths for their Religion.

The ſo ſudden Departure of this eminent Perſon from *Heatheniſm*, was no little Trouble to the more conſiderate *Gentiles*; to ſatisfy and convert

whom, as well as to vindicate himſelf, he wrote a particular Diſcourſe, wherein he tells them, *He had not raſhly and without Judgment left the Rites of their Religion, but becauſe he could find nothing therein truly ſacred and worthy of God, it being on the contrary, full of Madneſs and Confuſion.* And then, after many convincing Arguments of the Folly of *Paganiſm* and and Excellency of *Chriſtianity*, he concludes with a ſerious Exhortation, *Come hither, O ye* Greeks, *and partake of a moſt incomparable Wiſdom, and a Divine Religion; and acquaint your ſelves with an immortal King. Become as I am, who was ſometimes as you are, but have been convinced by theſe Arguments of the Efficacy and Divinity of the* Chriſtian *Doctrine.* But though he left his former Profeſſion, he retained his antient Garb, as *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* note, preaching and defending *Chriſtianity* in his philoſophick *Pallium* or Cloke, as thoſe *Chriſtians* generally did who had been profeſſed Philoſophers.

But it was not ſo much the Habit, as his Doctrine and Actions that ſhewed him to be a true *Chriſtian* Philoſopher. He quickly became conſpicuous at *Rome*, whither he came about the Beginning of *Antoninus Pius*'s Reign, and there ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to defend and promote the *Chriſtian* Cauſe, and particularly to beat down the Hereſies that then diſturbed the Church. He wrote a Book againſt all ſorts of Hereſies, but eſpecially ſet himſelf againſt *Marcion*, who began his Hereſy about the Year 144. teaching that *there were two Gods; one the Creator of the World, the God of the Old Teſtament, and the Author of Evil; the other a more ſupreme Being, the Author of Good and the Father of* Chriſt, *whom he ſent into the World*

World to diſſolve the Law and the Prophets, and to deſtroy the Works of the other Deity.

The *Chriſtians*, who had ſuffered much from Hereticks, began about the twelfth Year of this Reign to be more hardly treated by *Pagans*: For though *Antoninus* was ſignally mild and gentle, and put out no Edicts againſt them, yet *Chriſtians* being generally traduced as a wicked Generation, and as if their nocturnal Aſſemblies were abominable, they were ſeverely perſecuted by Virtue of former Edicts and the ſtanding Laws of the *Roman* Empire. To clear them from theſe foul Aſperſions, and to alleviate the Severities they laboured under, the Great *Juſtin* about this Time publiſhed his firſt *Apology*, preſenting it to the Emperor, his two Sons, and the Senate; wherein with great Strength and Evidence of Reaſon he defended the *Chriſtians* from the common Objections and Calumnies of their Enemies, proved the Divinity of the *Chriſtian* Faith, and ſhewed how unjuſt and unequal it was to proceed againſt them without due Conviction and Form of Law; acquainted them with the innocent Rites and Uſages of the *Chriſtian* Aſſemblies, and finaly minded the Emperor of the Practice of *Adrian* his Predeceſſor, who commanded that the *Chriſtians* ſhould not be needleſly and unjuſtly vexed, but that their Cauſe ſhould be heard and determined in open Courts.

This Apology is written with the Freedom of a Prophet, yet alſo with all the Reſpect due to an Emperor, and contains ſo much of the Doctrine and Manners of the Primitive *Chriſtians*, that it is one of the moſt conſiderable Monuments of Antiquity.

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This happy Addreſs of *Juſtin* had its deſired Effect; for the Emperor, naturally of a compaſſionate and generous Diſpoſition, being moved partly by this Apology, and partly by the Accounts he had from other Parts, wrote in Favour of the *Chriſtians* to *Athens*, *Theſſalonica*, and all *Greece*. Beſides, in the fifteenth Year of his Reign, he publiſhed an Edict directed to the common Aſſembly of *Aſia*, wherein having alledged how his Father ordered, *That none ſhould be any way moleſted, unleſs convicted of Attempts againſt the* Roman *Empire*; he thus concludes, *If any ſtill create them Trouble meerly becauſe they are* Chriſtians, *let him that is indicted be diſcharged, though he appear to be of that Sect, and let the Accuſer undergo the Puniſhment.*

'Tis not improbable that *Juſtin Martyr* accompany'd thoſe that carried this Edict to *Epheſus*; for there we find him not long after conferring with *Tryphon* the *Jew*, probably the ſame with *Rabbi Triphon* often mentioned in the *Jewiſh* Writings, who in a Time of War, cauſed by the *Jews* Rebellion, fled into *Greece*, and there much improved himſelf by Converſe with the Philoſophers of that Country. With him St. *Juſtin* engaged in a two Days Diſpute; wherein he admirably defended *Chriſtianity* againſt *Judaiſm*, and diſcovered the Spite and Malice of the *Jews*, in ſending Perſons up and down the World to report that *Jeſus* the *Galilæan* was a Deceiver, and that his Religion was nothing but Cheat and Impoſture, ſolemnly anathematizing in their Synagogues all that turned *Chriſtians*.

The Iſſue of this Controverſy was, that the *Jew* acknowledged his Diſcourſe to have much more

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in it than he could expect, desiring a continued Share in his Friendship.

The *Fourth General Persecution* began with *Antonine* the Philosopher's Reign, wherein many suffered Martyrdom at *Rome*, which yet discouraged not the Great *Justin* from returning thither about the same Time. Here he had frequent Contests with *Crescens* a *Cynick* Philosopher, who, according to the Genius of that Sect, was proud and conceited, surly and ill-natured. He endeavoured by base Arts to traduce the *Christians*, and represent their Religion under the most infamous Character; which proceeded either from downright Malice, or else from wretched Ignorance in the *Christian* Affairs, as the Martyr offered to make good, if admitted, in a publick Disputation with him before the Emperor and the Senate, assuring them, That either he had never considered the *Christian* Doctrines, and then was worse than the meanest Idiots, who are not wont to pronounce Sentence in Matters unknown to them; or if he had considered them, either he understood them not, or basely dissembled it, for fear of being accounted a *Christian*, and incurring the Fate of *Socrates*, whose excellent Principle was, *That no Man should be regarded before the Truth.*

This free and impartial Censure exasperated the *Cynick* to endeavour his more speedy Ruin, to accomplish which he made some Advantage of the following Occasion. A certain Woman, who with her Husband had lived in great Wantonness and Debauchery, having now embraced the *Christian* Religion, used long and diligent Endeavours to reduce him from his vicious Courses; all which proving vain, she at length sued out a Divorce, which

which ſo enraged him, that he accuſed her to the Emperor for being a *Chriſtian*. But ſhe petitioning to be heard, he dropped her Proſecution, and turned his Rage againſt one *Ptolemeus*, by whom ſhe had been converted, whom he got into Priſon, and procured to be there tormented, only for confeſſing himſelf a *Chriſtian*. At length he was condemned to die; whereupon one *Lucius* a *Chriſtian* ſtanding by, could not forbear repreſenting to the Judge, That for an innocent and virtuous Man to be condemned to die, meerly for bearing the Name of a *Chriſtian*, was very unjuſt, and not reputable to the Emperor or Senate of *Rome*. Which were no ſooner ſpoken, but he, with a third Perſon, was ſentenced to the ſame Fate; *Lucius* thanking him for delivering them from wicked Governors on Earth, and ſending them to the Governor of Heaven.

Theſe and the like Severities awakened *Juſtin* to write a ſecond *Apology*, directed to *Antoninus* the Emperor, and to the Senate of *Rome*, in which he gives a true and genuine Relation of the Caſe, complains of the Unrighteouſneſs and Cruelty of ſuch Dealings, to puniſh Men only for *Chriſtianity*, without accuſing them of any real Crimes: He anſwers the uſual Objections againſt them, and deſires no more Favour than that the World might be truly acquainted with their Caſe.

This was a terrible Year to the *Romans*; and the Emperor, inſtead of regarding this Apology of St. *Juſtin*, made uſe of all *Pagan* Methods to ſtop their impending Miſeries. He was a great Philoſopher, and moſt ſuperſtitiouſly zealous for the *Heathen* Rites, but entertained an ill Opinion of the *Chriſtians*, aſcribing their reſolute ſuffering Death

Death not to judicious Conſideration, but to meer Stubborneſs and Obſtinacy. With him *Creſcens* eaſily inſinuated himſelf, and ſet him againſt *Juſtin* as an active Promoter of the *Chriſtian* Religion, and procured him to be caſt into Priſon; where, the *Greeks* tell us, he was prepared by ſeveral antecedent Torments for his Martyrdom.

And now the Time is come that the great *Juſtin* muſt ſeal the Truth, which he had defended, with his Blood: The Account of which we have from the *Acts of his Martyrdom*, which are believed to be very antient and authentick. They tell us, that *Juſtin* and ſix of his Companions were ſeized and brought before *Ruſticus* the Prefect of the City, an eminent Philoſopher and Tutor to the Emperor, who ſeeing *Juſtin*, perſuaded him to deny the Gods, and comply with the Emperor's Edicts. The Martyr anſwered, *None could be juſtly condemned who obeyed the Commands of* Jeſus Chriſt. Then the Governor asking him, in what kind of Learning and Diſcipline he had been educated? He replied, That he had laboured to know all kinds of Diſcipline and Learning, but had finally acquieſced in that of the *Chriſtians*, though ſlighted by prejudiced Perſons. *Miſerable Wretch*, ſaid the Governor, *are you then captivated by that Diſcipline? I am*, replied *Juſtin, for with ſound Doctrine do I follow the* Chriſtians. And being asked what their Doctrine was, he anſwered, "The true Doctrine "which we *Chriſtians* profeſs, is this: We be- "lieve the One only God to be the Creator of "all Things viſible and inviſible, and our Lord "*Jeſus Chriſt* to be the Son of God, foretold by "the antient Prophets, and who ſhall come to be

" the Judge of all Mankind; a Saviour, a Preacher,
" and a Maſter to all that are duly inſtructed by
" him: Adding, That as for himſelf, he was un-
" able to ſay any Thing becoming his infinite
" Deity; That this was the Buſineſs of the Pro-
" phets, who had many Ages ago foretold the
" Coming of the Son of God into the World."
The Prefect next enquired where the *Chriſtians* were wont to aſſemble; and being told, That the God of the *Chriſtians* was not confin'd to a particular Place; he asked, where *Juſtin* uſually inſtructed his Diſciples; who gave him an Account of the Place where he dwelt, acknowledging he preached the *Chriſtian* Doctrine to all that reſorted to him. Then the Prefect having ſeverally examined his Companions, thus addreſſed himſelf to *Juſtin*; *Hear, you that are noted for your Eloquence, and think your ſelf in the Right, if I cauſe you to be ſcourged from Head to Foot, do you think to obtain Heaven?* He anſwered, *Though he ſhould ſuffer what he threatned, yet he hoped to enjoy the Portion of all true* Chriſtians. And when asked again, *whether he expected that Reward*; he replied, *He not only expected, but was ſo certain of it, that there was no room for doubt.* The Governor arguing no further, commanded them to go altogether, and ſacrifice to the Gods. The Martyr declared, That no Man in his right Mind could deſert Truth, to embrace Error and Impiety. And when threatned, That unleſs they complied they ſhould be tortured without Mercy; *Juſtin* added, That *they deſired nothing more earneſtly than to endure Torments for the Sake of* Jeſus Chriſt, *which would add to their Happineſs, and procure them Confidence at the dreadful Tribunal of their Lord*

and

and Saviour, before whom the whole World muſt appear. To which the reſt aſſented, crying, *Diſpatch us as ſoon as you pleaſe, for we are* Chriſtians, *and cannot ſacrifice to Idols.*

Then the Governor pronounced Sentence, That *for refuſing to ſacrifice to the Gods, and to obey the Imperial Edict, they ſhould be firſt ſcourged, and then beheaded according to the Laws.* The holy Martyrs rejoicing, praiſed God for this Sentence; and being remanded to Priſon, they were accordingly ſcourged, and then beheaded; their Bodies being taken up and buried by the *Chriſtians*. Thus died *Juſtin*, the celebrated Apologiſt and Martyr, in the ſeventh Year of *Antoninus* the Philoſopher's Reign, whoſe Writings have been juſtly admired in all Ages, though not wholly free from Error.

And now having traced this Martyr to the Grave, let us conſider his Character. He was of a pious Mind and very virtuous Life, tender of God's Honour and the Concerns of Religion. He valued not himſelf for his great Abilities, but entirely aſcribed the Glory of all to the Divine Grace. He had a true Love to all Men, and a mighty Concern for the Good of Souls, whoſe Happineſs he conſtantly pray'd for and promoted, yea that of his moſt malignant Enemies. As to his natural Endowments, his Parts were acute, his Wit ſmart and pleaſant; he could judiciouſly diſcern the Difference of Things, and aptly accommodate them to the beſt Purpoſes; in all which he was mightily improved by his Studies and Learning. He was indeed, with the Generality of the firſt Fathers, defective in *Hebrew*, of which ſeveral Inſtances might be given.

But that which ſeems moſt to impair the Credit of this venerable Perſon is, that he is commonly counted guilty of ſome unorthodox Sentiments, not currently embraced in the *Chriſtian* Church: Which is true as to the Church in latter Ages, but he held ſcarce any but what were generally received by the Fathers in thoſe early Times. Such are his too good Opinion, as ſome think, of the virtuous *Heathens*, viz. *Socrates*, &c. as if they were a kind of *Chriſtians*: And his being charged with holding *Chiliaſm*, or *Chriſt*'s Reign with his Saints upon Earth a thouſand Years, which indeed he, with many others of that Age, held in an innocent and harmleſs Senſe. He is alſo charged with ſome erroneous Opinions about Angels and the Souls of Men; as likewiſe with magnifying the *Power of Man's Will*, which is known to be the approved Doctrine of the firſt Ages, till the Riſe of the *Pelagian* Controverſies; though ſtill they acknowledged a mighty Aſſiſtance of the Divine Grace neceſſary to enable the Soul for ſpiritual Duties. To conclude; conſidering the Sects of Philoſophy he paſſed through, and his coming (as did moſt of the firſt Fathers) freſh out of *Plato*'s School, 'tis leſs ſtrange he retained their Notions, and endeavoured to reconcile them to *Chriſtianity*.

As to his genuine Writings, we have only theſe ſeven Pieces extant, *viz.* His *Exhortation to the Gentiles*; His *Oration to the* Greeks; His *Firſt and Second Apology*; His Book *of the Divine Monarchy*; His *Dialogue with* Tryphon *the* Jew; and his *Epiſtle to* Diognetus. There are ſome Pieces aſcribed to him, which are doubtful, and others certainly ſpurious, which I think noot needful to be particularly mentioned.

The

The LIFE of St. *MELITO*, Biſhop of *Sardis*.

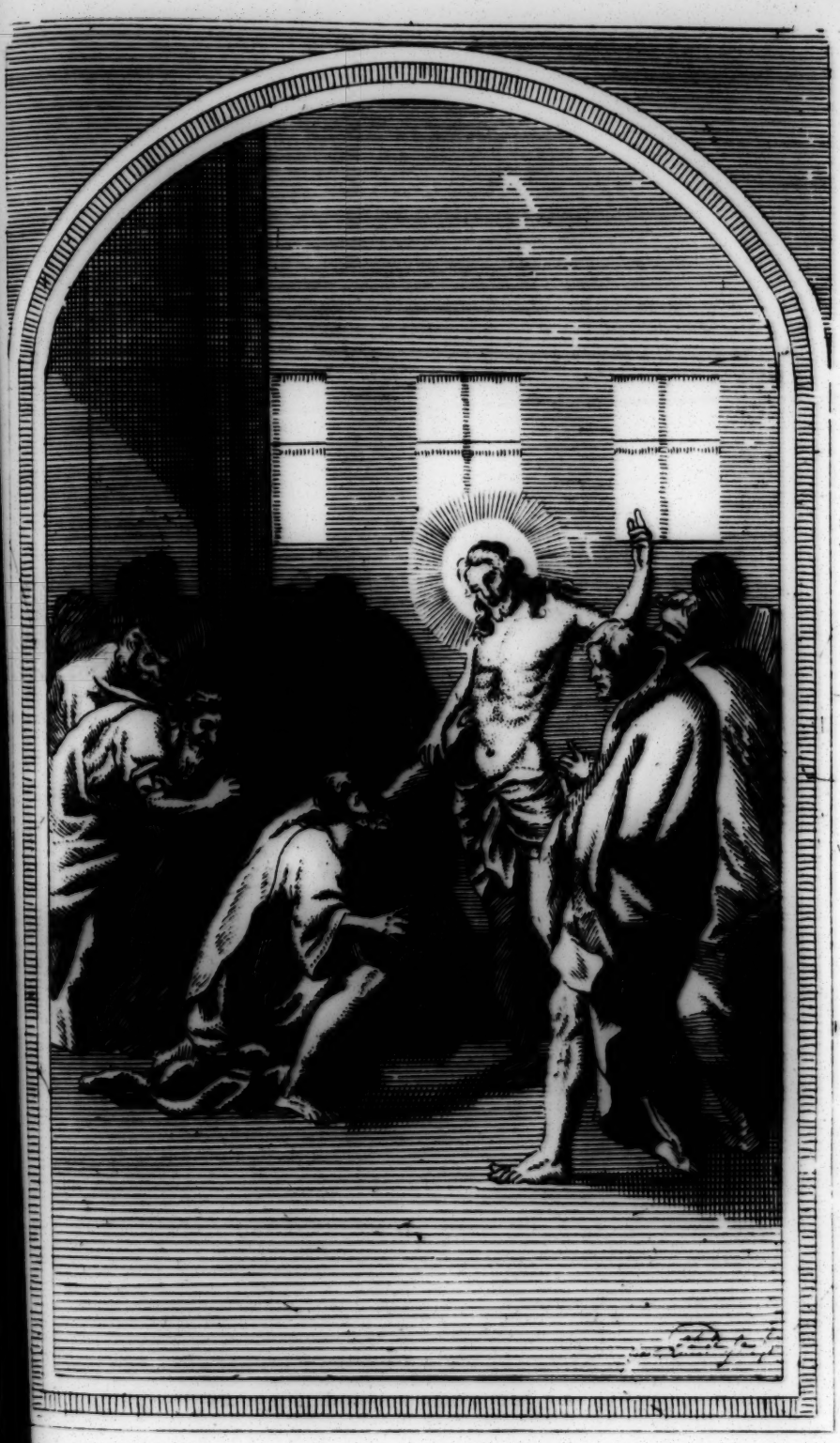
SARDIS, a large and antient City in *Aſia*, the Metropolis of *Lydia*, and Seat of their Kings, was probably the Birth-place of St. *Melito*. He was a Perſon of excellent Endowments, accurate and eloquent, furniſhed with all uſeful Learning, but chiefly converſant in Divine Studies; deeply penetrating into the leſs common Speculations of the *Chriſtian* Doctrine.

For his ſingular Eminence and Uſefulneſs he was conſtituted Biſhop of *Sardis*, famous for having been one of thoſe ſeven Churches wherein St. *John* commends ſome for owning God and Religion in a Time of woful Degeneracy. To this Station he was advanced moſt probably towards the latter End of *Antoninus Pius*'s Reign. He proved an excellent Governor and Guide of Souls, whoſe Happineſs he endeavoured to promote both by Preaching and Writing; and that he might attend it with leſs Hindrance, he kept himſelf in a ſingle State: Yea, for his exemplar Chaſtity and Self-denial he was called a *Eunuch*, meaning one of thoſe whom our Saviour ſpeaks of, *who make themſelves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's Sake*. Thus he is ſtiled by *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, who was famous about the Year 196, for the Epiſtle he wrote to Pope *Victor* about the *Eaſter* Controverſy. *Tertullian* alſo teſtifies that God

God crowned the eminent Virtues of St. *Melito* with the Gift of Prophecy, he being guided by the ſpecial Direction of the Holy Ghoſt.

When the Perſecution grew violent againſt the *Chriſtians* (about the tenth Year of *Antonine* the Philoſopher's Reign) among others St. *Melito* preſented an *Apology* for them them to that Emperor, a Fragment of which we have in *Euſebius*, wherein he intreated the Emperor that he would vouchſafe to examine the Things charged on the *Chriſtians*, and ſtop the Perſecution by revoking the Edict publiſhed againſt them; repreſenting to him, That the *Chriſtian* Religion was ſo far from being deſtructive to the *Roman* Empire, as its Enemies ſuggeſted, that it was much enlarged ſince the Propagation thereof. He adds, That this Religion was perſecuted only by wicked Emperors, ſuch as *Nero* and *Domitian*: That the Emperors *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius* had written ſeveral Letters in its Behalf, and therefore he hoped to obtain of his Clemency and Generoſity the Favour he ſo earneſtly requeſted.

About this Time aroſe thoſe Hereticks called *Antitactes* or *Oppoſites*, as oppoſing one God againſt another, being a Branch of the *Valentinians* and *Marcionites*. Not long after *Tatian*, *Juſtin*'s Scholar, who had been ſo ſerviceable to *Chriſtianity*, fell from the orthodox Principles, and by a Mixture of the Errors of *Saturninus*, *Marcion*, and *Valentinus*, with his own, formed a new Sect called *Encratites* or *Continents*, becauſe they denied the Uſe of Marriage, as alſo of divers ſorts of Meats and Wine, and were therefore called *Hydroparaſtates* or *Aquarians*. About the Beginning of theſe *Encratites* aroſe two other ſorts of Heretieks; the



Jesus *Appears to his Disciples after his Resurrection and convinces Thomas*, John. 20. 27.

the *Adamites*, who imitated *Adam*'s Nakedneſs before the Fall, and fancied themſelves equally innocent, as being redeemed by *Chriſt*'s Death, and therefore met together naked, affirming, there would have been no Marriages if *Adam* had not ſinned; and the *Alogi* or *Alogians* in *Aſia Minor*, ſo called becauſe they denied the Divine *Logos*, and rejected the Writings and Goſpel of St. *John*, attributing them all to *Cerinthus*.

It was alſo in this Father's Time that the Emperor *Antoninus* and the *Roman* Army, when engaged againſt the *Marcomanni*, a People of *Germany*, obtained a moſt ſignal Deliverance by the Prayers of the *Chriſtians*. The Enemy politickly retired between the *Pannonian* Mountains beyond the *Danube*. Whereupon the *Romans* ſuppoſing them to fly, advanced with more Bravery than Conduct; and the others ſtill retiring, at length drew them in among thoſe ſcorched and barren Mountains, where they were ſuddenly blocked up on every Side. Here great Wearineſs, Wounds, and a violent Thirſt ſoon diſheartened them, finding they could neither fight nor retreat, but muſt unavoidably became a Prey to their Enemies; ſo that nothing but black Deſpair, Groans, and Lamentations appeared amongſt them. But juſt as the Army was ready to be deſtroyed, it pleaſed God to deliver them by the ſudden Fall of great Showers of Rain; and thus the languiſhing Soldiers were relieved by holding their Mouths and Shields up towards Heaven. And while the *Barbarians* attacked them in that Poſture, making them drink their Blood with the Water, the ſame Clouds diſcharged a terrible Storm of Hail accompanied with Thunder and Wild-fire againſt the

Enemies.

Enemies. Hereupon Multitudes of them yielded themſelves to the *Romans*, and the reſt were generally taken Priſoners or cut to Pieces.

The Subſtance of this memorable Paſſage is confirmed by many *Pagan* as well as *Chriſtian* Writers, particullarly *Dion Caſſius*, who aſcribes it to ſome Divine Power. Some of the *Heathen* Writers indeed attribute it to Magick, and ſome to the Emperor's own Prayers; but there is no Reaſon to reject the Teſtimony of ſeveral Writers of thoſe Times, who affirmed, that the Captain of the Guards informing the Emperor, *that God denied nothing to the* Chriſtians, *of whom there were many in the Legion of* Melitene, *a City of* Cappadocia; he thereupon cauſed them to be called together, and their Prayers obtained this wonderful Deliverance. Yea *Antoninus* himſelf was ſo convinced of this Miracle, that he preſently wrote to the Senate of *Rome* in Favour of the *Chriſtians*, and ordered their Accuſers to be put to Death. *Tertullian* applies to theſe Letters, within twenty-ſix Years after, in his Apology, which he durſt not have done had not the Thing been paſt Diſpute.

As St. *Melito* was ſolicitous for the Peace of the *Chriſtians* in general, he was no leſs ſo for the Welfare of his own and the neighbouring particular Churches, when it was obſtructed by the warm Revival of the Controverſy about *Eaſter*, ſome urging the Obſervation of it according to the *Roman* Uſage only on the Lord's-day. To ſtop which Contention, St. *Melito* preſently wrote two Books concerning *Eaſter*, pleading therein doubtleſs for the Obſervrtion of that Feſtival at the Time of the Paſſover, which was the Uſage of the

the *Eaſtern* Churches, who therefore is reckoned by *Polycrates* one of the chief Champions of that Cauſe.

Through his great Zeal for Religion he took a long Journey into the *Eaſt*, moſt probably to *Jeruſalem*, to be certified of the Books of the ſacred Canon, of which he gives an Account to his Brother, for whoſe Sake he had done it, by a Letter; Part of which, to ſhew what Books of the *Old Teſtament* were then generally received, here follows:

——*I travelled into the* Eaſt,——*and having accurately informed my ſelf of the Books of the* Old Teſtament, *I have ſent you the following Catalogue. The five Books of* Moſes, Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. Jeſus *or* Joſhua *the Son of* Nun; Judges, Ruth. *The Four Books of* Kings. *The Two Books of* Chronicles. *The* Pſalms *of* David. *The* Proverbs *of* Solomon, *otherwiſe called*, Wiſdom. Eccleſiaſtes. *The* Song *of* Songs. Job. *The Prophets*, Iſaiah, Jeremiah. *The Twelve* Minor Prophets *in one Book*. Daniel, Ezekiel, Eſdras *or* Ezra. *Out of all which I have made Collections, which I have digeſted into Six Books.* Which Catalogue we ſee contains all the Books of the *Old Teſtament* that are in our preſent Bibles, except the Book of *Eſther*, which is probably thought to be then queſtioned, becauſe of the Apocryphal Additions made thereto. *Nehemiah* is alſo omitted, probably becauſe then joined with, and comprehended under the Name of the Book of *Ezra*.

This Father wrote Books concerning almoſt all kinds of Subjects, Divine, Moral, and Philoſophical, proving his great Induſtry as well as Learn-

ing; of all which we have only the Titles, and ſome very few Fragments remaining, At length, fatigued with infinite Pains and Labours, he retreated to his Place of Reſt, but the particular Time and Manner of his Death is unknown. He lies buried at *Sardis*, waiting, as *Polycrates* expreſſes it, the *Epiſcopal Viſitation* from Heaven, when our Lord ſhall come and raiſe him from the Dead.

The Life of St. *THEOPHILUS*, Biſhop of *Antioch*.

SAINT *Theophilus*, the ſixth Biſhop of *Antioch*, has been by ſome imagined to be the ſame with that *Theophilus* to whom St. *Luke* dedicated his Writings; but this is ſo groundleſs a Conjecture, that it ſcarce deſerves Notice: We therefore proceed to ſhew what of Certainty may be picked up from the Antients concerning this venerable Father. We have no ſure Account whether he was born at *Antioch* or no, but whereever he was born his Parents were *Gentiles*, by whom he was trained up in *Paganiſm*: They alſo gave him a liberal Education, and he became well verſed in the greateſt Maſters of the *Heathen* Philoſophy, which, with his acute Wit, gained him much Eſteem among the Learned.

He was a Man of an enquiring Mind and honeſt Diſpoſition, as ſufficiently appears by his Writings,

Writings, and made diligent Search after Truth. But finding no Satisfaction in *Heatheniſm*, but that the Stories of their Gods were not only frivolous, but profane; hereupon he ſeriouſly ſtudied the Books of Creation and Providence, and therein quickly diſcerned plain Notices of the Divine Being and Perfections. This Account of the Manner of his Converſion he intimates in his Book to *Autolycus* his Friend, and therefore he directs him to the ſame Method of Conviction, bidding him "ſearch and contemplate the Works of God, "the orderly Viciſſitude of Times and Seaſons, "the regular Courſe of the heavenly Bodies, the "admirable Variety of Seeds and Plants, the "manifold Generations of Animals, and the pro-"vident Induſtry by which all Creatures are di-"rected and made uſeful to Man." Yea ſo much was he taken up with this Subject, that he profeſſes that "no one is able to deſcribe the wiſe "Order of the Creation, though he had a thou-"ſand Tongues, and ſhould live in the World a "thouſand Years, ſo unfathomable is the Divine "Wiſdom therein ſhining forth." Hence he ſeemed to have proceeded, as he alſo adviſed his Friend, to the Conſideration of the ſacred Writings; "by which (as he adds, doubtleſs from "Experience) a Way is laid open, whereby all "may come to the exact Knowledge of the Truth, "that ſeriouſly apply themſelves to the exact "Study thereof."

As far as we can collect from his Writings, which are our only Guide herein, this was the Way and Means of his Converſion to *Chriſtianity*; to his full Compliance with which, he intimates, the Doctrine of the Reſurrection was for ſome

Time a great Objection. Indeed the *Heathen* Philoſophy taught, *that from a Privation of Life to a Re-poſſeſſion of it there could be no Return:* And hence there was ſcarce any Article of Faith met with ſuch Oppoſition as this from the learned *Heathens.* Hence the Philoſophers of *Athens* mocked at St. *Paul, when they heard of the Reſurrection of the Dead*; not conſidering how eaſy it was to the Power of God to collect our ſcattered Particles, and combine them again into the ſame Maſs, as well as at firſt to create them out of nothing.

But our *Theophilus*, by often reflecting on the divine Volumes, and the Shadows of a Reſurrection which he obſerved in Nature, at length ſurmounted this Objection, thoroughly became a *Chriſtian*, and took Sanctuary in the Church; which, as himſelf expreſſes it, *God has ſet in the World, as an Iſland in the Midſt of the Sea, into which all the Lovers of Truth may fly, as into a ſafe Harbour, and eſcape the Wrath and Judgment to come.*

And now greatly rejoicing he had attained to the *Chriſtian* Name, a Name which he ſtiles, *dear to God, however deſpiſed by ignorant and vicious Men*; he was about the eighth Year of the Emperor *Antoninus Philoſophus* made Biſhop of *Antioch*, in the room of *Eros* lately dead. Some reckon him the ſeventh Biſhop of that City, accounting St. *Peter* the firſt; but others conſidering the latter only under the larger Character of an Apoſtle, count St *Theophilus* the ſixth Biſhop in Order from him. Being thus fixed in his Charge, he ſet himſelf to promote the Happineſs of Men, and to bring others over to the Faith.

This

This Time was remarkable for learned *Chriſtian* Writers, who were contemporaries with him, among whom *Dionyſius*, then Biſhop of *Corinth*, was of great Note, who, as *Euſebius* obſerves, not only took Care of his own Flock, but alſo made the *Chriſtians* of other Countries Partakers of his divine Labours, promoting their Advantage every where by his Catholick Epiſtles, whereof we have only ſome Fragments in that Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, which ſhew them to be both Hiſtorical and Inſtructive.

Tatian was another eminent Writer of this Time, who had been Scholar to *Juſtin Martyr*, and now his Follower in defending *Chriſtianity*, in a remarkable Treatiſe written againſt the *Gentiles*, proving, *That the* Greeks *learned their Sciences from thoſe whom they called* Barbarians, *which they alſo corrupted:* Then he proceeds to the Defence of the *Chriſtian* Religion in ſeveral great Articles of it, mixing ſatyrical Reflections upon the *Pagan* Theology, and the corrupt Manners of their Gods and Philoſophers, and ſhews that *Moſes* is more antient than any of their Writers.

This Year alſo (*A. D.* 169.) the third *Greek* Verſion of the *Old Teſtament* was made by *Symmachus*, who had been a *Samaritan* and a *Jew*, and was now an *Ebionite*, wherein he takes more Liberty of paraphraſing than *Aquila* had done before him.

As St. *Theophilus* doubtleſs made it his Buſineſs throughout the whole Time of his Government to promote and defend *Chriſtianity*, ſo towards the latter End of it (*A. D.* 181.) he particularly attempted his great Friend *Autolycus*; of whom we know nothing, but as *Theophilus* himſelf intimates him

him to be a Man of great Learning and Eloquence, ſpending whole Nights in converſing with Libraries, but withal exceſſively zealous for *Paganiſm*, and equally prejudiced againſt *Chriſtianity*. This Religion he counted mere Madneſs, and loaded it with the moſt odious Calumnies which Wit and Malice could invent, bitterly quarrelling with this his Friend for defending the ſame.

Notwithſtanding which our *Theophilus* boldly undertakes him, and treats him both with the Ingenuity of a Philoſopher, and the Freedom of a Friend. He plainly tells him, that *the Cauſe of his not diſcerning and embracing the Truth was in himſelf, becauſe Wickedneſs had depraved his Mind and clouded his Underſtanding*: Adding, that as *the Sun ſhould not be blamed for want of Light, becauſe Men's Eyes are blinded and ſee it not; ſo Truth ought not to be complained of as obſcure, becauſe of the Blindneſs of Mens Minds*. He further tells him, that *the Soil muſt be firſt wiped off from a Glaſs, before it could truly repreſent the Object; and that God would manifeſt himſelf only to purified and prepared Minds*. Then he unfolds the Divine Nature, and the Origin of the World, according to the *Chriſtian* Doctrine; diſproves the ridiculous Deities of the *Heathens*, and diſtinctly anſwers the foul Imputations commonly laid on the *Chriſtians*. He particularly replies to an Objection of his Friend, concerning the Novelty of *Chriſtianity*; ſhewing, that many Eſſentials of it were of far greater Antiquity than any Thing *Heatheniſm* could pretend to. He often preſſes him to comply with ſo divine a Religion, aſſuring him that the People with whom he was invited to join, were ſo far from being ſuch as he had repreſented them,

that

that they were under the Conduct of Modesty, Sobriety, Temperance and Chastity: That they rooted up all Vice and Wickedness, exercised a divine Religion, were directed by the sacred Word, and rewarded with eternal Life. We know not certainly the Issue of this Conference; but if Strength of Reason, Eloquence and prudent Management could prevail, we have ground to hope *Antolycus* was reclaimed from his Error and Idolatry, and the rather because we find him after the first Discourse more favourably inclined, and desirous of farther Instruction.

Theophilus was no less careful to prevent *Christians* being corrupted with Error, than to bring *Infidels* to the Faith; and therefore, as *Eusebius* tells us, had before this wrote a particular Treatise against *Marcion*, who asserted *two Deities, and that none but the Soul, and not the Body, was capable of future Happiness*: To which he admitted none but his own Followers; and held many such impious and absurd Imaginations. He had also written against *Hermogenes*, who asserted, *that Matter was eternal, and that all Evil proceeded from it*; and that *our Lord's Body was lodged in the Sun*. This Father also took care of the weaker *Christians*, composing several *Catechetical Discourses* for their Sakes.

St. *Jerom* testifies he wrote many elegant Tracts, greatly conducive to the Edification of the Church. Of all which we have none extant but his forementioned *Discourses with* Antolycus. Soon after which he died a peaceable Death, as is most probable, after he had been Bishop of *Antioch* about thirteen Years. About the same Time *Hegesippus*, a *Jewish* Convert, the first Ecclesiastical Historian

rian after the Apoſtles, died at *Rome*; of whoſe Writings we have only ſome Fragments preſerved in *Euſebius*. I only add, that our *Theophilus* is obſerved to be the firſt Author that expreſly applied the Word TRINITY to the Three Perſons of the Godhead.

The LIFE of St. *IRENÆUS*, Biſhop of *Lyons*.

THE Originals of St. *Irenæus* are very obſcure and uncertain, but it is generally ſuppoſed he was a *Greek* born at *Smyrna*. He is fitly placed near St. *Theophilus*, as being generally ſaid by the Antients to live in the Apoſtolical Age. He was educated in the Studies of Human Learning in his Youth, which prepared him to be an excellent Inſtrument in the *Chriſtian* Church. St. *Jerom* ſays, he was inſtructed in the *Chriſtian* Religion by *Papias*; but *Euſebius*, *Theodoret*, and alſo himſelf, teſtify, that he received this Inſtruction from *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna*; perhaps he might receive it from both, who were both of them Diſciples of St. *John*.

That he came into *France* is paſt doubt, where many *Greeks* about this Time reſided, and eſpecially about *Marceilles*; but at what Time, or upon what Occaſion he came thither, is uncertain. Here he aſſiſted *Pothinus* the aged Biſhop of *Lyons*, in defending his Church from thoſe pernicious

nicious Hereſies which at that Time began to diſturb the ſame, by which it was endangered to be over-run. 'Tis thought probable, that *Lyons* being a City of great Traffick, ſome of its Merchants might trade to *Smyrna*, where being converted by *Polycarp*, they might deſire him to ſend ſome grave and able Perſon along with them, to plant and propagate the *Chriſtian* Faith in their own Country; and that this might occaſion him to ſend, firſt *Pothinus*, and now *Irenæus*, to be aſſiſtant to him; which is in Effect affirmed by *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours*. But however that be, 'tis certain he reſided at *Lyons* ſeveral Years, in the Station of a Presbyter, under the Care and Conduct of *Pothinus* Biſhop of that City, till towards the End of the Reign of *Antoninus Philoſophus*, when a violent Perſecution raged in all Places, and eſpecially there.

Theſe unhappy Times (*A. D.* 177.) cauſed ſeveral Apologies to be preſented to the Emperor by eminent *Chriſtians*, particularly *Athenagoras* and *Miltiades*. The former was a Learned Philoſopher of *Athens*, whoſe Writings are ſtill extant; but we know nothing of the latter, but only that he evidenced his great Abilities, both in writing againſt the *Gentiles*, and the *Jews*, and the *Montaniſts*, maintaining againſt the laſt, *That a Prophet ought not to ſpeak in an Extaſy or Fury*; and alſo his Apology dedicated to the Emperors *Antoninus* and *Commodus*.

Athenagoras in his Apology to the two Emperors, applauds the Excellency of *Antoninus*'s Government in general; but complains of his Neglect of the *Chriſtians*, and his leaving them to

the Rage of their Enemies. Then he refutes the principal Calumnies laid upon the *Chriſtians*, as their aſſerting that they were *Atheiſts*, eat human Fleſh, and perpetrated horrible Crimes in their Meetings. He clears them from the firſt, in that they owned and adored one God in three Perſons, and refuſed to worſhip Idols, becauſe they believed them to be no Deities. He vindicated them from the other Objections, by ſhewing that the *Chriſtians*, both by their Lives and their Laws, were far from allowing thoſe infamous Crimes whereof they were accuſed.

What Effect theſe Apologies had we know not, but it is certain there was great need of them, the Perſecution growing hot in many Parts of the Empire, eſpecially at *Lyons* in *Gaul*, of which we have a particular Account in a Letter from the Churches of *Lyons* and *Vienna*, to them of *Aſia* and *Phrygia*, written, as is believed, by the Hand of *Irenæus*. This Letter tells us it was impoſſible to deſcribe the ſevere Torments the Martyrs ſuffered, being baniſhed their Houſes, reproached, beaten, plundered, ſtoned, impriſoned, and divers other Barbarities executed upon them. Their *Heathen* Servants were alſo tortured to force them to accuſe their Maſters of Murder, Inceſt, and other horrid Crimes. And Multitudes were put to the moſt cruel Deaths, for no other Fault, but only confeſſing themſelves to be *Chriſtians*.

But above all *Pothinus* the Biſhop, a venerable Perſon of 90 Years of Age, was marked out as the Object of their Fury. Age and Infirmities had rendered him ſo weak, that he could hardly move himſelf; but he had a vigorous Soul, and earneſtly

longed that *Chriſt* might triumph in his Martyrdom. Being apprehended, he was haled to the publick Tribunal, amidſt the loud Shouts of the Magiſtrates, as well as of the Multitudes. Then without any Reverence to his Age, he was barbarouſly dragged up and down, and unmercifully beaten and kicked by thoſe that were near, and ſtoned by thoſe at a Diſtance, all ſorts being zealous to revenge upon him the Quarrel of their Gods. At length being taken up from the Ground almoſt breathleſs, he was thrown into Goal, where two Days after he reſigned up his Soul to his Saviour.

The forementioned Letter giving an Account of theſe Suffering, was ſent to the Churches in *Aſia*, together with ſeveral others containing the chief Branches of the Hereſy of *Montanus*, which were then much promoted in *Phrygia* by *Alcibiades* and *Theodotus*; which latter were written by the Martyrs in Priſon, whoſe Judgment was much eſteemed in thoſe Days. They alſo wrote to *Eleutherus* Biſhop of *Rome*, who was ſuſpected to be tainted with *Montaniſm*, and perſuaded the celebrated *Irenæus* to carry their Letters to that City. Him they recommended to *Eleutherus* with a very honourable Teſtimony; deſiring he would receive him, not only as their Brother and Companion, but as a zealous Profeſſor and Champion of that Religion which *Chriſt* confirmed by his Blood.

After his return to *Lyons*, he being univerſally eſteemed, was made Biſhop of that City in the room of *Pothinus*, who at the Age of about ninety Years had reſigned his Soul to God, after many cruel Torments inflicted on him by his Perſecutors. (*A. D.* 178.) To this Station St. *Irenæus* was advanced

vanced in a turbulent and tempeſtuous Seaſon; but he, as a wiſe and skilful Pilot, ſteered the Ship with a prudent Conduct. And *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, God made his Sermons ſo effectual, that he brought almoſt the whole City to be *Chriſtians* during his Government. Others ſay, he wrought ſeveral Miracles for the Converſion of *Infidels*; which is not unlikly, ſeeing they were frequent in his Time, as he himſelf often aſſerts. And great need was there of his Courage and Conduct, the Church at this Time being not only aſſaulted by Enemies without, but alſo undermined by Hereticks within. The former he endured with Patience and Meekneſs, and endeavoured to prevent the Poiſon of the latter, by diſcovering their Perſons and Deſigns, and confuting their Errors.

Having encountered ſeveral of the chief Ring-leaders perſonally, and read the Books of others, he ſet upon his elaborate Work, *againſt Hereſies*, dividing it into five Books. In the *Firſt* he diſplay'd the wild Notions of each Sect from *Simon Magus* to his Time, particularly the *Valentinians* and *Marcoſians*: In the *Second*, He refuted all their Principles by thoſe of common Senſe and Reaſon: In the *Third*, By the Writings of the Apoſtles: In the *Fourth*, By the Words of our Saviour: And in the *Laſt*, He explained ſeveral Paſſages of St. *Paul*, which the Hereticks had miſtaken and abuſed. In all which he has ſhewed great Variety of ſacred and profane Learning, and no leſs Skill in interpreting the Scriptures, recording many Things in Writing which the Diſciples of the Apoſtles had taught by Word of Mouth.

We have nothing further concerning him, till the Controverſy about *Eaſter* was revived by *Victor* who

who was Biſhop of *Rome*, next to *Eleutherus* (*A. D.* 196.) He being a furious and paſſionate Man, and impatient of Contradiction, endeavoured to impoſe the Cuſtom of keeping it next Lord's Day after the *Jewiſh* Paſſover, upon the fourteenth Day after the Moon's Appearance, on whatever Day of the Week it happened. And becauſe they would not yield to change this Cuſtom, for which they pleaded the Example of St. *John*, and other Apoſtles, he raſhly thundered out an Excommunication againſt them, which they very little regarded. This occaſioned many to reprove this Pope ſharply, and caution him to have more Regard to the Peace of the Church, and the Unity of *Chriſtians*.

But the moſt conſiderable of all was the Excellent *Irenæus*, who wrote a Synodical Epiſtle to him in the Name of the *Gallick* Churches and Biſhops, ſignifying, *That in the main they agreed with him about this Controverſy, but withal gravely adviſed him to take heed how he excommunicated whole Churches for obſerving their antient Cuſtoms; ſhewing the various Opinions, and yet mutual Charity of their Anceſtors in this Matter.* *Irenæus* wrote ſeveral Epiſtles of the like Nature to other Biſhops; in all which, as *Euſebius* remarks, he excellently anſwered his Name, by his *peaceable* and healing Temper.

The very next Year, 197. began the *Fifth General Perſecution* againſt the *Chriſtians*, after they had injoy'd Reſt about ſeventeen Years, though at preſent neither by the Order nor Incouragement of *Severus*, who having been raiſed from a dangerous Fit of Sickneſs by the Prayers of an eminent *Chriſtian*, and his anointing him with Oil, was very

very favourable to them the former Part of his Reign. But in a few Years the Storm ſo raged, that the *Chriſtians* of that Age thought the Times of Antichriſt then began. And now the Emperor cauſed the *Chriſtians* to be ſeverely proſecuted through all Parts of the Empire, and eſpecially at *Lyons*, where he had been formerly Governor, ann where *Irenæus* the Biſhop was a ſhining Light.

Here, as *Gregory* of *Tours* and the antient Martyrologies tell us, *Irenæus*, after ſeveral Torments, was put to Death, *A. D.* 202. (the *Greeks* tell us by beheading) and together with him the Generality of the *Chriſtians* in that great City, inſomuch that the Streets of it flowed with their Blood, which happened towards the End of the above Year.

This Martyr had been above twenty-four Years Biſhop of that City, being a true Lover of God, and the Souls of Men, thinking no Dangers or Difficulties great to promote his Glory, or their Happineſs. This made him not ſcruple to leave his own Country of more polite Manners, and fix among a People of a wild and ſavage Temper, whom he had need to civilize before he could make them *Chriſtians*. For this, and his Conflict with Hereticks, he was eminently fitted by the natural Acutneſs of his Parts, and the great Learning he had attained in his Youth. 'Tis hard to ſay what was his peculiar Stile in his Writings, the original *Greek* being generally wanting; but however his Diſcourſes were grave, and well digeſted, and as far as his Argument would permit, perſpicuous and clear, and all filled with great Zeal, and a Spirit prepared for Martyrdom.

His

His Care to have his Writings tranſmitted, without Corruption, to Poſterity, was remarkable, as appears by his adding to one of his Books this ſolemn Obteſtation: *Whoever you are that ſhall tranſcribe this Book, I adjure you by our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *and by his glorious Coming to judge the Quick and the Dead, to compare, and diligently correct what you tranſcribe by the Copy whence you tranſcribe it, and annex this Adjuration thereto.* Had the antient Writers of the Church been treated with ſuch Care and Reverence, more of their Books had been convey'd to us, or at leaſt thoſe few that are, had come to us more pure and compleat.

But notwithſtanding this, we have no more of his Works extant, than his *Book againſt Hereſies*, though he wrote ſeveral other Pieces, whoſe Titles I think needleſs to repeat. He is taxed, as well as *Juſtin Martyr*, with ſome Heterodox Opinions, and one peculiar to himſelf, *viz.* His affirming our Lord was near fifty Years old at the Time of his publick Miniſtry; too raſhly thinking it ſufficiently intimated to him, in that Expreſſion of the *Jews* to him, *Thou art not yet fifty Years old, and haſt thou ſeen* Abraham? And he is reputed to have one Failing common to many antient Writers, *viz.* Weakening the moſt ſolemn Truths of Religion, by Arguments not duly concluſive. I cloſe with adding, that Miracles, and extraordinary Gifts, were frequent in his Time, as both *Euſebius* and himſelf teſtify.

The Life of St. *PANTÆNUS*, Catechiſt of *Alexandria*.

THE Antients leave us in the Dark where *Pantænus* was born, as alſo who were his Parents; ſome ſuppoſing him born in *Paleſtine*, others in *Sicilia*, others at *Alexandria* of *Sicilian* Parents. But though we are wholly uncertain where he was born, and of whom, I doubt not to fix *Alexandria* as the Place of his Education; where, while young, his Mind was cultivated with all ſorts of Learning and Philoſophy, under the beſt Maſters which that Seat of Learning could afford.

He was greatly delighted with the Notions and Rules of the *Stoicks* above all other Philoſophers; and no Wonder, ſeeing their Opinions were neareſt the Principles of *Chriſtianity*, eſpecially in Morals. They counted *nothing Good but what was juſt and pious, nothing Evil but what was vicious and diſhoneſt; that a bad Man could never be happy, nor a good Man miſerable.* They owned a *wiſe and powerful Providence, taking Care of good Men in particular*; and that *God is to be admired, adored, prayed to, praiſed, obeyed*, &c. They alſo taught, that *hearty Love ſhould be maintained among Men.* No Wonder then that *Pantænus* was taken with ſuch generous Principles; and therefore when eminently dignified in the *Chriſtian* Church, retained the Title of *the Stoick Philoſopher.*

Photius

Photius tells us he was a Scholar to thoſe who had ſeen the Apoſtles, but who were his particular Inſtructors in *Chriſtianity* we cannot determine. But whoever they were, his vaſt Improvements and great Eminency quickly recommended him to be Maſter of the Catechetick School at *Alexandria*, founded, as St. *Jerom* ſays, from the Time of St. *Mark*'s Regency there, to train up the *Catechumeni* in the firſt Principles of *Chriſtianity*.

It was about the Beginning of *Julian*'s Government of the See of *Alexandria* (*A. D.* 179.) when *Pantænus* was made Catechiſt of this School, which he made more uſeful by not only teaching in a private way, as others had done, but freely inſtructing all that came to him; and that with ſo much Diligence, that both the School and City became famous in all Parts, and *Chriſtianity* was hereby greatly promoted.

In this Work he continued till *Julian*'s ten Years Government was ended; and *Demetreus* a celebrated Perſon ſucceeded him, being the eleventh Biſhop of *Alexandria*: Who was but newly entered into this Province, when certain *Indian* Emiſſaries arrived and intreated him to ſend ſome fit Perſon to inſtruct thoſe Countries in the *Chriſtian* Faith. None was found qualified for this Work like *Pantænus*, being a great Philoſopher, and richly furniſhed both with divine and human Learning, whom therefore the Biſhop perſuaded to undertake it. *Pantenus* moved with Zeal to propagate the Goſpel, willingly conſented, notwithſtanding the obvious Difficulties that preſented themſelves to his View. Being arrived in *India*, (*A. D.* 188.) he immediately applied himſelf to plant the *Chriſtian* Faith in thoſe Parts, chiefly

converſing with the Sages and Philoſophers of thoſe Countries called *Brachmans*, whoſe Principles and Manners ſeemed more immediately to diſpoſe them to entertain *Chriſtianity*.

Theſe educated their Children ſtrictly till thirty-ſeven Years of Age, and were very abſtemious in their Diet, feeding on the Fruits of Nature, drinking no ſtrong Liquors, but Water only, and alſo very ſparing in the Uſe of lawful Delights and Pleaſures. They worſhipped God only, with Eyes lift up to Heaven, taking peculiar Care of being defiled with any Wickedneſs when about to approach him. Gold and Silver they deſpiſed, as unable to ſatisfy any of the real Neceſſities of Nature, but rather miniſtring to Luxury and Inquietude of Mind. They frequently diſcourſed of *Death* under the Notion of a *Birth* into a real and happy Life, and improved the preſent Time as preparatory thereto. In a Word, they agreed in moſt Things with the *Stoicks*, and therefore were the more eſteemed by *Pantænus*.

Of his Succeſs in this Miſſion we have no particular Account, but it is very probable his Labours could not be ineffectual where Perſons were ſo well qualified to receive him; eſpecially ſeeing the Goſpel had been planted there formerly: For here, as *Euſebius* tells us, this Miſſionary found ſeveral that had ſome Tincture of the Knowledge of *Chriſt* preached among them long ſince by *Bartholomew* the Apoſtle, who left there St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel written in *Hebrew*; which, St. *Jerom* ſays, *Pantænus* brought back with him to *Alexandria*.

Both *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* intimate, that upon his Return to *Alexandria* he re-aſſumed the Care of

of that School, continuing therein unto his Death. He made his Exit (before the Year of our Lord 217.) in the Time of *Caracalla*'s Reign, though the exact Date or Manner of it is not known. His Memory is preserved in the *Roman* Calendar on *July* the 7th: He was indeed a Man moſt worthy to be remember'd for his eminent Zeal and Piety, his unwearied Pains and Induſtry, and his great Abilities. *Origen*, who lived near his Time, commends him for his exquiſite Skill both in Philoſophical Speculations and Theological Studies; which he rather diſplay'd in his School by vocal Inſtructions, than by Writings, of which we have no Fragment remaining.

The LIFE of St. *CLEMENS*, of *Alexandria*.

THIS St. *Clemens*, as *Epiphanius* tells us, was called both an *Athenian* and an *Alexandrian*; the former probably from his Birth at *Athens*, as the other from the Place of his moſt conſtant Reſidence and Imployment. And his unparalleled Abilities in all Sciencies render it the more probable that his early Years were ſpent in that noted School of Arts and Learning.

But his inſatiable Deſire of Knowledge made him compaſs almoſt the whole World to improve himſelf in human Literature. He began his Studies in *Greece*, continued them in *Aſia*, and ended

his Days in *Egypt*. But in his Travels he eſpecially laboured for a thorough Underſtanding in the *Chriſtian* Doctrines, and himſelf tells us of ſeveral powerful Diſcourſes he heard from worthy and memorable Perſons who had them from the Apoſtles, or at leaſt from thoſe that had converſed with them. The laſt of his Inſtructors, from whom he received moſt Satisfaction in *Chriſtianity*, is generally ſuppoſed to be *Pantænus*, whom he ſomewhere expreſly affirms to have been his Maſter.

He tied not himſelf to any particular Inſtitution of Philoſophers, but took up with the *Elective Sect*, who freely choſe the moſt excellent Principles out of all, and which therefore beſt ſuited with the Doctrines and Morals of *Chriſtianity*. He gave himſelf Liberty to enquire impartially into the Nature of Things; he conſidered that if a Thing be well ſaid 'tis no Matter who ſays it, and that Reaſon is to be preferred to Authority. And thus he picked up a Syſtem of noble Principles, *Aiming at nothing*, as he ſays, *but a Life perfected with all Virtues*.

Having made this Progreſs in Learning, he was made Catechiſt in the School of *Alexandria*, being therein the Succeſſor of *Pantænus*, not only after his Death, but probably from his going thence into *India*; ſoon after which he wrote his *Exhortation to the* Gentiles. This Charge he performed with great Induſtry, Fidelity and Succeſs, *Origen* and other eminent Men being bred under him, wherein, as he tells us, he found his philoſophical Learning of great Uſe to him.

Some Years after this, and in the Beginning of *Severus*'s Reign, the Church of *Rome* began, in the

the Year of our Lord 193. to be infeſted with a new Hereſy, formed by one *Theodotus*, formerly a Currier or Tanner at *Byzantium*, who having under the laſt Perſecution denied *Chriſt* for fear of Torments, did now to vindicate his Apoſtacy add Blaſphemy thereto. He with the *Ebionites* and *Alogi* taught, that though our Saviour was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, *yet he was but a meer Man, only excelling others in Holineſs.* His Sect was called the *Theodotians*, and he was excommunicated by Pope *Victor*, and ſome ſay condemned by a General Council, together with a famous Diſciple of his called *Artemon*, who alſo had many Followers.

Quickly after this St. *Clemens* was made Preſbyter of the Church of *Alexandria*; and then ſet himſelf to vindicate *Chriſtianity* both againſt *Heathens* and Hereticks; which he hath done with great Dexterity in his Book called *Stromata*, written about this Time. This Piece conſiſts of *miſcellaneous Diſcourſes, compoſed out of the holy Writings and the Books of the* Gentiles, *both explaining and confuting the falſe Opinions of the* Greeks *and* Barbarians, *and the Notions of Hereticks, inſerting Variety of remarkable Paſſages, out of all ſorts of Learning*; *which*, as himſelf tells us, *he therefore ſtiled* Stromata, that is, *a variegated Contexture of Diſcourſes, which he compares, not to a curious Garden, where the Trees and Plants are diſpoſed in exact Order, but to a thick ſhady Mountain, where Trees of all kinds grow promiſcuouſly together.* In this Work he is ſuppoſed to have ſhewn too much of the Philoſopher, and to have expreſſed ſome Things unwarily, but yet capable of a candid Interpretation, being ſuch as are often met with in thoſe early Writers.

Many

Many *Chriſtians* withdrew themſelves from *Alexandria*, to avoid the Perſecution which raged there under *Severus*; (*A. D.* 202.) and among the reſt St. *Clemens* was now conſtrained to quit his Catechetical School in that City, and go over to *Cappadocia*: Herein acting according to his fixed Principles, having declared in his *Stromata*, That *a prudential Flight in Perſecution is lawful from our Saviour's own Advice.* Yea he there affirms, *That he that offers himſelf before a Judge's Tribunal*, as was cuſtomary with ſome extraordinary zealous Perſons in thoſe Times, *is guilty of his own Death, and in a great meaſure the Cauſe of the Perſecutor's Wickedneſs*: Of which Judgment were alſo many other of the Antients, when they had obſerved the ill Conſequences of ſuch a miſguided Zeal. 'Tis very likely he took this Opportunity to viſit the *Eaſtern* Parts, where he had ſtudied in his younger Years.

Soon after we meet with him at *Jeruſalem* with *Alexander*, afterwards Biſhop of that Place, to whom St. *Clemens* dedicated his Book, called, *The Eccleſiaſtical Canon.* Here he preached with great Conſtancy and Succeſs, as appears in a Letter written by *Alexander*, and ſent by this Father to *Antioch*; whither, as it is probable, he went from *Jeruſalem.*

From *Antioch* he returned back to *Alexandria*, to the Diſcharge of his Office, wherein how long he continued, or of what Death he died, Antiquity is ſilent. (about *A. D.* 220.) All that can be ſaid is, that he ſeems to have written his *Stromata* before he was old, ſeeing he ſays therein, *That he made them to ſerve him as a Collection in his old Age, when his Memory ſhould fail him.* And beſides, that

The Disciples fish all the Night
but catch nothing. John . 21 . 3.

that he ſurvived his Maſter *Pantænus* at leaſt ſome Years, the Antients generally agree; and therefore 'tis concluded by learned Men that he continued till the Reign of *Heliogabalus* or *Alexander Severus*, that is, till about the Year 220. from the Birth of our Saviour.

St. *Clemens* was a Man of great Eſteem among the Antients: *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* ſtiles him *the Holy and Bleſſed* Clement. St. *Jerom* eſteems him *the moſt Learned of all the Antients*. And in ſhort, to commend this excellent Man, after the great Things thoſe Fathers have ſaid of him, would be like holding a Candle to the Sun.

The Principal of his Books now extant are three, His *Exhortation to the* Gentiles; His *Pædagogus*, or *Chriſtian Inſtructor*; and his *Stromata*, or *Various Diſcourſes*. No Wonder if this, as well as other Fathers of that Age, expreſt ſome Things not ſo warily as were to be wiſhed, conſidering how they were continually engaged with *Heathens* on one hand, and *Jews* and Hereticks on the other. Their great Piety and Uſefulneſs may well be eſteemed to compenſate ſuch leſſer Failings.

The LIFE of *TERTULLIAN*, Presbyter of *Carthage*.

Carthage, the chief City of *Africa* for Antiquity, Sovereignty and Power, and long Rival of *Rome* itſelf, was the Birth-place of *Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullianus*, as the Antients affirm,

affirm, and himſelf implies in calling it his own Country. He was named *Septimus* from a Tribe in great Eſteem among the *Romans*, called *Gens Septimia*; *Florens* from ſome particular Family of that Tribe; and *Quintus*, a Title common among the *Romans*, probably becauſe the fifth Child his Parents had; and *Tertullian* perhaps from his immediate Parents. His Father was a Centurion under the Proconſul of *Africa*, and a *Gentile*, in which Religion *Tertullian* was educated, as himſelf confeſſes. He was furniſhed with all ſorts of Learning, as Poetry, Hiſtory, Oratory, Philoſophy, Mathematicks; and eſpecially he was well skilled in the *Roman* Laws, as appears by his Apology; whence ſome have thought him an Advocate by Profeſſion, but without ſufficient Ground.

He was probably married before his Converſion, but according to his ſevere Principles, lived with his Wife for the moſt part in a State of Continence, converſing with her only as a Siſter, and wrote two Books to exhort her to continue always in that Condition. He was of an acute Wit, and nicely inquiſitive into the Nature of Things: And therefore obſerving the Efficacy of *Chriſtianity* over the Hearts and Lives of Men, yea, over the *Dæmons* themſelves, who were forced to abandon their Poſſeſſions at the Command of *Chriſtians*; he was hereby convinced of the Truth and Excellency of *Chriſtianity*, and thereupon forſook his Paganiſm, and was baptized towards the End of the ſecond Century. He ſoon wrote for that Religion he had embraced, publiſhing three remarkable Pieces; one of *Repentance*, another of *Prayer*, and a third of *Baptiſm*; and quickly after, two others

others, about the *Ornaments and Dreſſes of Women*: In all which he ſhewed himſelf a rigid Cenſor.

Soon after began the *Fifth General Perſecution* againſt the *Chriſtians*, when they had enjoyed about ſeventeen Years Reſpit, and this notwithſtanding the Emperor *Severus*'s Favour towards them. They were proſecuted through the Fury of the People five Years together without his Edict, by the ſtanding Laws of the Empire, which forbad all Religions, and condemned all Societies not allowed by the Senate. This Perſecution within leſs than two Years came from *Rome* to *Carthage*, where *Speratus*, and twelve others, courageouſly endured Martyrdom.

Theſe Severities excited the mighty *Tertullian* to publiſh his famous *Apology*, which he dedicates to the Magiſtrates of the *Roman* Empire, eſpecially to the Senate; wherein, with incomparable Eloquence and Strength of Reaſon, *he pleads the Cauſe of diſtreſſed* Chriſtians, *complains of the Injuſtice and illegal Proceedings of their Enemies, largely demonſtrating the Vanity and Falſhood of the Crimes vulgarly charged on them, as if guilty of Blood, inceſt, worſhipping an Aſſe's Head*, &c. He ſhews *their Meekneſs and Innocency, their Temperance and Chaſtity, their eminent Piety to God, and Obedience to their Prince; the Soundneſs of their Principles, and the Sanctity of their Lives beyond all poſſible Exception.* To defend their Religion, *he pleads the Antiquity of the Books of* Moſes, *the Predictions of the Prophets, the Authority of* Pilate's *Relation concerning* Chriſt. And in the Concluſion, *he ſhews that the Virtues of* Chriſtians *much excelled thoſe of the* Pagan *Philoſophers.* Shortly after he publiſhed his *Scorpiacus* againſt

the *Scorpian* Poiſon of thoſe Hereticks that diſſuaded the *Chriſtians* from ſuffering Martyrdom. He alſo wrote a ſeaſonable Diſcourſe to the *Chriſtians* in Priſon, called, *an Exhortation to the Martyrs*, and his Book *of Patience*. Nor was he leſs careful to preſerve the Church from Error and Hereſy, to which End he wrote his *Preſcriptions againſt Hereticks*, therein diſcovering the ſeveral ſorts of them, whom he more largely confuted in his Diſcourſes againſt the *Jews*, againſt *Hermogenes*, the *Valentinians*, *Marcion*, *Praxeas*, and others.

Upon the Occaſion of the publick Triumphs at *Severus*'s Return to *Rome*, in the tenth Year of his Reign, and his celebrating the *Secular Games* with ſeveral pompous Shews in his twelfth Year, *Tertullian* wrote his Piece *De Spectaculis*, in which *he earneſtly diſſuaded the* Chriſtians *from being preſent at thoſe publick Sights, ſhewing that ſuch Diverſions were both ſcandalous and dangerous to them, who had renounced the Pomps and Pleaſures, as well as the Idolatries of the World.* 'Tis believed he quickly after wrote his Book *of Idolatry* againſt the *Pagans*, though ſome think it was not written till towards the latter End of his Life.

Tertullian continued a ſtrenuous Defender of the *Chriſtians* till about the Middle of his Age, at which Time, as St. *Jerom* tells us, he inclined towards the Error of the *Montaniſts*. *Montanus* the Author of this Sect was born at *Ardaba*, a little Village in *Myſia*, in the Confines of *Phrygia*, and publickly appeared about the Year 171. He laid his Scene with all imaginable Subtilty, for in the Foundation Principles of Religion he agreed with the Catholick Church, entirely embraced the holy

holy Scriptures, and pretended to have received the extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt. But he was indeed acted by an evil Spirit, which cauſed him to fall ſuddenly into enthuſiaſtick Fits, wherein in a frantick Manner he uſed to pour out ſtrange and unheard of Things, and to propheſy in a Way hitherto unknown in the Church. His firſt Proſelytes were his Countrymen the *Phrygians*, whence this Sect were alſo called *Cataphryges*, whom he taught to reproach all that owned not his Pſeudo-Prophetick Spirit; and on the contrary, to pronounce them bleſſed that joined themſelves to him.

To make his abſurd Notions be the more eaſily received, he made ſhew of unuſual Rigors and Severities in Religion, enjoined more ſtrict and frequent Faſts than the Orthodox uſed; forbad all ſecond Marriages as Fornication, allow'd of Divorces, forbad his Diſciples to avoid Martyrdom, and excommunicated them for the leaſt Crime. His Followers proclaimed him the *Comforter* promiſed by our Saviour, adding many other wild Imaginations and Practices, and infected the Church longer than any other Hereticks, being divided into many Sects.

'Twas theſe their ſpecious Pretences to extraordinary Sanctity that induced *Tertullian* firſt to lean towards them. But as St. *Jerom* informs us, he went not wholly over to them till he was provoked and ſcandalized by the Envy and Reproaches of the *Roman* Clergy. Nor did he then run into all the Extravagancies of *Montanus*, but profeſſed, in withdrawing from the Church, to reſtore the Apoſtolick Diſcipline, not being aware, as is charitably thought, of the principal Errors of thoſe

to whom he joined. He indeed frequently after this ſpeaks of *Montanus* as the *Paraclete* or *Comforter*, but he thus ſpeaks, as is probable, only becauſe of that extraordinary Meaſure of the *Holy Spirit*, with which he thought him endued.

In the fifteenth Year of *Severus*, *Tertullian*, as he himſelf tells us, wrote his Treatiſe againſt the Heretick *Marcion*, who firſt appeared about the Year 144, as this Father himſelf tells us, at *Synope* in *Pontus*, and had addicted himſelf in his younger Years to the Stoick Philoſophy; but being convicted of defiling a Virgin, his own Father, being a pious Biſhop, excommunicated him. Upon which he went to *Rome*, and being there alſo rejected, he joined with one *Credo* a *Syrian*, then in that City, and embraced his Hereſy, together with almoſt all thoſe of the *Valentinians* and *Gnoſticks*. He held, with *Credo*, two ſeveral Gods, the one Good, and the other Evil; the latter, he ſaid, was the Creator of the World, and the Author of the Law; and the former, the Redeemer of the World, and the Author of the Goſpel. Yea, *Origen* aſſerts, that he imagined there were three Gods, one of the *Jews*, another of the *Chriſtians*, and a third of the *Gentiles*. *Tertullian* further informs us, that he denied the Reſurrection of the Body, the Incarnation of our Saviour, and rejected all the *Old Teſtament*, with moſt of the *New*; that he excluded married Perſons from Salvation; beſides which, his Followers added ſeveral other Errors, who ſpread themſelves through many Countries.

Tertullian's Treatiſe againſt them conſiſts of five Books ſtill extant. In the firſt, *He ſhews that one of the Gods of* Marcion *was only an imaginary Being.*

Being. In the ſecond, *He proves that the God whom the* Jews *worſhipped was the only true God, anſwering the Objections of the* Marcionites *againſt the* Old Teſtament. In the third, *He ſhews that* Jeſus Chriſt *was the Son of God, who was foretold by the Prophets, and took on him true Fleſh and the human Nature.* In the fourth, *He proves againſt them, that it was the ſame God both in the* Old *and* New Teſtament. In the fifth, *He confirms the ſame from the Epiſtles of St.* Paul, *and ſhews that* Jeſus Chriſt *was the Son of the Creator of the World.*

About the ſame Time he wrote two other Books, the former againſt *Praxeas,* and the *Patropaſſians,* therein maintaining *the Incarnation of our Saviour, and the Diſtinction of Perſons in the Holy Trinity;* and ſhewing, *that the Trinity of Perſons is not inconſiſtent with the Unity of the Godhead, nor this with the former:* And the latter againſt *Hermogenes,* the firſt of the *Chriſtians* that maintained Matter to be eternal; in Oppoſition to whom he ſhews, *That our Religion teaches that God created that Matter whereof he formed the World, as well as the World itſelf.* We find two other Pieces written about the ſame Time; one *of the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt,* proving he truly aſſumed our Nature; and the other, *of the Soul,* wherein he erroneouſly maintains the *Corporeity* and *Traduction* of it.

He now alſo wrote againſt the *Valentinians,* who ſprung from *Valentinus* a learned *Egyptian,* that appeared about the Year 142, and made Profeſſion of *Plato*'s Philoſophy; but being highly diſpleaſed at another's being preferred to a Biſhoprick before him, he in a great meaſure quitted his Faith with

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his Country; for coming to *Rome*, he there under ſpecious Pretences became the Author of great Corruptions and Miſchiefs. He drew his Fancy of no leſs than thirty Gods, which he called, *Æones* or *Ages*, out of the Pagan Philoſophers or Poets, eſpecially out of *Heſiod*'s Fables. He groſly imagined half of theſe to be Male, and the other Female, and that our Saviour ſprung out of their Mixture, adding, that he only paſſed through the Virgin, as through a Conduit or Pipe. This Sect was a Branch of the *Gnoſticks*, and held, that *Chriſt* had only an imaginary Body on Earth, ridiculing the Orthodox for aſſerting his two Natures. They denied the Reſurrection, held a Tranſmigration of Souls, and believed, with the *Anthropomorphites*, that God had a Body of human Shape, with many other abſurd Opinions.

As that Age (about *A. D.* 145.) was fertile of Hereſies, to the obſtructing of *Chriſtianity*, ſo it no leſs abounded with forged Writings, promoted doubtleſs by the Prince of Darkneſs, for the eclipſing of the Goſpel. Such were the Hiſtories of *Seth*, *Enoch*, *Cham*, &c. the Prayers of *Joſeph*; the Aſſumption of *Abraham*; the Repentance of *Adam*; the Hiſtory of *Jannes* and *Jambres*; the Teſtament of *Job*; the Aſcenſion of *Eſaias*; the Goſpel of *Judas*, according to *Baſilides*; the Goſpel of *Nicodemus*; the Book of *Zecharias*; the Aſcenſion of St. *Paul*; and a Multitude of the like fabulous Books, which are all now happily loſt.

Three Years after this, *Tertullian* having thrown off the *Gown*, a garment generally worn by rhe *Romans*, and put on the *Pallium* or *Cloke*, peculiar to Philoſophers and the ſtricter ſort of *Chriſtians*, he was derided at *Carthage* for his Levity therein.

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This occaſioned him to write his Tract, *De Pallio*, or, *Concerning the Cloke*; wherein *he vindicated himſelf in this Change of Habit*, with a ſarcaſtical Keenneſs of Wit and Eloquence.

About the ſame Time *Minutius Fælix*, a noted Lawyer of *Rome*, wrote an excellent Dialogue in Defence of the *Chriſtian* Religion, intituled, *Octavius*: It contains a Conference between *Octavius* a *Chriſtian*, *Cecilius* a *Heathen*, and *Minutius* himſelf an Umpire between them. 'Tis written with great Elegancy and an agreeable Turn; the *Heathen*'s Arguments being ſet down with great Advantage and Learning, and then all fully and convincingly anſwered; and withal, the noble Triumphs of the *Chriſtians* in their innumerable Sufferings, ſhewn greatly to exceed all the Bravery of the moſt courageous *Romans*.

The Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians* being carried on with much Severity in *Africa* by *Scapula* the Proconſul of that Province, rouſed *Tertullian* to write his Treatiſe *Ad Scapulam*. In this he pathetically ſhews him, That the *Chriſtians* rather choſe than feared Sufferings; that therefore he wrote not to him ſo much in Pity to them, as for the Salvation of the *Heathen*; the *Chriſtians* being obliged to love their Enemies, and endeavour their Converſion. He then repreſents the Honeſty and Simplicity of the *Chriſtians*, and their hearty Prayers and Endeavours for the Proſperity of the Empire, and mentions the Miſeries that were reaſonably ſuppoſed to have fallen on it for the Avengement of their innocent Blood, inciting him to Moderation by the Clemency and Indulgence of former Princes and Governors: And concludes, That to uſe Force in Religious Maters

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is no Property of true Religion, to which Men muſt be led by a voluntary Choice, and not by Violence.

He alſo ſoon after wrote his two Books, *To the Nations*, containing much the ſame Argument with his Apology.

Some Time after this, upon a Diſpute between *Caius* a Diſciple of *Irenæus*, and *Proclus* one of the Heads of the *Montaniſt* Party, all the Followers of that Sect were excommunicated by the Church of *Rome*, and *Tertullian* himſelf amongſt them, in the Year 213. as he ſufficiently intimates in his Diſcourſe *of Faſts*. This was ſo far from reclaiming a Perſon of his Temper, that it made him more fierce than ever againſt the Catholicks, whom he vehemently expoſes under the Name of *Pſychici*, or, *Animal Perſons*, for their too licentious Lives, ſtiling his own Party *Spiritales*, or, *Spiritual*, as living more ſuitable to the Conduct of the Holy Ghoſt.

Hereupon he wrote four Treatiſes, principally againſt the Catholicks; one *of Modeſty*, inveighing therein againſt receiving ſuch as had turned Fornicators and Adulterers after Baptiſm, into the Communion of the Church, whatever were their Profeſſion of Repentance: Another of *Monogamy*: And a third, ſtiled, *An Exhortation to Chaſtity*; wherein he utterly condemned ſecond Marriages: And a fourth, *of Faſts*, pleading therein for the exceſſive Faſts of the *Montaniſts*.

With *Maximinus*'s Reign began *The Sixth General Perſecution* of the Church, in the Year 235. about the Beginning of which the Emperor and his Son exhibited ſome magnificent Shews, and gave a Donative to the Soldiers, which whoever received

received was obliged to appear with a Laurel Crown on his Head. Among these Soldiers, a *Christian* more scrupulous than ordinary, carried his in his Hand, pleading, *he might not wear it on his Head because he was a* Christian. Whereupon he was stripped of his military Ornaments, cruelly scourged, and then cast into Prison, hourly expecting Martyrdom. The rest of the *Christian* Soldiers took Offence at this over-nice Scrupulosity, as giving the common Enemy too much Occasion against them.

But this coming to the Ears of *Tertullian*, now grown old and more rigid than ever, put him on writing his Book, [*De Corona Militis*] *Of the Soldiers Crown*; wherein *he extols the Act as an Heroick Piece of Zeal and* Christian *Magnanimity, asserting it was unlawful for* Christians *to crown themselves, or so much as bear Arms.* Shortly after he wrote his Book, *Of Flight in Persecution*, utterly condemning it as unlawful, as also giving Money to avoid Persecution.

About ten Years after this, or sooner, *Tertullian* in the main forsook the *Montanists*, yet returned not to the Catholicks, but kept a separate Meeting at *Carthage:* His Followers, being called *Tertullianists*, continued in that City till St. *Augustine*'s Time. These condemned second Marriages, and held all the rigid Principles of *Tertullian*, but rejected the wild Revelations and Prophecies of *Montanus*.

Soon after this (about *A. D.* 246.) *Tertullian* died very old and decrepid, as St. *Jerom* tells us, being probably about Ninety Years of Age. We have no Intimation he suffered Martyrdom, tho' he had often signified his Desire of it; but most

probably he died a natural Death, about the third Year of *Philip* the 29th Emperor of *Rome*.

He was one of a great Wit, in which St. *Jerom* ſays, he had no Superior, but ſeemed too ſatyrical in treating his Adverſaries. His Stile was for the moſt part ſhort and obſcure, but yet at the ſame Time ſublime and maſculine, carrying a commanding and majeſtick Eloquence with it. In ſhort, his Excellencies were almoſt without Compariſon, which made his Declenſion to *Montaniſm* the more lamented.

His Errors are frequently noted and complain'd of by St. *Auſtin* and later Cenſors, moſt of which he had in common with other Writers of thoſe Times, though he had ſome peculiar to himſelf. Of theſe latter *Du Pin* eſpecially notes his Opinion againſt the Neceſſity of baptizing Infants, which we will inſert as he does out of his Treatiſe *of Baptiſm*, as follows: *What Neceſſity is there*, ſaith he, *to expoſe Sureties to the Hazard of anſwering for thoſe whom they hold at the Fonts, ſeeing they may be diſabled by Death from performing their Promiſes which they have made for the Children, or elſe may be diſappointed by their evil Inclinations?* Jeſus Chriſt *ſays indeed*, Hinder not little Children from coming to me; *let them therefore come to him as ſoon as they are advanced in Years, when they come to learn, and may be taught whither they are going: Let them be made* Chriſtians *when they become able to know* Jeſus Chriſt. *What is there to compel this innocent Age to receive Baptiſm? And ſeeing they are not yet allowed the Diſpoſal of Temporal Goods, is it reaſonable they ſhould be entruſted with the Concerns of Heaven?* But I conclude this with the charitable Judgment of a learned Writer con-

concerning his Miſtakes; *He lived*, ſaith he, *in an Age when good Men were infinitely more ſollicitous about Piety and a good Life than about Modes of Speech, and how to expreſs every Thing with exact Criticiſm and Niceneſs.* The Principal of his Genuine Writings have been mentioned in the ſeveral Periods of his Life, we ſhall not therefore trouble the Reader with a particular Catalogue of them.

The LIFE of *ORIGEN*, A Presbyter and Catechiſt of *Alexandria*.

THIS Father was born at *Alexandria*, or, as ſome rather think, in the mountainous Parts thereabouts, whither his Parents had probably been driven by ſome Perſecution or Tumult; to which his Name *Origen* agrees, ſignifying one *Born in the Mountains*. He was alſo called *Adamantius*, either from the Strength of his Reaſon, or his great Firmneſs and Conſtancy in Religion. His Father's Name was *Leonides*, a good Man and a Martyr for the Faith; under him he was educated in the Grounds of all human Literature, and eſpecially in the Principles of *Chriſtianity*. He, like *Timothy*, *from a Child knew the holy Scriptures*, and was even then mighty inquiſitive after the

Meaning of them, to the great Joy of his pious Father.

He was born (*A. D.* 185.) at a Time when the Church met with new Troubles from Hereſies and Hereticks, and particularly from *Marc*, one of the worſt of *Valentinus*'s Diſciples, and no leſs infamous for Magick than Hereſy, by which he is ſaid to have cauſed Blood to appear in the Sacramental Cup. He obtained great Sums of Money from the Rich by his Sedition, and inveagled beautiful Women to believe, that by complying with his ſenſual Deſires they acted piouſly, and ſhould be filled with the Holy Ghoſt. His Followers chiefly dwelt about the *Rhoſne* in *France*, and were called *Marcoſians*; who among other Errors affirmed, *That* Jeſus Chriſt *ſuffered not in Reality, but only in Appearance; and that there were two Principles, the one Good, and the other Evil.* They alſo held *Valentinus*'s Fancy of the *Æones*, and denied the Reſurrection of the Body. Theſe Hereticks continued till the Fourth Century, licentiouſly committing what Sins they had a mind to, under Pretence they were more illuminated than St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*.

This Year *Theodotian* of *Pontus*, a Diſciple of *Tatian*, turned from being an *Ebionite* or *Marcionite* to *Judaiſm*, and then compoſed his *Greek* Tranſlation of the *Old Teſtament*, which was the Third after our Saviour's Nativity.

Origen having the Seeds of Learning and Piety plentifully ſown in him by his Father's Education, was afterwards advanced in his Studies under the Conduct of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, then Catechiſt of *Alexandria*, and thereby made a mighty Improvement in all ſorts of Learning. He then became

came an Auditor of *Ammonius*, a free and generous Philoſopher, who reconciled the great Feud between the *Platoniſts* and *Peripateticks*: This Philoſopher was alſo called *Saccas*, from carrying Sacks of Corn on his Back, having been a Porter, as *Theodoret* aſſures us; but quitting that Imployment, he became the moſt Learned and Eloquent Philoſopher of the Age; and, which was above all, a *Chriſtian*, as *Porphyry* is forced to confeſs. Under him *Origen* became a perfect Maſter of the Notions of *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, and the *Stoicks*, from whom he learned that myſtick Way of Interpretation in which he too much abounded.

An illuſtrious Inſtance of his early Piety, Zeal, and Deſire of Martyrdom, appeared in him at ſeventeen Years of Age, when his Father was firſt impriſoned, and then beheaded, and his Eſtate confiſcated. During that Confinement, *Origen* fearing leſt his Father ſhould be moved by the Thoughts of the deplorable State in which he was like to leave his Widow and ſeven Children, whereof himſelf was the eldeſt, thereupon paſſionately exhorted him to Conſtancy, uſing this Expreſſion among others, *Sir, take heed that your Care for us don't make you change your Reſolution.* Yea, his Zeal had carried him to accompany his Father not only to Priſon, but alſo to the Block, had not partly the Intreaties, and partly the Artifices and Reſtraints of his affectionate Mother prevented him.

And now having loſt his Father and Livelihood together, he becomes the more peculiar Object of the Divine Care and Providence; which excited a rich Woman of *Alexandria* to compaſſionate his Caſe, and liberally communicate to his Neceſſi-

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ties. She alſo at the ſame Time maintained one *Paul* of *Antioch*, a notorious Ring-leader of Hereticks, who had ſo inſinuated himſelf, that ſhe adopted him for her Son. With this Favourite *Origen* would not ſo much as join in Prayer, tho' his Livelihood depended on the free Bounty of his Patroneſs, and though many others, not only Hereticks but Orthodox, were Followers of him, being taken with his Eloquence.

Having perfected his Studies, he began a publick School for teaching the liberal Arts, and ſo became both a general Good to others, and made a plentiful Proviſion for himſelf, his Mother, and her other Children. Whether he did this becauſe by his Zeal he had loſt the Lady's Favour, or that he thought it more becoming him to live by his own Labour, is uncertain.

At length the Chair of the Catechetick School at *Alexandria* becoming vacant by the Retreat of St. *Clemens* from that City, *Origen* was thought fit, though but eighteen Years of Age, to become Maſter of it. (*A. D.* 203.) This Office he performed with great Diligence and Succeſs, many eminent Perſons being converted to *Chriſtianity* by him, who afterwards ſealed it with their Blood. He uſually accompanied the Martyrs to their Execution, and went very often in Danger of his own Life, but was ſtill preſerved by the extraordinary interpoſure of Divine Providence.

Many Women, as well as Men, attended his Lectures, which induced him, for preventing all Occaſions of Scandal, to commit that unwarrantable Act of emaſculating himſelf, which ſome of the Antients thought he did only by medicinal Applications, that weakened the Powers of Nature;

Peter *understanding that* Christ *was on the Shore leaps into the sea to come to him*. John. 21. 7.

ture; but St. *Jerom* expreſly affirms it was done by Inciſion. This Action was condemned by his greateſt Defenders, and by himſelf alſo when he came to a more mature Age, he then giving a better Interpretation of that Saying of our Saviour, the Perverſion of which had occaſioned it, *viz.* concerning *ſome that make themſelves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's Sake.* Notwithſtanding his Endeavours to keep this Matter private, it was quickly diſcovered; and coming to the Ears of *Demetrius* the Biſhop, he at preſent commended it as an Act of heroick Zeal, though he afterwards greatly aggravated the ſame againſt him.

The ſame Year there ſprung up a new ſort of Hereticks, being a Branch of the *Marcoſians*; who, among other extravagant Notions, affirmed that Archangels created the World; whence they were called *Archonticks.* They denied the Reſurrection of the Body, and placed perfect Redemption in a chimerical Knowledge: They imagined the God of *Sabaoth* exerciſed a cruel Tyranny in the Seventh Heaven; that he engendred the Devil, who begot *Cain* and *Abel* on *Eve*, and that the Woman herſelf was the Work of Satan. Theſe wild Errors they maintained in Books of their own compoſing, which they called, *The Revelations of the Prophets*, and, *the Harmony.* Theſe Hereticks continued till *Epiphanius*'s Time, being found chiefly in *Paleſtine* and *Armenia.*

When the *Fifth General Perſecution* was ended ſoon after the Death of *Severus*, *Origen*, having heard the Fame of the *Roman* Church, much deſired to take a Journey and pay a Viſit thereto. Hither therefore he came whilſt *Zephyrine* was Biſhop of that City, where he continued but a little while,

while, and then returned to *Alexandria*, and to his former Office of inſtructing the *Catechumeni*. He was now ſo crouded with Auditors that he had no Time for Retirement, and thereupon took in *Heraclas* to be his Aſſiſtant, who had before been his Pupil, committing to his Conduct the younger and leſs inſtructed, but he took an immediate Care of the more advanced ones himſelf.

Having this Aſſiſtance in his publick Work, he applies himſelf with greater Accuracy to the Study of the Holy Scripture; and that he might be the more ſucceſsful therein, he ſet himſelf to learn the *Hebrew* Tongue, a Thing generally wanting among the Fathers and learned Men of that Age; and was, as St. *Jerom* intimates, aſſiſted therein by *Huillus* the *Jewiſh* Patriarch of that Time. He alſo inſtructed the more acute of his Auditors in mathematical and philoſophical Studies, adviſing the ruder Sort to endeavour to learn human Arts, aſſuring them that theſe would not a little conduce to the right underſtanding of the holy Scriptures. This made many, both *Heathens* and *Hereticks*, flock to him; ſome of the latter he reduced from their Hereſies to the Catholick Church, among whom was *Ambroſius* a rich and noble Man of *Alexandria*, who being recovered from the Errors of *Marcion* and *Valentinus*, ever after became his intimate Friend. This Perſon being of ingenious Parts, was almoſt always prompting *Origen* to explain ſome Part of Scripture, in which Exerciſe and Prayer they ſpent all their leiſure Hours. Yea, their Walks and Meals were filled up with Diſcourſes of this ſort.

Some Time after, having with wondrous Labour conſidered all Parts of Scripture, he compiled that famous

famous Work called the *Tetrapla*, (*A. D.* 214.) which was compoſed of four *Greek* Tranſlations of the *Old Teſtament*, divided into Verſes, and ſet in ſeveral Columns anſwering one another; *viz.* That of *Aquila*, that of *Symmachus*, and that of *Theodotion*, to which he afterwards made Additions. And now his Renown being greatly advanced by this and his other Works, brought Multitudes to *Alexandria* to converſe with him.

Yea, ſo far had his Fame reached even in foreign Nations, that about this Time a Meſſenger came from the Governor of *Arabia* to *Demetrius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and to the Prefect of *Egypt*, intreating that *Origen* might with all Speed be ſent to inſtruct him in the *Chriſtian* Doctrine. He accordingly went, and having diſpatched his Work, returned again to *Alexandria*.

When *Caracalla* came to *Alexandria* with his ravaging Army, *Origen*, to avoid this Danger, withdrew to *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*. Here his admirable Abilities were ſo noted, that the Biſhops of thoſe Parts engaged him, though yet but a Laick, publickly to expound the Scriptures before them in the Church. The Report of this was ſoon carried to *Alexandria*, and greatly offended *Demetrius* the Biſhop, who complained of it by Letters to the Biſhops of *Paleſtine*, as a Thing never known before in the *Chriſtian* Church; and though they gave him Inſtances of it, yet not being ſatisfied therewith, he commanded him by Letters to return, and ſent Deacons to urge him thereto. He returning, brought with him a Fifth *Greek* Verſion of the *Old Teſtament*, made by ſome unknown *Jew*, which he found at *Jericho* among other *Hebrew* and *Greek* Books.

After this *Origen* went to *Antioch*, being ſent for by *Manæa*, the Emperor *Alexander*'s Mother, who was a great Friend to the *Chriſtians*, and very deſirous to ſee him and diſcourſe with him of Religion, that ſhe might know for what the World had him in ſuch Veneration. Having fully explained to her the great Doctrines of *Chriſtianity*, and demonſtrated the Truth of it by clear Arguments, he returned to *Alexandria*.

After this he much applied himſelf to write Commentaries upon the Divine Writings, being excited and encouraged thereunto by his dear Friend *Ambroſius*, who, beſides his Maintenance, allowed him ſeveral Notaries. Theſe had arrived in thoſe Days to ſuch Perfection in ſhort and ſwift Writing, that they could not only keep Pace with, but many Times out-run the Speaker; which gives us a reaſonable Account how the Speeches of Martyrs, the Debates of Councils, and the *Extempore* Homilies of the Fathers came to be tranſmitted ſo entire to us. *Origen*'s Induſtry and Diligence in theſe Studies were incredible, few Parts of the Bible eſcaping his moſt critical Inquiries; wherein he diſcovered ſuch Accuracy, that St. *Jerom* himſelf, although ſometimes ſcarce civil to his Memory, profeſſed he could be content to bear that Load of Envy which was laid on him, provided he had with it his Knowledge in the Divine Oracles.

Sometime after theſe Commentaries he alſo wrote in Defence of his Philoſophical Studies, and ſhewed the Uſefulneſs of them. But his Philoſophick Genius often tranſpotted him too far in his Writings, and cauſed him to advance ſeveral extravagant Notions, not to ſay dangerous Errors, which

which made a very great Noiſe in the Church. Next Year (*A. D.* 228.) he was ſent by *Demetrius* his Biſhop into *Achaia*, to ſuppreſs ſome Hereſies that diſturbed the Churches there.

In his Journey thither he went through *Paleſtine*, where producing his Letters of Recommendation from *Demetrius*, he being now forty-three Year of Age, was ordained a Presbyter by the Biſhops of *Jeruſalem* and *Cæſarea*. This was highly reſented by his Dioceſan, pretending it an Affront to his Authority; and now envying his great Reputation, he condemned him for that Action of his Youth, which he had then highly commended.

Yea, ſuch was his Fury, that he alſo procured him to be condemned in a Synod which met in *Egypt*, and decreed he ſhould be baniſhed from *Alexandria*. Nay, St. *Jerom* aſſures us, that *Rome* itſelf convened a Synod againſt him, not for any heretical Opinions, but from meer Envy at the Renown he had obtained by his great Learning and Eloquence.

About this Time, as *Epiphanius* relates, an Accident fell out, which if true, doubtleſs haſtened his Flight, and encreaſed his Shame more than all the Malice of his Enemies. The Story is, That ſome *Heathens*, being his mortal Enemies, ſeized him, and reduced him to this Strait, either to abuſe his Body with a Blackamoor, or ſacrifice to an Idol. He ſeemed more inclined to the latter, though that was rather their Act than his; for putting Frankincenſe in his Hand, they forced him to throw it into the Fire upon the Altar; which yet drew ſuch a Blot upon his Name, and ſo grieved his Conſcience, that he immediately

left the City. He further tells us, that coming to *Cæsarea*, being importuned to preach, he stood up in the Congregation; and having pronounced these Words of *David*, *But unto the Wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my Statutes, and to take my Covenant in thy Mouth?* he immediately shut the Book, and burst forth into Sighs and Tears, the whole Congregation bearing a Part with him in that mournful Scene. And to make this Story more compleat, After-ages present us with a Discourse under his Name, called *Origen's Complaint*, where he passionately laments his Fall. But the total silence of the Antients justly renders this Story suspected, none mentioning it before *Epiphanius*, and he seems to relate it rather as a meer Report, than a Matter which he really believed; nor was it ever objected against him by his greatest Enemies, as appears by the Apologies on his Behalf.

However *Origen* being banished from *Alexandria*, committed the Care of the Catechetical School there to *Heraclas*, who had been first his Scholar, converted by him, and afterward taken in as his Assistant. Him he now left his Successor, and retired to *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, where he was generously entertained by *Theoctistus* Bishop of that Place, and *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who undertook to defend him, commissioned him publickly to expound the Scripture, and heard him as their Master. But *Demetrius* not satisfied with his Banishment, accused him of heretical Opinions in a second Council of the Bishops of *Egypt*, and got him deprived of his Priesthood and excommunicated; writing at the same Time to all Parts to procure his Exclusion from the Communion of

the

the Catholick Church. Whereupon, as St. *Jerom* intimates, all the Biſhops in the World conſented to his Condemnation, except thoſe of *Paleſtine*, *Arabia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Achaia*, who were intimately acquainted with him.

Among theſe latter *Origen* found ſeveral Protectors, eſpecially in *Paleſtine*, where he continued to explain the Scriptures at *Cæſarea*, as before at *Alexandria*, with ſuch Reputation, that all ſorts of Perſons, even from remote Countries, came to be his Diſciples. The moſt noted were *Gregory*, afterwards called *Thaumaturgus*, and *Athenodorus* his Brother, who both became afterwards Biſhops, and famous Lights in the Church. Another was *Firmilian* afterwards Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, between whom and *Origen* was contracted a great Friendſhip and frequent Viſits. His Enemy *Demetrius* ſoon died after his Excommunication, and was ſucceeded by *Heraclas*, with whom *Origen* had left the Care of his School.

But *Maximinus* coming to the Empire, and hating his Predeceſſor, and the *Chriſtians* the more for being favoured by him, ſet himſelf with Violence againſt them, and ſo began that which is commonly called, *The Sixth General Perſecution.* (*A. D.* 235.) This made *Origen* induſtrious in ſupporting Mens Spirits; and underſtanding his dear Friends *Ambroſius* and *Protoctetus* Presbyter of *Cæſarea* had been brought before the Emperor, and had undergone Impriſonment for the Faith, he wrote his Piece *Concerning Martyrdom*, and dedicated it to them, *Exhorting them not only to part with their Eſtates, but even their Lives for the Sake of* Chriſt. *Origen* himſelf, as 'tis ſaid, was ſhelter'd in the Houſe of *Juliana*, a wealthy and charitable

ritable Lady, who furniſhed him with great Variety of uſeful Books.

In this Retirement he went on with his long ſince begun Work, in collating the ſeveral *Greek* Verſions of the *Old Teſtament* with the *Hebrew* Text, and ſo compoſed his *Hexapla*, conſiſting of the original Text in one Column in *Hebrew* Letters, and the ſame in another Column in *Greek* Letters, together with the four *Greek* Tranſlations contained in his *Tetrapla*, in four other Columns. To this he afterwards added two other Verſions, one found by him at *Jericho*, and the other by one of his Scholars at *Nicopolis* near *Actæum*; and then it was called his *Octapla*. It was a Work of Time, and though begun now, not finiſhed till he reſided at *Tyre* towards the End of his Life, as *Epiphanius* plainly intimates; and was by the Antients emphatically ſtiled [*Opus Eccleſiæ*] *The Work of the Church*, being the Fruit of great Labour and of excellent Uſe. It would have been a great Happineſs to us had the Loſs of it been prevented, which probably ſprung from the great Pains and Charge of tranſcribing it. After this *Origen* ſeems to have taken a Journey to *Athens*, though on what Occaſion we know not, where he finiſhed his *Commentaries on Ezekiel*, and begun on *Solomon's Song*, compleating them after his Return to *Cæſarea*, whence he was again called on the following Occaſion.

About this Time (*A. D.* 242.) *Beryllus*, Biſhop of *Boſtra* in *Arabia*, fell into abſurd and dangerous Errors, denying the perſonal Deity of our Saviour before his Incarnation. The Endeavours of the Biſhops of thoſe Parts proving unſucceſsful, *Origen*'s Aſſiſtance was requeſted. He went, and convinced

vinced him by ſuch cogent Arguments, that *Beryllus* was not only reclaimed, but returned him hearty Thanks for his kind Labour therein. Then being returned to *Cæſarea*, though now advanced to the Age of 60, he continued his wonted incredible Labours, not only compoſing ſeveral Treatiſes in Writing, but almoſt daily making Diſcourſes to the People, moſt of them *extempore*, which yet were ſo highly valued, that they were written from his Mouth, and afterwards publiſhed.

The good Succeſs *Origen* lately had in *Arabia* with *Beryllus*, made his Aſſiſtance to be again deſired upon a like Occaſion. For a ſort of Hereticks appeared there, who affirmed, *That at Death both Body and Soul expire together, and ſhould be raiſed together at the Reſurrection.* Againſt them a Synod was called, and *Origen*'s Preſence deſired; who came and managed the Controverſy with ſuch unanſwerable Arguments, that they were forced to abandon and diſclaim their Errors.

He alſo about the ſame Time ſucceſsfully encountred another ſort of impious Hereticks, called *Helceſaitæ*, being Followers of *Elxas*, who lived in the Year 114. Theſe could not properly be called either *Jews* or *Chriſtians*, holding moſt extravagant Opinions concerning the Religion of both, and denying great Part of the holy Scriptures.

About this Time (*A. D.* 247.) died *Heraclas*, *Origen*'s Scholar, having been Biſhop of *Alexandria* 16 Years; and was, after ſome Time of Vacancy, ſucceeded by *Dionyſius* another of his Scholars, who was a very learned and excellent Man, and worthily filled that Seat about 17 Years.

After

After this, at the Intreaty of *Ambroſius*, he took to task a Book intitled, *The true Diſcourſe*, written againſt the *Chriſtians* by *Celſus*. This *Celſus* was an *Epicurean* Philoſopher, a Man of Wit and Parts, and wanted no Advantage that Learning could give him, all which he vehemently employ'd in the ſaid Treatiſe againſt *Chriſtianity*. To which *Origen* returned a full and ſolid Anſwer in eight Books; wherein *by convincing Proofs he eſtabliſhes the Truth of the Hiſtory of our Saviour's Life and Miracles, and confirms his Divinity and Reſurrection. He alſo confutes the Calumnies caſt on the* Chriſtians *by* Celſus *and other Pagans, and diſtinctly proves the Truth and Excellency of the Doctrine and Religion of* Jeſus Chriſt. All which he wrote with ſo much Politeneſs and Accuracy, that this Book alone, if there were no more, is ſufficient to convince us of his great Abilities. And as this is eſteemed the beſt of *Origen*'s Works, ſo it is by Learned Men judged the very beſt Apology for *Chriſtianity* that was written by any of the Antients.

And now as the *Chriſtians* Encreaſe in Number greatly enraged *Decius* the Emperor againſt them, ſo their too general Decreaſe in Piety provoked God to ſuffer him to raiſe a violent Perſecution againſt them. (*A. D.* 249.) This is commonly called, *The Seventh General Perſecution*; the dreadful Effects of which were felt in all Parts of the Empire.

Among the Sufferers of this diſmal Time, the famous *Origen*, now ſixty-four Years of Age, had not the leaſt ſhare. *Euſebius* tells us, the Devil muſtered up all his Forces againſt him, ſingling him out as the chief Object of his helliſh Fury. He

He was thrown into a loathſome Dungeon with a Chain about his Neck, his Feet loaded with Irons, and ſet in the Stocks, his Legs being ſtretched to the utmoſt Diſtance for many Days together. Theſe and other mercileſs Torments inflicted, and worſe threatned, he bore with heroick Patience, and was ready to embrace the fatal Stroke, which was ſuſpended that he might be further tortured; but it pleaſed God totally to prevent it by putting a ſpeedy Period to this Emperor's Life, and therewith to the Perſecution.

Being releaſed from his Confinement, he piouſly employed the Remainder of his Time in encouraging the Weak, by ſending conſolatory Letters about the World, till the Beginning of *Valerian*'s Reign. At which Time, after a Life of about ſixty-nine Years ſpent in great Fatigues and Labours, he peaceably died at *Tyre*, in the Year of our Lord 253.

He was a Man of extraordinary Piety and Zeal for God's Glory and the Good of Souls, and of equal Modeſty and Humility. His Abſtinence and Self-denial were wonderful, and ſuch was his Contempt of the World, that rather than be burdenſome to his Friends, who offered him part of their Subſtance, he ſold his Library, agreeing with the Buyer to allow him in Conſideration thereof 5*d.* a Day for his Maintenance. His Diligence in Study, Preaching, Writing, Travelling, Confuting *Heathens* and *Hereticks*, was indefatigable. He ſpent the Day in Piety, and moſt Part of the Night in Study, allowing himſelf but little Sleep, and that uſually on the bare Ground. Such was the Acuteneſs of his natural Parts, and the Vaſtneſs of his Improvements in Learning, that, in

ſhort, he was the Envy of his own, and the Wonder of ſucceeding Ages.

His Writings were very numerous, commonly reported, as *Epiphanius* tells us, to be no leſs than 6000, the greater Part of which to be ſure muſt be underſtood of Epiſtles and ſingle Homilies. He wrote Commentaries upon moſt Books of Holy Scripture, beſides abundance of other Pieces. His Phraſe and Way of writing is clear and unaffected, fluent and copious.

But alas! his Glory is greatly obſcured by the groſs Errors ſcattered up and down his Works, though ſeveral Things are pleaded in his Defence by ſome of the Antients. For Inſtance, that he wrote divers Things not as his determinate Judgment, but only as diſputable Problems; and that his Works have been greatly corrupted by ſome Hereticks, who aſſumed his honourable Name to commend their own Writings. This is complained of by himſelf while alive, and much more is there Reaſon to believe his Works were ſo treated after his Death. Particularly there were a ſort of Hereticks called *Origeniſts*, who held ſome of his miſtaken Notions, among others, *the final Salvation of the fallen Angels and wicked Men, after enduring for ſome Time the Torments of Hell.* They added ſeveral worſe of their own, and continued through the fourth, fifth, and ſixth Centuries, bringing an Odium on his Name, which occaſioned all his Works to be condemned. To conclude, moſt of his Errors ſeem to have proceeded from his extraordinary Philoſophical Genius, and too ſtrenuous Endeavours to reconcile the *Chriſtian* Doctrines to the Notions of *Plato*.

The

The LIFE of St. *BABYLAS*, Biſhop of *Antioch*.

SUCH is the Obſcurity in which the Antients have left the former Part of this holy Martyr's Life, that I ſhould wholly have paſt him in Silence, did not the latter Part yield us ſome very remarkable Things concerning him. We are altogether in the Dark about his Country, Parentage and Education; as alſo whether he was from his Infancy bred up in *Chriſtianity* or *Heatheniſm*. But that he had a liberal Education, we have ſufficient Ground to conclude from his Station in the Church, ar a Time when none but Men of known Parts and Learning were advanced, as none elſe were fit to be advanced in it.

Towards the End of *Maximinus*'s Reign, *Zebinus* Biſhop of *Antioch* died, in whoſe room ſucceeded St. *Babylas* (*A. D.* 237.) being the 12th Biſhop of that See after the Apoſtles. He with great Courage and Conduct governed that Church in the midſt of many Difficulties, which aroſe not indeed at the Beginning of his Epiſcoacy ſo much from the old Enemies of *Chriſtianity*, *viz.* the *Roman* Powers, as from others. For *Sapor* the King of *Perſia* invading the *Roman* Empire, overran all *Syria*, and at length beſieged and took *Antioch*, dreadfully oppreſſing the People of that City, and doubtleſs the *Chriſtians* eſpecially felt the Heat of his Fury.

But God was pleaſed ſoon to deliver them from this Difficulty: For *Gordion* the Emperor, who had now reigned four Years, was alarmed with the News, and thereupon came with a mighty Army into the *Eaſt*; having cauſed the Temple of *Janus* to be opened before he left *Rome*. He marched through ſeveral Provinces on Foot, clearing them of various Enemies; and coming to *Syria*, he not only recovered *Antioch*, but alſo went forward, and took ſeveral Places of Conſequence from the *Perſian* King.

Thus was Peace reſtored to the Church at *Antioch*, and *Babylas* with great Induſtry and Faithfulneſs attended his Work, diligently preparing all to endure the greateſt Difficulties to which they might be expoſed, as if he had a Foreſight of the diſmal Perſecution which quickly after brake forth. For *Decius* the Emperor being enraged to ſee *Chriſtianity* every where triumphant, and *Paganiſm* declining, ſent out his Edicts to the Governors of Provinces, in all Parts, to treat the *Chriſtians* with the utmoſt Severities, unleſs they would yield Obedience to their Gods. Though St. *Cyprian* piouſly obſerves a nearer Cauſe of theſe Miſeries, confeſſing, That *their own Sins had ſet open the Floodgates for the Divine Diſpleaſure to break in upon them*; complaining, That *Pride, Self-ſeeking, Schiſm and Faction prevailed greatly among them*.

St. *Cyprian*, and many others by his Example, retired themſelves to avoid the Fury of this Storm. And among the reſt the famous *Paul* of *Thebais* in *Egypt*, a young Man of twenty-one Years of Age, withdrew himſelf into the *Egyptian* Deſarts, and took up his Abode in a large Cavern of a Rock

Rock that had formerly been uſed as a private Mint-houſe. Here he led a ſolitary and monaſtick Life, till he arrived to the Age of 113 Years, and became the Father of Hermites, being followed in After-ages, not without great Superſtition, by many that affected a State of Solitude and Retirement.

And as many fled, ſo many others were ſwept away by this Perſecution, among whom were divers of great note; nor was it long before it came to St. *Babylas*'s Door. For *Decius* coming to *Antioch*, either out of Curioſity, or with a worſe Deſign, would needs go into a *Chriſtian* Aſſembly. But this heroick Biſhop ſtanding at the Door, reſolutely opoſed him, telling him, *He would never willingly permit a Wolf to break in upon* Chriſt's *Sheep-fold.* *Decius* at preſent diſſembled his Anger, not being willing to adventure the Rage of the People; but quickly after ſent for *Babylas*, and having ſharply accuſed him for his Inſolence, he commanded him to ſacrifice to the Gods, as the only Means to expiate his Crime, and avert his Puniſhment; promiſing alſo upon thoſe Terms to advance him to Honour and Renown. But the Martyr anſwered all with a generous Confidence, deſpiſed his Profers, defied his Threats, and declared his Reſolution never to apoſtatize from the True God, or ſacrifice to Devils.

The Emperor finding him inflexible, ordered him to be loaded with Chains and Fetters, and committed him to Priſon, where he endured many ſevere Sufferings, but rejoiced in all, pitying the Miſery of his Perſecutor more than his own. The Antients are not fully agreed about the Manner of his Martyrdom, but St. *Chryſoſtom* and *Suidas*

Suidas tell us he was beheaded, in the Year of our Lord, 250.

As he was going to Execution he triumphantly ſang, *Return unto thy Reſt, O my Soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.* Three young Men whom he had educated in the Faith, after great Temptations to recant, ſtedfaſtly went before him, in ſealing their Religion with their Lives. When their Heads were juſt taking off, he cried aloud, *Behold I and the Children that the Lord hath given me!* and then laid down his Neck upon the Block, having firſt ordered his Friends to bury his Chains with him in the ſame Grave, to remain as Enſigns of Honour, being therein like St. *Paul*, who *took Pleaſure in his Bonds.*

We have no Account where his Body was firſt buried, but it had a more magnificent Interment under the Reign of *Conſtantius*, in a Place called *Daphne* near *Antioch*, which ſeemed contrived by Nature for the higheſt Scene of Delight. Here the Corps were laid in a Church built over-againſt the Temple of *Apollo*, which occaſioned one of the moſt remarkable Occurrences of Antiquity. The Devil, it ſeems, liked not his Neighbourhood, being utterly ſtruck dumb, and his Oracle ſilenced thereby, as was intimated to *Julian* the Emperor coming thither to enquire about the Succeſs of his *Perſian* Expedition. The Apoſtate therefore commanded the *Chriſtians* to remove him, upon the Devil's Complaint, *That the Dead kept him from ſpeaking.*

They thereupon aſſembled in great Numers, laid the Coffin on an open Chariot, brought it triumphantly into the City, ſinging Pſalms all the Way, and at the End of every Period added this ſtinging Verſicle,

Jesus *standing on the Shore appears to his Disciples*,
who knew him not, John. 21. 4.

Verſicle, *Confounded be all thoſe that worſhip Graven Images.*

However this Paſſage may be entertained, as ſeeming to favour too much of Superſtition, 'tis confirmed not only by *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*, who all lived near that Time, but alſo by St. *Chryſoſtom*, who was an Eye-witneſs of it, and often affirmed it in Preaching and Writing, appealing to the Knowledge of all Perſons then alive, challenging them, if they could, to contradict it. Nor is it improbable that God ſhould ſuffer ſuch an extraordinary Thing at this cruel Time, to correct the Infidelity of the Emperor, and to give Teſtimony to that Religion which he ſcorned and oppoſed with ſo much Inſolence and Deriſion.

However *Julian* might be awed at preſent, his Rage ſoon broke forth againſt the *Chriſtians*, being much galled with their formentioned Hymns. But while he was expreſſing his Fury againſt *Chriſt*'s Followers, the Diſpleaſure of Heaven was manifeſted againſt him and his Proceedings. For *Apollo*'s Temple in the *Daphne* ſuddenly took fire, (*A. D.* 362.) and was in a few Hours reduced to Aſhes, together with the Image of the God which reſided in it. This the *Chriſtians* aſcribed to the Divine Vengeance, though their Enemies charged them as the malicious Contrivers of it; and ſome of the Warders about the Temple were expoſed to the Rack, to make them confirm that Suggeſtion; but after all, they affirmed that the Fire was kindled by a Light from Heaven.

The Subſtance of this Story is not only atteſted by *Chriſtian* Writers, but alſo by *Marcellinus* the *Roman* Hiſtorian, and by *Julian* himſelf, in his Satyr

Satyr againſt the *Antiochians*, intituled *Miſopogon*. To conclude, the Remains of this Martyr are ſaid, in After-ages, to be removed thence to *Cremona* in *Italy*; where, you may be ſure, they have wanted no ceremonious Reſpect or Veneration.

The LIFE of St. *CYPRIAN*, Biſhop of *Carthage*.

SAINT *Cyprian* was born at *Carthage*, towards the End of the ſecond Century, but who were his Parents, or of what Quality, we know not. He had a learned Education, but principally addicted himſelf to the Study of Eloquence; making ſuch Advances therein, that he became publick Profeſſor of *Rhetorick* in that City. While he was in this Station he lived in great Pomp, was ſplendid in his Attire, and had a large Retinue to attend him. He ſpent the greateſt Part of his Life in the Errors of *Gentiliſm*, and was at the very Borders of Old Age, as himſelf intimates, before he was freed from that Darkneſs.

He was at length proſelyted to the *Chriſtian* Religion (*A. D.* 246.) by the Arguments of *Cæcilius* a Presbyter of *Carthage*, whom he ever after loved as a Friend, and reverenced as a Father; and, as a Teſtimony of his Eſteem, he aſſumed his Name, being called *Cæcilius Cyprian*. When converted, he ſold at leaſt the greateſt Part of his Eſtate, and gave it to the Poor, at once ſhewing a Con-

a Contempt of the World, and his Charity to the Neceſſitous. And when he was throughly inſtructed in the Eſſentials of the *Chriſtian* Faith, he was baptized, and thereupon experienced ſuch enlightening and ſtrengthening Aſſiſtances of the Holy Spirit, that what before ſeemed impoſſible, became eaſy to him.

Soon after his Baptiſm he was made a Presbyter, and advanced the ſucceeding Year to be Biſhop of *Carthage*; being choſen by a great Majority into that Office upon the Death of *Donatus*. His great Modeſty and Humility made him fly the firſt Approach of the News, judging himſelf unfit for ſo great a Charge; deſiring that a more worthy Perſon, and one of his Seniors in *Chriſtianity*, might poſſeſs the Place. But his declining it made the People more eager in their Deſires, who crouded his Doors, and blocked up all Paſſages of Eſcape. He attempted to fly out of the Window, but could not, and was forced at laſt to yield. Whereupon coming forth, he was received with the univerſal Joy and Satisfaction of the People, who had waited for him between Hope of their obtaining him, and Fear leſt they ſhould be diſappointed.

For ſome Time he diſcharged this Office without Moleſtation, but under the Perſecution begun, and violently carried on by *Decius*, he was publickly proſcribed by the Name of *Cæcilius Cyprianus Biſhop of the Chriſtians*, and every one ſtrictly charged not to conceal his Goods, the furious Multitude frequently crying out for him to be thrown to the Lions. Hereupon he retired himſelf from *Carthage* for about a Year, leſt his Preſence ſhould provoke the Enemies to fall more ſeverely on his Flock; being alſo thereunto privately admoniſhed

of God, as he himſelf aſſures us. During his Abſence in Body he was preſent in Spirit, and ſupplied the want of his perſonal Miniſtry among them by thirty excellent Letters full of pious Counſels, grave Admonitions, ſeaſonable Reproofs, earneſt Exhortations, and hearty Prayers for their Welfare.

That which moſt troubled him was the Caſe of the Lapſed, whom ſome Presbyters had raſhly admitted without his Conſent into the Communion of the Church, of which *Cyprian* complained, and endeavoured to reform it by Letters; being a ſtiff Maintainer of Eccleſiaſtical Authority, and of the Rights of his Office. Indeed this Slackneſs of Diſcipline, and too eaſy Reception of Delinquents, gave great Occaſion to the *Novatian* Schiſm, firſt begun by the Pride and Turbulency of two Preſbyters, *Novatian* and *Novatus*, the former of *Rome*, and the latter of *Carthage*.

Novatian had been formerly a *Pagan* Philoſopher, and being dangerouſly ill, was baptized in his Bed, and was afterward ordained Presbyter, though not without much Oppoſition from both Clergy and People; it being contrary to the Orders of the Church, that any ſhould be made a Prieſt that was ſo baptized. Hereupon when *Cornelius* was made Biſhop of *Rome*, he attacked his Election, charged him with ſeveral Crimes, particularly that he received ſuch into Communion who had fallen into Idolatry. With him *Novatus*, lately come from *Carthage*, joined; both of them maintaining it to bo utterly unlawful to receive ſuch as had ſcandalouſly fallen, though penitent; and to them adhered the greateſt Part of the Confeſſors, who had ſuffered courageouſly for the Faith.

The

The Heat of the Perſecution being ſomewhat abated by the Death of *Decius*, *Cyprian* was reſtored to his Province, and thereupon convened a Synod of the neighbouring Biſhops to conſult the Caſe of the Lapſed; in which it was agreed, that they ſhould neither be wholly excluded, nor haſtily received, but only after a long and ſevere Penance. Another Synod was quickly after held at *Rome*, which followed the ſame Method in dealing with thoſe that had fallen into Idolotry, determining them to be received, but on no Terms ſhort of a ſolemn and publick Repentance. In the former of theſe Synods *Novatus*, and in the latter *Novatian* was excommunicated; by which they were the more provoked, and with very great Multitudes drew quite off from the Orthodox, charging them with horrid Licentiouſneſs in admitting ſcandalous Offenders; and called themſelves by way of Diſtinction, *Cathari* or *Puritans*.

Next Year (*A. D.* 252.) another Council was held at *Carthage*, which was the more moderate towards the Lapſed that ſeemed penitent and reſolved to die for *Chriſt*, becauſe of the frequent Divine Intimations given them of an approaching Perſecution. They therefore thought it neceſſary that Penitents ſhould be animated to ſacrifice their Lives for *Chriſt*, by being admitted into his Church; concluding they could not be encouraged to drink of *the Cup of Martyrdom*, whilſt they were denied *the Cup of the Lord*.

About this Time a violent Peſtilence raged at *Carthage*, as well as many other Places, whence the Generality fled, and deſerted their neareſt Friends and Relations. In this calamitous Time St. *Cyprian* aſſembled the *Chriſtians*, and excited

them by the moſt forcible Arguments to Mercy and Charity, not only to one another, but towards their Enemies; whereupon they generally ſtrove to excel one another herein. Some liberally contributed their Subſtance, and others that were poor aſſiſted the Sick by their Labour and Attendance, and ſo expoſed themſelves to the Hazard of their own Lives.

And that this holy Man might not be wanting to any, he then wrote his pious Diſcourſe, *Of Morality*, wherein he excellently *teaches* Chriſtians *to triumph over Death, and moderate their Mourning in the Loſs of their godly Relations.* He alſo about the ſame Time wrote his *Diſcourſe to Demetrian* the Proconſul, to vindicate the *Chriſtian* Religion from the malicious Calumnies of the *Pagans*; as if that provoked the Gods to ſend this Plague and other Calamities upon the *Roman* Empire; ſhewing on the contrary, *That the Cauſe was rather their brutiſh Rage in perſecuting ſo excellent a Religion, by which the Wrath of the Deity was incenſed againſt them.* He likewiſe then wrote his *Exhortation to Martyrdom.*

At the Beginning of *Valerian*'s Reign the Perſecution ended, and St. *Cyprian* took the Advantage of this Peace to call a third Synod at *Carthage* of ſixty-ſix Biſhops, in which a Determination was given againſt *deferring the baptizing of Infants to the eighth Day, in Oppoſition to* Fidus *an* African *Biſhop.* In the following Years he aſſembled the Fourth and Fifth Councils there; in this latter was agitated that famous Queſtion, *Whether Perſons baptized by Heretiks ſhould be re-baptized?* And the Synod determined, *That no Baptiſm out of the Church could be valid; and that it was abſolutely neceſſary*

neceſſary to re-baptize thoſe who had received the Baptiſm of Hereticks; affirming, *That this had been their conſtant Practice.* The ſame Thing was the next Year determined by a Council of ſeventy-one Biſhops, which was the Sixth of *Carthage*, and afterwards by a Seventh of eighty-ſeven Biſhops, where likewiſe *Cyprian*'s Judgment was confirmed concerning *the Validity of Clinical Baptiſm*, or of ſick Perſons in their Beds, *though by Aſperſion inſtead of Dipping*; concluding this might ſuffice in ſuch a Caſe of Neceſſity.

In all theſe Controverſies we obſerve, that *Cyprian* and his Party did not plead for *Anabaptiſm*, or Re-baptization, but ſtill aſſerted that there was but one Baptiſm only, ſeeing they looked upon the Baptiſm of all Hereticks as *no Baptiſm*; and that therefore they ought to receive what they had not before in Reality. But theſe Determinations, by how many ſoever made, and how frequently ſoever repeated, were greatly diſapproved at *Rome*; and the Controverſy roſe to that Height, that Pope *Stephen* gave *Cyprian* very rude and unchriſtian Language, ſtiling him, *Falſe Chriſt, Falſe Prophet, Deceitful Worker*, &c. while on the other hand *Cyprian* treated him with great Sharpneſs and Severity, *charging him with Pride and Impertinency, Self-contradiction, Childiſhneſs, Obſtinacy*, and other Reflexions, far from expreſſing that Reverence which St. *Stephen*'s Succeſſors claim at this Day.

The *Chriſtians* had now enjoyed Peace from the Beginning of *Valerian*'s Reign, who was kind to them above any of the preceding Emperors, till his fourth Year. But then he was inſtigated to a violent Fury by a noted Magician of *Egypt*, who charged

charged them with hindring the Proſperity of the Empire by their execrable Charms, for as ſuch he profanely and maliciouſly repreſented their ſpecial Power over the *Dæmons*. Whereupon Edicts were every where publiſhed againſt them, and they were, without the leaſt Protection, expoſed to the common Rage; this is uſually called, *The Eighth General Perſecution*, (*A. D.* 257.) which extended to all the Parts of the Empire.

When theſe Edicts came into *Africa*, *Aſtaſius Paternus*, the Proconſul of that Province, ſent for St. *Cyprian*, aſſuring him, *He had received Command from the Emperor, That all that were of a Foreign Religion, ſhould ſacrifice to the Gods according to the* Roman *Rites*; *and demanded his Anſwer*. The good Man readily replied, *He was a* Chriſtian, *and a Biſhop, who acknowledged none but the True God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and all Things*; *to whom* Chriſtians *prayed for themſelves, and all other Men, and particularly for the Proſperity of the Emperor*. After the ſame unconcerned Manner he anſwered his other Demands; ſo that the Proconſul ſeeing him inflexible, commanded him to be baniſhed to *Curubius*, a little City in a Peninſula of the *Lybian* Sea.

Here he not only enjoyed a pleaſant Retirement, and had frequent Viſits of the Brethren, but alſo ſeveral heavenly Viſions: By one of which, on the firſt Day of his Arrival, he was forewarned of the Manner of his approaching Martyrdom, an Account whereof was brought from his own Mouth by *Pontius* the Deacon, who accompanied him in his Baniſhment. In this Confinement he piouſly improved his Time, by writing ſeveral Letters, eſpecially to the Martyrs in Priſon, to comfort

comfort their Spirits, and encourage them to Perſeverance.

While St. *Cyprian* was in his Exile, the Perſecution raged in ſeveral Places, and particularly at *Rome*, where Pope *Sixtus*, together with *Quartus*, was beheaded on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, 258. after he had been Biſhop of that City little more than eleven Months. As he was carried to Execution, *Laurence* his Arch-deacon and Treaſurer followed him, and earneſtly deſired that *he might have the Honour of being martyred with him, and of having his Blood mingled with his Biſhop's.* *Sixtus* told him, *that he was reſerved for a more noble Combat, but ſhould within three Days follow him, and be where he was.* The Governor knowing *Laurence* to be the Church's Treaſurer, ſeized him, and charged him to diſcover the Treaſures to him. The Martyr deſired three Days to gather them together; at the End of which he preſented a great Number of poor helpleſs People to the Governor, and ſignified to him, *That they were the true Treaſures of the Church.* The Governor provoked at this Diſappointment, preſently ordered him to be torn with Scourges, to be whipped with Iron Rods and *Plumbetæ*, and then to be ſet on the Wooden-Horſe, and to have all his Limbs disjointed; and laſtly ordered a kind of Gridiron, with a ſlow Fire under it, to be prepared, upon which the Tyrant cauſed him to be roaſted. All theſe Torments St. *Laurence* endured with wonderful Courage; and after a conſiderable Time he, with a ſtrange Magnanimity, called out to the Governor, *I am roſted enough on this Side, turn me on the other, and then eat me*; and ſo chearfully yielded up his Spirit to God.

St.

St. *Cyprian* yet remaining in his Baniſhment, heard how the Perſecution increaſed againſt Perſons of both Sexes, and all Ranks and Qualities, which made him provide for his own Martyrdom, which he daily waited and wiſhed for. Some Perſons of Honour adviſed him to retire, offering to ſecure him: But his Deſire of the Crown made him deaf to their kind Offers and Intreaties. Indeed, when Tidings were brought him that Officers were coming to carry him to *Eutica*, to ſuffer there, he ſtep'd aſide, being unwilling to ſuffer any where but at *Carthage*, in the View of the People, where he had ſo long and ſucceſsfully preached the *Chriſtian* Faith, which he deſired there to confirm with his Blood. This he tells his People in the laſt Letter he wrote to them, therein *adviſing them to Peace and Unity among themſelves; not to offer themſelves to their Perſecutors, but if apprehended, to be ſtedfaſt in their Confeſſion of* Chriſt.

But he reſolved not long to conceal himſelf, for when *Galerius Maximus*, the new Proconſul, was returned to *Carthage*, he preſently came home and reſided at his own Houſe. Here he was ſoon apprehended by Officers ſent for that Purpoſe, and carried in a Chariot to the Proconſul, who commanded him to be kept for one Day at an Officer's Houſe, to the Doors of which the People flocked, watched there all Night, being alarmed at his Coming and Apprehenſion.

Next Day he was brought before *Maximus*, who ſaid, *Are you* Cyprian, *the Biſhop and Father of Men of impious Minds? The Sacred Emperor commands you to ſacrifice, therefore be well adviſed, and don't throw away your Life.* The holy Martyr replied, *I am* Cyprian, *a* Chriſtian, *and cannot ſacrifice*

ſacrifice to the Gods; do as you are commanded, for in ſo juſt a Cauſe I need no Conſolation. The Proconſul, diſpleaſed at his invincible Courage, replied, *That he had been long of this ſacrilegious Humour, had ſeduced many into the ſame impious Practices, and ſhewn himſelf an Enemy to the Gods, and the Religion of the* Roman *Empire, and one whom the moſt Pious Emperors could never reduce to comply with their ſacred Rites; that therefore being found a Ringleader of ſo impious a Sect, he ſhould be made an Example to all thoſe whom he had ſeduced.* Then he read his Sentence out of a Book, *I will that* Cyprian *be beheaded.* To which the Martyr chearfully replied, *I heartily praiſe the Omnipotent God, who is pleaſed to releaſe me from the Fetters of the Body.* He was preſently led away with a ſtrong Guard, Crowds of People following, and the *Chriſtians* lamenting and crying out, *Let us alſo be martyred with him.*

The Sentence was executed in a Field ſurrounded with Trees, which were now laden with Spectators. Hither the Martyr being come, fell on his Knees, and recommended his Soul to God; and then having ſtripp'd himſelf to a Linnen Garment, he waited the Executioner's Motion, to whom he had ordered a Donative, of about the Value of 6 *l.* of our Money. The *Chriſtians* that were preſent ſpread Linnen Clothes about him to preſerve his Blood from running out upon the Ground. Then, he covering his Eyes with his own Hands, the Executioner did his Office. His Body was by the *Chriſtians* removed at Night for fear of the *Gentiles*, and with many Lights and Torches ſolemnly interred in a Nobleman's Tomb, in the *Mappalian* Way. Thus died this illuſtrious Mar-

tyr, on *September* 14, 258. after he had been about ten Years Biſhop of *Carthage*, being ſucceeded by *Lucian*.

His natural Parts were good, though his Improvements in the *Gentile* Philoſophy ſeem not great; but his Eloquence was ſuch, that *Eraſmus*, a proper Judge therein, tells us, He only, of all the *African* Eccleſiaſtical Writers, attained the native Purity of the *Latin* Tongue. And *Lactantius* long before had teſtified the like concerning him. He ſet out late in the *Chriſtian* Race, but ran apace, and made large and quick Improvements both in the Study and Practice of Religion. He kept cloſe to *Tertullian*'s Writings, ſcarcely paſſing a Day without them, often ſaying to his Notary, *Reach hither my Maſter*, meaning *Tertullian*, as St. *Jerom* aſſures us he received it from undoubted Teſtimones. His Soul was inflamed with a mighty Zeal for God, whoſe Honour he ſtudied by all Means to promote. He was a wiſe and prudent Governor, a reſolute Defender of the Truth, a faithful Paſtor, powerful in Preaching, moderate in Counſels, grave and ſevere in his Admonitions, affectionate in his Perſuaſions, indulgent to the Penitent, but inflexible to the Obſtinate. He valued the Good of Souls above his own Life, and could never be moved from his holy Profeſſion, either by Hopes or Fears. And that which crowned all his other Virtues was, his admirable and moſt exemplary Charity, of which great and numerous Inſtances might be given.

Many of his Writings are loſt, moſt of them that remain are Epiſtles; all which tend to promote the Peace and Order of the Church, and to advance Piety and a godly Life. He was highly honoured

honoured while living, not only by Mens appealing to him in moſt weighty Caſes, but alſo by frequent Viſions from God, by which he was immediately directed in the important Affairs of the Church. After his Death his Memory was greatly venerated, two eminent Churches being erected thereunto by the People of *Carthage*: One where he ſuffered Martyrdom, called [*Menſa Cypriana*] *Cyprian's Table*, becauſe he was there ſacrificed to God, and the other in the *Mappalian* Way where he was buried.

The LIFE of St. *GREGORY*, Biſhop of *Neocæſarea*.

SAINT *Gregory* was deſcended from *Gentile* Parents, of eminent Birth, and a plentiful Fortune. He was born at *Neocæſarea*, the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*, ſituate on the River *Lycus*. He had a Brother named *Athenodorus*, his Fellow-Student, and afterwards his Contemporary in the Epiſcopal Office: And a Siſter married to a Judge under the Governor of *Paleſtine*. His Father was a Zealot for *Paganiſm*, and took care to educate his Son both in the Religion and Learning of the *Gentile* World.

But coming to fourteen Years of Age, and his Father dead, he began more freely to conſider the Nature of Things, and ſoon perceived the Folly of *Heatheniſm*, and became inclined to *Chriſtianity*.

After his Father's Deceaſe, his Mother took care that both he and his Brother might be educated under Maſters of Rhetorick and Eloquence; by one of which, who taught him the *Latin* Tongue, he was adviſed to ſtudy the *Roman* Laws, as a great Accompliſhment to him. And the ſame Maſter being no mean Lawer, read Lectures to him therein; which Study he found ſomewhat hard, and the more, becauſe thoſe Laws were all written in *Latin*, which he indeed commends as a Language becoming the Majeſty of the *Roman* Empire; but confeſſes he found it not eaſy to attain, though but to a competent underſtanding thereof.

When he was thus initiated, he determined to promote his Studies by Foreign Travels; and went firſt, as is probable, to *Alexandria*, grown extraordinary famous by the late Erection of a *Platonick* School there. Here, by his diligent Studies, and eſpecially by the Strictneſs of his Life, he reproved the Looſeneſs and diſſolute Manners of his Fellow-ſtudents.

To be revenged, they ſuborned a common Strumpet againſt him, who, as he was gravely diſcourſing with ſome peculiar Friends, came in a wanton Garb, and impudently laid to his Charge an overfamiliar Converſe with her, and cheating her of the Reward of her lewd Embraces. But Heaven ſoon vindicated his Innocency, by caſting her into raving Madneſs, as if acted by a furious Demon; nor could ſhe be freed from it, but by his forgiving her, and interceding for her. Hence he returned, as is probable, through *Greece*, ſtudying ſome Time at *Athens*, as *Socrates* tells us, and thence he went into his own Country.

Here

Here he applied himſelf to his old Forenſick Studies, which he had now a great Opportunity to improve, by going to *Berytus*, an Univerſity in *Phenicia*, famous for the Profeſſion of the *Roman* Laws. Thither he went to accompany his Siſter, who had been ſent for by her Husband, now an Aſſiſtant to the Preſident in the Government of *Paleſtine*. But he continued not long there, being more charmed with the Studies of Philoſophy, to which he had the greater Incitement, by hearing of the Fame of the renowned *Origen*.

Thereupon meeting accidentally with *Firmilian* a *Cappadocian* Gentleman, and afterwards Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in that Country, he contracted an intimate Friendſhip with him; and theſe two, together with St. *Gregory*'s Brother *Athenodorus*, put themſelves under the Tutorage of that celebrated Maſter at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*. *Origen* by moſt eaſy Methods led him through the whole Courſe of Philoſophy, teaching him *Logick*, *Phyſicks*, *Mathematicks*, *Ethicks*, *Metaphyſicks*, and at length introduced him into the Myſteries of Theology, as *Gregory* himſelf tells us. He chiefly endeavoured to ſettle him in the full Perſuaſion of the *Chriſtian* Religion, of which he had ſome Knowledge before, and to ground him in the Underſtanding of the Scriptures, as a Syſtem of the beſt Philoſophy.

When he had been five Years his Diſciple, and was now called into his own Country, he took his Leave by an excellent Oration, before his Maſter and a numerous Auditory; wherein *he gave a wonderful Character of* Origen, *and elegantly bewailed his Departure from his School, as a kind of Baniſhment from Paradiſe*. *Origen* quickly followed him

to

to *Neocæſarea* by a Letter, *commending his excellent Parts, and perſuading him eſpecially to improve them, to the Ends of* Chriſtianity, *and the Promotion of Virtue and Piety:* Adviſing him *to read the Scriptures with the greateſt Diligence and Attention, and not raſhly to entertain Notions of Heavenly Things, or ſpeak of them without Premeditation, and to pray earneſtly for the opening of Divine Myſteries to him.* Being returned, all Mens Eyes were upon him, expecting great Fruits from his Studies, though in a Place miſerably overgrown with Superſtition and Idolatry. But he modeſtly declined all their Addreſſes, and retired into the Wilderneſs, reſigning himſelf up to Solitude and Contemplation.

Phædimus Biſhop of *Amaſea*, a neighbouring City, who was endued with a prophetical Spirit, looked on him, in Conſideration of his extraordinary Parts and Piety, every way fit to be a Guide of Souls, though as yet but a young Man. He therefore followed him from Deſart to Deſart, whither he fled to avoid this Burden; and at length in an extraordinary way conſtituted him Biſhop of *Neocæſarea*, though at that Time far diſtant from him. It pleaſed God at the ſame Time effectually to incline him to accept of the Charge, though exceeding difficult, the Place being wholly given to the Worſhip of *Dæmons*, and not having above ſeventeen *Chriſtians* in it; ſo that he muſt found a Church before he could have one to govern. He was yet much unacquainted with the Myſteries of Theology, but is ſaid, by an immediate Viſion, to be fully inſtructed therein, and to receive that Rule of Faith, or *Creed*, concerning the Holy Trinity, which is yet extant in his Works.

In

St. Luke 22 Verse 17
hriſt *inſtitutes the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*

In the Diſcharge of his Province, he ſoon made great Numbers of Converts; his mighty Succeſs therein being greatly promoted by the Fame of his extraordinary Miracles which came with him to *Neocæſarea*. For as he was coming home from the Wilderneſs, being benighted, and at the ſame Time overtaken with a Storm, he, with the reſt of his Companions, took Shelter in a *Pagan* Temple noted for Oracles, where they paſſed the Night in Prayers and ſinging Praiſes to God. The *Gentile* Prieſt came betimes in the Morning to pay his Devoirs to the *Dæmons* of the Place, but could obtain no other Anſwer, than *that they muſt leave it by reaſon of him that lodged there.* Upon this he broke forth into a great Fury, threatning to accuſe St. *Gregory* to the Magiſtrates, and to the Emperor: But finding him to deſpiſe his Threats, and obſerving his Power of commanding the *Dæmons* in or out at his Pleaſure, his Fury turned into Admiration; and he entreated the Biſhop, as a farther Inſtance of the Divine Power lodged in him, to bring the *Dæmons* once more back again: Which being done, the Prieſt was ſo far convinced, as immediately to forſake the Idols Temple and become a *Chriſtian*; in which he was greatly confirmed by another Miracle wrought before him.

The Renown of his wonderful Actions had prepared the People to receive him with extraordinary Reverence; whereupon Multitudes came out of the City to meet him, longing to behold the Perſon of whom they had heard ſuch ſtrange Things. He, regardleſs of the Applauſe of the Spectators, paſſed through the Crowds into the City, without ſo much as looking on the one Side or the other.

His

His Friends that accompanied him were very ſolicitous where to entertain him; but he blaming their Anxiety, asked them, *Whether they thought themſelves excluded from God's Protection? and whether his Providence was not the beſt and ſafeſt Habitation?* He told them, *Whatever became of their Bodies, it was of the higheſt Concern to take care of their Souls, which were, by the Virtues of a good Life to be prepared for Heaven.* But many were ready to entertain ſo welcome a Gueſt, and particularly *Muſonius* a Citizen of Quality, intreated the Honour of his Preſence, which being the firſt Invitation, he accepted, and thanked the reſt for the Reſpect they had alſo ſhewn him.

The Thoughts of the Idolatry and Profaneneſs of the Place, greatly grieved his Mind, and incited him immediately to begin his Work of Preaching to them, which he did with that Succeſs, that before Night he had converted a little Church. And betimes the next Morning the Doors were crowded with Perſons of all Degrees, and divers that had great Infirmities and Diſtempers came, who were healed by him both of bodily and ſpiritual Diſeaſes. Whereupon the People readily imbraced the *Chriſtian* Doctrine, finding nothing reported concerning him, but what they ſaw verified before their Eyes. Great Numbers being converted, his next Care was to prepare a Place where they might keep their religious Aſſemblies; which was ſoon begun and finiſhed, by the Liberality of ſome, and the Labours of others. This Church, *Gregory Nyſſen* informs us, was eminently preſerved to his own Time, not only amidſt deſolating Earthquakes, but alſo notwithſtanding the violent Storms of *Dioclesian*'s Reign, who

who commanded the *Chriſtian* Churches in all Places to be demoliſhed.

The laſt-mentioned Father reports another memorable Paſſage, which yet further promoted his Converſion of the People. There was a vaſt Concourſe, not only of the Inhabitants of *Neocæſarea*, but alſo of the neighbouring Countries at a publick Feſtival to one of their Gods. The Theatre being ſo crowded, that the People univerſally cried out, *Jupiter, we beſeech thee make us room:* St. *Gregory* ſent them word their Prayers ſhould be heard, and they ſhould quickly have more room than they deſired: And ſuddenly a dreadful Plague brake in upon them, which turned their Muſick into Mourning, filling all Places with dying Groans, Perſons being ſick and dead in a few Moments. The Temples whither many fled for Cure, were full of dead Carcaſes, the Ditches whither the Heat of the Diſtemper brought them to quench their Thirſt, were dam'd up with Multitudes fallen into them; and ſome went among the Tombs to provide Graves for themſelves. Being convinced that this woful Plague befel them for their Folly in calling on the *Dæmon*, they earneſtly intreated the Biſhop to intercede with his God for them, whom they now believed to be a more powerful Being. Which he having done, the Peſtilence ceaſed, and they thereupon generally deſerted their Idolatries, and took Refuge in *Chriſtianity*.

Theſe Miracles, together with his known Prudence, brought him into ſuch Reputation, that even in ſecular Caſes of Difficulty they prefer'd his Sentence to any other Deciſion. Particularly, two Brothers being at Law about a Lake, which

both claimed as belonging to their paternal Inheritance, the Matter was at length refer'd to his Determination. Having uſed all Endeavours to perſuade them to a peaceable Accommodation, they refuſed, and reſolved to try it out by Force of Arms, obliging thrir Tenants on both Sides to engage with them in the Field. The Biſhop, to prevent the miſchievous Conſequence hereof, ſpent the preceding Night in Prayer, and thereby procured the Lake to be dried up, and ſo prevented further Contention. Thus alſo he is ſaid miraculouſly to have ſtopped the River *Lycus* by his Prayer, when it violently came down from the Mountains, and overflowed the Country, to the great Damage of the Inhabitants, and the Loſs of many Lives.

Another Time as he was upon a Journey, he was ſpied by two *Jews*, who knowing his charitable Temper, either from Covetouſneſs, or a Deſign to delude him, uſed this Stratagem: One lies on the Ground feigning himſelf dead, and the other lamenting his miſerable Fate, begs ſomewhat of the Biſhop towards his Burial; who took his Coat, and caſt it on the Man that lay as dead, and ſo went his way. He was ſcarce got out of Sight, but the Impoſtor came back laughing to his Companion, requiring him to riſe, that they might make merry with the Cheat; but found him dead indeed, and ſo the Coat ſerved to cover him for his Funeral, the real Deſign for which it was beſtowed.

Theſe Paſſages poſſibly may not find a very eaſy Belief, after the World hath been ſo often deluded with falſe Miracles: But 'tis ſufficient to vindicate, if not the Relations themſelves, at leaſt our Rehearſal

hearſal of them, that they are reported by Perſons of undoubted Credit; particularly by St. *Baſil* and his Brother *Gregory*, both of them wiſe and good Men, who lived within leſs than a hundred Years after St. *Gregory*; and, which is conſiderable, they received theſe Accounts, as St. *Baſil* particularly tells us, from *Macrina* their aged Grandmother, who was herſelf St. *Gregory*'s Auditor. And St. *Gregory Nyſſen* profeſſes to report but ſome few of the many great Things done by him, and to ſet them down nakedly without any rhetorical Flouriſhes to amplify them. Upon the Account of theſe and the like Miracles wrought by him, he hath uncontroulably gained the Title of *Thaumaturgus*, ur, *The Worker of Wonders*, in the Eccleſiaſtical Writers.

Thus he continued in the faithful and ſucceſsful Diſcharge of his Office, till the Time of the *Seventh Perſecution* under *Decius*. This being every where carried on with unexpreſſible Rage and Fury, he ſomewhat fearing the Frailty of his new Converts, adviſed his Church, as *Gregory Nyſſen* informs us, ſomewhat to decline thoſe Storms, telling them, *It was better by flying to ſave their Souls, than by abiding theſe furious Trials, to hazard their falling from the Faith.* And to ſet them an Example herein, he himſelf retired to a deſart Mountain, accompanied with none but the forementioned *Gentile* Prieſt whom he had converted, and who now miniſtred to him in the Office of a Deacon. Here he was miraculouſly preſerved from the View of the Multitudes that came to ſearch after him, though they were at the very Place where he was. But theſe Wolves deſpairing to meet with the Shepherd, fell with the fiercer Rage upon thoſe of

the Flock that ſtaid behind, ſeizing on Men, Women, and Children, that bore any Reverence to the Name of *Chriſt*.

But God mercifully commanding the Storm to ceaſe, he quitted his melancholy Shades and came back to *Neocæſarea*, and viſited all Parts of his Dioceſs. He every where eſtabliſhed anniverſary Feſtivals in memory of the Martyrs who had ſuffered in the late Perſecution. By this he deſigned at once to honour the Martyrs, and encourage others to embrace *Chriſtianity*, by ſhewing that a reaſonable Liberty of Mirth might be allowed its Votaries at certain Seaſons; though it muſt be confeſſed this Cuſtom afterwards produced ill Effects.

While there was great Confuſion in the *Roman* Empire, by the Invaſion of foreign Nations under the Reign of *Gallienus*, many profeſſing *Chriſtianity* became Renegadoes, and pillaged their Fellow *Chriſtians*, and under Pretence of finding, ſtole, or at leaſt detained the Goods of others. This occaſioned St. *Gregory* to write his *Canonical Epiſtle* to an *Aſian* Biſhop, who had deſired his Advice in this diſmal State of Affairs: Herein *he preſcribes the ſeveral Orders of Penance, particularly cenſuring their inordinate Covetouſneſs, and ſhews how unſutable ſuch doings were to* Chriſtianity, *and how hateful to God; and that 'twas much more inhumane in theſe calamitous Times, to ſpoil the Oppreſſed, and enrich themſelves by the Ruins of their miſerable Brethren.* He informs them, That *if they found any Thing, they were obliged by God's Law to reſtore it, though to their Enemies, and much more to their Friends and Fellow-ſufferers.* And he aſſures them, *If any thought their own*

Loſſes

Losses a sufficient Warrant to detain what they found, this was to justify one Wickedness by another; and because the Goths *had been Enemies to them, they would become* Goths *and* Barbarians *to others.* He shews, *That those who were herein guilty should be excluded the Communion of Saints, and not be readmitted till they had made a publick and solemn Satisfaction to the Church.*

The following Year (*A. D.* 264.) a Council was held at *Antioch*, to prevent the Infection of the pestilent Doctrines lately broached by *Paul* of *Samosata*, who had now been four Years Bishop of that City. He asserted, *That there was but one Person in the Godhead; That our Saviour was no more than a meer Mrn; That the Divine* Word *being the same with the Father, did sometimes reside in him, and sometimes depart from him*; with other dangerous Positions of the like Nature. St. *Gregory* was one of the most noted Bishops that made up this Council, of which there was a great Number besides Presbyters. When his Errors came to be throughly considered, the crafty Heretick found it in vain to contend, and therefore endeavoured to dissemble his Sentiments, confessing what he could not conceal; and by a pretended Repentance procured his Continuance in that honourable Station.

The ensuing Year, as is most probable, put a Period to St. *Gregory*'s Life, after he had gloriously governed the Church about six and twenty Years. A little before his Death, being sensible of its near Approach, he sent about the City to enquire whether any yet remained Strangers to *Christ?* And being informed there were only seventeen, he sighed, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, *declared his great Trouble that he should leave his Work in-*

incompleat, but withal thankfully acknowledged it as a great Mercy, that finding but ſeventeen Chriſtians *at his firſt coming thither, he left but ſeventeen Idolaters to his Succeſſor.* Having heartily prayed for the Converſion of *Infidels*, and the compleating of thoſe that were converted, he peaceably reſigned up his Soul to God, having firſt enjoined his Friends, *not to procure him any diſtinct Place of Burial, but that as he had lived as a Pilgrim, claiming nothing for himſelf, ſo he might after his Death be treated as a Stranger, and be caſt into the Common Lot.*

St. *Baſil* characterizes him a Man of a prophetick and apoſtolick Temper, and ſays his Converſation was accurately Evangelical, and that he ſhewed the greateſt Reverence in his Devotions. He never durſt uſe an Oath in his common Converſes, but made *Yea* and *Nay* the uſual Meaſures of his Diſcourſes. In Conſideration of our Lord's Threatning, he never preſumed to call his Brother Fool, nor to ſuffer any Anger or Bitterneſs to proceed out of his Mouth. Envy and Pride were Strangers to his innocent Soul, and he never approached the holy Altar while unreconciled to his Brother. He utterly abhorred all Lies, and artificial Methods of Detraction, looking on them as the Spawn of the Devil, and hateful to God.

His only genuine Remains, St. *Jerom* tells us, are, his *Euchariſtical Panegyrick* to *Origen*; his ſhort, and, as he ſtiles it, very uſeful *Metaphraſe* on *Eccleſiaſtes*; ſeveral Epiſtles, of which only his *Canonical Epiſtle* is now extant; and his *Creed*, or *Short Expoſition of Faith.* St. *Baſil* informs us, that he was by ſome ſuſpected as inclining to *Sabellianiſm*, which confounded the Perſons of the Bleſſed

Bleſſed Trinity; but at the ſame Time vindicates him from this Suſpicion, in a large *Apology*, ſhewing, *That however he might uſe ſome unwary Expreſſions in Heat of Diſputation, yet his Doctrine was excellently adapted to the confuting, ſo far is it from promoting that Error.*

The Life of St. *DIONYSIUS*, Biſhop of *Alexandria.*

IT is probable that *Alexandria* was the Place of St. *Dionyſius*'s Nativity, where *Euſebius* intimates his Parents to have been Perſons of conſiderable Eminency, and that he himſelf had lived there ſome Time in no ſmall Grandeur. He was converted from *Gentiliſm* to the *Chriſtian* Religion, but by what Means we know not, any further than he himſelf intimates it in his *Epiſtle* to *Philemon*, Presbyter of *Rome*; *That by diligent reading and examining the Books that came to his Hands, he was converted to the Faith.* Having paſſed his juvenile Studies, he became a Scholar of the Renowned *Origen*, and is ſaid by ſome to have afterward publickly profeſſed Rhetorick and Eloquence, as indeed a peculiar Vein thereof runs through the Fragments of his Writings yet remaining.

When *Heraclas* was made Biſhop of *Alexandria*, upon the Death of *Demetrius*, St. *Dionyſius*, then Presbyter of the ſame Church, was choſen Catechiſt of that School in his Place, *A. D.* 231. In which

which Office he behaved himſelf with ſo much Care and Diligence, for about fifteen or ſixteen Years, and gained ſuch univerſal Applauſe, that upon *Heraclas*'s Death none was thought ſo fit to be again his Succeſſor as *Dionyſius*. Who accordingly entered upon this great Charge, *A. D.* 247. and enjoy'd for ſome Years Peace and Tranquillity therein.

But at length this Church had a heavy Portion with others, of violent Perſecution under *Decius*. This Perſecution was indeed begun here, the Year before the Death of *Philip* the preceding the Emperor, by a certain *Gentile* Prieſt, who excited the People, naturally inclined to Superſtition, to revenge the Quarrel of their Gods. The Multitude being once raiſed, with great Violence laid Hands on ſeveral eminent *Chriſtians* of both Sexes, and expoſed them to the moſt cruel Torments, and Death. They every where broke into the *Chriſtians* Houſes, ravaged their Goods, and committed to the Flames what they counted not worth carrying away. A *Chriſtian* could not ſtir Day or Night, but the Outcry preſently was, *Away with him to the Fire*; till at length quarrelling among themſelves, the *Chriſtians* gained a little Breathing-time.

But *Decius* beginning the *Seventh Perſecution*, ſent his Edicts to *Alexandria*, which gave new Life to their Rage and Cruelty. Vaſt Numbers fled for Shelter to the Woods and Mountains; but ſeveral of them periſhed with Hunger and Cold, others were worried by wild Beaſts, and divers ſeized by the *Arabs* and barbarous *Saracens*, who reduced them to a State of Slavery worſe than Death. In this evil Time many revolted from the Faith,

Faith, but others courageouſly maintained it, and divers great Enemies to *Chriſtianity* then ſuddenly embraced, and openly profeſſed the ſame: Particularly ſeveral of the military Guard, who juſt before caſt all Contempts and Deriſions on the Priſoners when going to their Trial; yet immediately followed them, and in open Court profeſſed the *Chriſtian* Religion, to the Trouble and Amazement of the Judges on the Bench.

St. *Dionyſius* was eminently preſerved in this calamitous Time, even in his own Houſe, the Enemies not ſearching there for him, as concluding he would not then dare to continue at home. And when at length he was ſeized, ſentenced to Death, and committed to a Guard of Soldiers to be ſent to another Town, to be there executed with leſs Noiſe, he was delivered by the following ſtrange Providence: A Company of drunken Companions, ſitting up all Night at a Wedding-Feaſt, being heated with Wine, ran in the midſt of the Night with great Noiſe and Clamour towards the Place where he was; which unſeaſonable Tumult in that retired Place, ſo frighted the Guard, that they ran away and left their Priſoner. The good Man took them for Thieves, and was about to deliver his Clothes to them; but this Rabble having ſome Time abuſed him, at length left him, and he was thence convey'd by his Friends into the Deſarts of *Lybia*, where he lay concealed till the Storm was over.

When the Violence of the Perſecution was ſomewhat abated by the Death of *Decius*, *Dionyſius* returned to *Alexandria*, where he found the Affairs of the Church exceedingly diſordered, eſpecially by great Numbers who had denied the Faith, and

fallen into Idolatry under the Perſecution. Among theſe were ſeveral Perſons of great Riches and Honour, ſome of whom totally renounced their Faith; others came with ſuch Trembling and Paleneſs of Countenance before their Perſecutors, that the *Gentiles* derided and deſpiſed them. Moſt of them deſired Re-admiſſion into the Communion of the Church, which the ſtrick Diſcipline of thoſe Times would hardly allow, eſpecially after the *Novatian* Principles prevailed, which rejected them how penitent ſoever they appeared; of which we have diſcourſed more fully in St. *Cyprian*'s Life.

St. *Dionyſius* was of the moderate Party in this Controverſy, and therefore wrote a ſhort but pathetical Epiſtle to *Novatian* himſelf, the Head of the Schiſm, *Earneſtly perſuading him to Moderation, and to return into the Communion of the Church*; telling him, *It were much better to ſuffer any thing, than that the Church of God ſhould be rent aſunder; that it is in his Opinion not leſs, yea more glorious to ſuffer Martyrdom for preventing this, than for not ſacrificing to Idols, ſeeing in the latter Caſe a Man only ſuffers for his own Soul, but in the former for the whole* Chriſtian *Church.*

Soon after he was engaged in another Controverſy, concerning the re-baptizing ſuch as were baptized by Hereticks, a Controverſy which troubled the whole Church, and was with great Heat diſputed between *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*, and St. *Cyprian*, as we had an Account in his Life. *Dionyſius*, and many other Biſhops of the *Eaſt*, fell in with the latter, maintaining, they ought to be baptized, as eſteeming their former Baptiſm only nominal, and not real, becauſe not regular: Yet herein he carried it with that Temper and Moderation,

ration, that he was concerned rather as a Moderator than a Party, writing to Pope *Stephen*, and *Sixtus* his Succeſſor, and to moſt other Biſhops, to uſe Gentleneſs herein. In theſe Controverſies he paſſed over the ſhort Reign of *Gallus Decius*'s Succeſſor, who likewiſe perſecuted the *Chriſtians* as Enemies of the Empire, though it was by their Prayers that the Peace of it was ſecured.

But the Perſecution of the former Reign ſeemed but preparatory to that which fell out under *Valerian*, who, though extraordinary kind to the *Chriſtians* at firſt, afterward perſecuted them with ſuch Violence for three Years and a half, that *Dionyſius* makes him the *Beaſt* in the *Revelations*, *To whom was given a Mouth ſpeaking great Things and Blaſphemies, and Power was given him to continue forty and two Months.*

When the perſecuting Orders came to *Alexandria*, he, accompanied with ſome of his Clergy, addreſſed himſelf to *Æmilian* the Governor, who did not preſently forbid their ſolemn Aſſemblies, but endeavoured to diſſuade him from them, hoping others would follow his Example. *Dionyſius* returned an Apoſtolical Anſwer, That *we muſt obey God rather than Men*, openly aſſuring him, *He would worſhip none but the True God, nor ever ceaſe to be a* Chriſtian. The Governor replied, *He had informed them of the great Clemency of the Emperors, if they would act like rational Men, and adore the Defenders of the Empire, which he hoped they would be more grateful than to refuſe.* The Biſhop anſwered, *That whatever Gods others worſhipped, they only adored the Creator of the World, who gave Power to the Emperors, and to whom they daily prayed for the Stability of the Empire.* The

Governor inſinuated, *They might worſhip the* Roman *Gods, together with their own.* But the good Man replied, *We cannot worſhip any other.*

Then the Governor charged them with being ignorant and ungrateful, and ſentenced *Dionyſius* to be baniſhed to *Cephro* in the Deſarts of *Lybia*, and withal prohibited their religious Meetings under the ſevereſt Penalties. The Sentence was ſpeedily executed upon him, though ſick, not a Day being allowed him to prepare for his Journey; but many *Chriſtians* ſoon followed him, both from *Alexandria* and other Parts of *Egypt*. At his firſt coming he was rudely treated with a Shower of Stones; but e'er long he civilized their Manners, reclaimed them from Idolatry, and brought them over to the *Chriſtian* Faith: And thus he did in ſeveral Places, turning the deſolate Wilderneſs into a populous Church. Nor could all the Malice and Fury of the Perſecutors ſuppreſs the *Chriſtian* Aſſemblies at *Alexandria*, though their beloved Biſhop was raviſhed from them; for, *as their Sufferings abounded for* Chriſt, *ſo their Conſolations abounded by him.*

Dionyſius probably continued in this Baniſhment, till *Valerian* was taken Priſoner by the King of *Perſia*, when *Galienus* ruling alone, took Example by his Father's Unhappineſs, and not only gave a Check to the Perſecution, but ſent a particular Edict to *Dionyſius*, and other Biſhops, to eſtabliſh the Liberty of the *Chriſtian* Aſſemblies. But this Edict had not for ſome Time its deſired Effect, for *Macrianus*, a great Enemy of the *Chriſtians*, taking Advantage of the preſent Confuſions, ſet up for Emperor, and ſeized *Egypt*.

Hence

Hence *Alexandria* was divided into two Factions, one for *Galienus*, and the other for *Macrianus*, ſo that *Dionyſius* was forced to tranſact all his Affairs with his Friends by Letters; *It being ſafer*, as he tells us, *for a Man to travel from* East *to* Weſt, *than from one Part of* Alexandria *to another, ſuch were the Outrages committed there.*

This was followed by a ſevere Famine, and that by a dreadful Plague, ſweeping away a vaſt Number, both of *Pagans* and *Chriſtians*. It was worſe now than in the former *Egyptian* Plague in *Pharaoh's* Time; *There was a great Cry in* Egypt, *every Houſe having not only one, but many dead in it.* At this Time when the *Heathens* generally forſook their infected Friends, the *Chriſtians* with wonderful Charity ventured into the thickeſt Dangers, even the moſt conſiderable of the Clergy, and People, viſiting their dying Brethren, and often expiring with them.

During theſe Miſeries, *Dionyſius* was zealouſly engaged againſt *Sabellius* a *Lybian*, born at *Ptolemais*, a City of *Pentapolis*, who had lately ſtarted ſome dangerous Notions about the Holy Trinity: He affirmed, *There is no Diſtinction between the Three Perſons; and that the* Father, Son, *and* Holy Ghoſt, *are but three Names of one and the ſame Perſon, who giving the Law under the* Old Teſtament, *is called the* Father; *as being made Man under the* New Teſtament, *is called the* Son; *and as deſcending upon the Apoſtles, the* Holy Ghoſt. This Error was taught long before by *Praxeas* and the *Patropaſſians*, and afterward by *Noëtus* of *Smyrna*, from whom the Imbracers of it were called *Noëtians*, and now revived by *Sabellius*, from whom they have ever ſince been called *Sabellians*.

But as it uſually happens in ſuch Conteſts, *Dionyſius* managing this Controvery with too much Fervour, over-bent the Stick the contrary Way, ſeeming to aſſert, not only *a Diſtinction of Perſons*, but alſo a Difference of Eſſence: For this he is ſeverely cenſured by St. *Baſil*, and ſome others of the Antients, as one who in great Meaſure opened the Gap to the ſucceeding *Arian* Impieties, though they could not but acknowledge he was inadvertently betray'd into it by an earneſt Deſire of confuting the Adverſary. From this Charge he afterwrrd, in a ſet *Apology*, cleared himſelf, and was largely vindicated by *Athanaſius*, as a Man ſound and orthodox in theſe Matters.

Quickly after this he was engaged in Controverſy with ſome that had received the Errors of the *Millenaries*, who affirmed, *That the Promiſes of the Scripture were literally to be underſtood, and that there was to be a thouſand Years State on Earth, wherein good Men ſhould enjoy ſenſual Delights and Pleaſures. Nepos* an *Egyptian* Biſhop, of great Eminency and Piety, lately dead, had endeavoured to maintain theſe Opinions from ſome Paſſages in St. *John*'s *Revelation*, ſtiling his Book, *A Confutation of Allegorical Expoſitors*. This Book, as containing ſome extraordinary Myſtery, was greedily caught up, read and admired by many, who began to have low Thoughts of our Lord's Coming, and of their Conformity with him in Glory, and to hope for ſuch tranſitory Things in the Kingdom of God as this World affords. But *Dionyſius*, with the Aſſiſtance of other Miniſters, debated this Matter with ſuch Wiſdom and Calmneſs, that the People generally acknowledged themſelves convinced of their Miſtakes,

and

The Jews *attempting to Stone* Christ *he withdraws from them and hides himself.* John 8. 59.

and particularly one *Coracion* a chief Leader among them.

Dionyſius, to compleat the Work, wrote his Book *concerning the Promiſes*, which is preſerved in *Euſebius*'s Hiſtory. In the firſt Part whereof he ſtates the Queſtion; and in the Second, treats concerning the *Revelation*, which he grants to be of Divine Authority; but contends it was not written by St. *John* the Apoſtle, but by ſome other Perſon of that Name,

About the Beginning of *Galienus*'s Reign, *Paul* of *Samoſata*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, ſpread his groſs Errors againſt our Saviour's Deity, as is related in St. *Cyprian*'s Life. Beſides which, he was very obnoxious in his Morals, being extravagantly covetous, raiſing himſelf from a poor Condition to a vaſt Eſtate, partly by Fraud and Sacrilege, and partly by cruel Oppreſſions of his Brethren. He was unmeaſurably Proud, affecting Pomp and ſecular Power, paſſing through the Streets with a great Train to attend him. He behaved himſelf in a vain-glorious and inſolent Manner in giving Judgments in the Church; reflecting on his Predeceſſors with all imaginable Scorn and Contempt. He aboliſhed the Hymns uſually ſung at *Eaſter* to the Honour of our Lord, and inſtead thereof cauſed his Female Converts to ſing ſome he had compoſed in his own Commendation, to the Horror and Amazement of the Hearers. He was alſo vehemently ſuſpected of Incontinency, maintaining very beautiful Women in his Houſe, to the great Reproach of Religion.

Moſt of the *Eaſtern* Biſhops of Note reſolved to hold a Synod at *Antioch* againſt him; but *Dionyſius*, though earneſtly deſired, could not be there

becauſe of his Age and Infirmities. However he endeavoured to ſupply the Want of his Preſence by Letters, declaring his Judgment in theſe Matters. In his Epiſtle to the Church of *Antioch*, he did not ſo much as honour the Heretick, though Biſhop of it, with a Salutation. The Council being met, the crafty Fox diſſembled his Sentiments, and palliated his Diſorders, renouncing what he could not conceal, and ſo continued in his Station.

Toward the End of this Year (*A. D.* 265.) and ſoon after the *Antiochian* Synod was over, St. *Dionyſius* died at *Alexandria*, to the unexpreſſible Loſs of that Church, after he had with great Wiſdom and Piety governed it about ſeventeen Years. His Deceaſe happened probably on the ſame Day and Year with St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*'s, whoſe Names are both commemorated in the *Roman* Calendar on the 17th of *November*.

His Memory, *Epiphanius* ſays, was preſerved in *Alexandria* by a Church dedicated to him, but much more by his incomparable Virtues and Excellent Writings, which conſiſted in a great Number of Epiſtles, whereof we have only ſome Fragments, which are preſerved in *Euſebius*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*.

The

The LIFE of *EUSEBIUS*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*.

EUSEBIUS was born in *Paleſtine*, ſomewhat before the Council at *Antioch*, which was about the Time of *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, the Narrative of whoſe Life we have juſt given you, and which *Euſebius* ſpeaks of as in his own Age. He mentions *Cæſarea* as his native Home, and therefore it is moſt probable that this was the City of his Nativity.

Nicephorus makes him Son to the Siſter of *Pamphilus* the Martyr, but without any probable Ground; nor can we aſſign who or what his Parents were: Some conceive him Brother to *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*; which Conjecture, were it ſufficiently ſupported, would give us a probable Account how he came to be ſo favourable to the *Arian* Party. But this hath no Likelihood, becauſe the *Nicomedian Euſebius* writing to him, gives him no other Title than that of *My Lord*, or *Maſter*; and beſides it is unprecedented for two own Brothers at one Time to have the very ſame Name. 'Tis certain *Arius* ſtiles them *Brethren*, which is the only Argument for this Opinion; but there is juſt Reaſon to believe, he only means Brethren in the Epiſcopal Order.

His younger Years were wholly taken up in Learning and Arts, applying himſelf to Philoſophical Studies, wherein his Improvements were inferior to none in that Age. We know not by

whom he was firſt inſtructed in the *Chriſtian* Faith; only, as he himſelf tells us, he was Auditor to *Dorotheus* Presbyter of *Antioch*, one of good Learning, and particularly well skilled in the *Hebrew* Tongue, whom *Dioclesian* himſelf reverenced and advanced for his great Parts, Learning, and eminent Virtues.

Euſebius and *Pamphilus* were both conſtituted Presbyters of *Cæſarea*, and probably about the ſame Time, by *Agapius* who ſucceeded *Theotecnus* in that Biſhoprick. Between theſe two Fellow-Presbyters was contracted ſo great a Friendſhip and Intimacy, that, as St. *Jerom* obſerves, they ſeem to have had but one Soul between them; and *Euſebius*, to perpetuate the Memory thereof, aſſumed the Sirname of *Pamphylus*, which he retains to this Day. He had alſo familiar Acquaintance with *Pierius* Presbyter of *Alexandria*, and Maſter of the Catechetick School there, who had been *Pamphylus*'s Tutor; and for his eminent Learning was called *A Second Origen*. *Euſebius* alſo enjoy'd the excellent Converſe of *Meletius*, Biſhop of *Sebaſtea* in *Pontus*, who ſheltered himſelf in *Paleſtine* from Perſecution, being a Man of great Piety, Learning and Eloquence.

The State of the *Chriſtian* Church had been ſerene and calm, and had enjoy'd an undiſturbed Liberty of Religion: Nor was there any general Perſecution after that which is uſually called *The Ninth* (which happened in the Year 274. towards the End of *Aurelian*'s Reign, and laſted but a ſmall Time) till about the Beginning of the following Century.

Dioclesian having routed and killed *Achilleus* Governor of *Egypt*, who had uſurped the Empire, returned

returned from *Syria*, and paſſed through *Paleſtine*, having with him the young Prince *Conſtantine*, whom *Euſebius* tells us he then ſaw, and that the Eyes of Men were much fixed on him, from whom they had great Expectations for the Comelineſs of his Perſon, but eſpecially the Endowments of his Mind. Soon after *Dioclesian*, with *Maximine* his Colleague, entered *Rome* in ſolemn Triumph; and now began to think it a Diſparagement to his other Conqueſts, to ſee the antient Religion of the Empire borne down by *Chriſtianity*, which therefore he reſolved, if poſſible, to extirpate. In order to this, he firſt commanded their Churches to be demoliſhed, their Bibles to be burnt, Perſons of Honour to be deprived of their Places, and others of their Liberty: And then by a ſecond Edict he ſtrictly ordered the Governors of the Churches to be impriſoned, and by cruel Tormens to be compelled to ſacrifice; which Orders were quickly followed by others yet more bloody and cruel.

This Perſecution began in the nineteenth Year of *Dioclesian*, (*A. D.* 303.) and is commonly called *The Tenth General Perſecution*; wherein we ſhall only note theſe Martyrdoms in *Paleſtine*, whereof our *Euſebius* was the mournful Spectator, as well as the Relator of them. At *Cæſarea*, *Procopius* was firſt beheaded, for ſtedfaſtly refuſing to ſacrifice to the *Heathen* Deities, and was ſoon followed in the ſame Death, and in the ſame Place, by *Alphæus* and *Zachæus*; as alſo on the ſame Day with them, *Romanus*, Deacon of that Church, died for the Faith at *Antioch*. The next Year was alſo remarkable for many ſuffering Martyrdom at *Gaza*, and divers being beheaded at *Cæſarea*.

At this Time *Dioclesian*, either tired out with the Cares of the Empire, or vexed to be baffled by the *Christians* Constancy, laid down his Purple, and betook himself to a retired Life, declaring, with Tears in his Eyes, *That he was now become infirm, and therefore resolved to rest himself after so much Labour, and to deliver up the Empire to those who were better able to sustain the Burden of it.* But still the Persecution was carried on with greater Violence by *Maximinus*, who succeeded him in that Part of the Empire. While his persecuting Orders were publishing at *Cæsarea*, *Apphianus*, a young Gentleman of *Lycia*, and Scholar to *Eusebius*, stole out of Doors unknown to his Master, and pressing through the Crouds, caught hold of *Urbanus* the President's Hand, as he was ready to offer Sacrifice, and caused him to let it fall; for which this young Man was exposed to the greatest Torments, and afterwards thrown half dead into the Sea.

As this Persecution exceeded all the former in Violence, so it is worth our Notice how this Father ascribes it, not only to the Cruelty of the Persecutors, but to the great Declension of Piety amongst *Christians* themselves. For noting in the Beginning of his Eighth Book the great Progress of Religion, whilst they continued worthy of the Divine Protection, he adds, "After the Affairs of "our Age were, through too much Liberty, "changed into Licentiousness and Sloth, while "some began to envy and revile others, and we "were after a sort at Wars among our selves, "wounding one another with Words, as it were "with Arms and Spears, then God began to ma-"nifest his Displeasure. And when Prelates dash'd

"against

" againſt Prelates, and the People factiouſly op-
" poſed one another; when vile Hypocriſy and
" Diſſimilation had arrived to the Height of Miſ-
" chief, then did the Divine Vengeance begin
" more gently to viſit us, the Perſecution being
" only firſt upon thoſe Brethren who bore Arms.
" But when we became inſenſible, not entertain-
" ing the leaſt Thought of appeaſing the Deity;
" when like *Atheiſts*, that ſuppoſe their Affairs
" to be managed without the Conduct of Divine
" Providence, we added one Impiety to another;
" and when they who ſeemed our Paſtors, being
" unmindful of the Sanctions of Religion, were
" inflamed with mutual Contentions, with Envy
" and Hatred, and greedily ſought Preheminence
" over one another; then, as the Prophet ſpeaks,
" *The Lord covered the Daughter of* Zion *with a*
" *Cloud in his Anger*," &c.

In the Time of this Perſecution *Arnobius*, an *African* by Birth, was brought over to the *Chriſtian* Religion, by beholding the Conſtancy, Patience and Meekneſs of the pious Martyrs, under the moſt ſevere and barbarous Sufferings. He had been before a very learned and zealous Defender of *Paganiſm*; and therefore applying himſelf to the Biſhop of *Sicca* in *Africa*, where he lived, in order to his being received into the *Chriſtian* Church, they were no leſs ſhy of him, than the Diſciples at *Jeruſalem* were of *Paul*. They indeed ſuſpected that he only deſigned ſome Trick to circumvent them, and therefore would not receive him till he had given a particular Proof of the Reality of his Converſion. Hereupon *Arnobius* ſet himſelf to vindicate *Chriſtianity* againſt the *Heathens*, which he performed in ſeven Books, *ſtrenuouſly aſſerting*

and

and proving the Excellency of the Chriſtian *Religion, and expoſing the Folly and Vanity of the* Pagan *Worſhip.* Whereupon he was joyfully entertained and admitted to Holy Baptiſm. And now he was greatly raviſhed with the Divine Goodneſs, when he conſidered the Miſery of his former State: *With what Veneration,* ſaith he, *did I lately proſtrate my ſelf before Statues but juſt taken out of the Furnace? before Gods hammer'd out upon the Anvil? I ſottiſhly addreſſed my ſelf to beg Bleſſings of a ſenſeleſs Stock, but now I have Notions becoming the Nature of Things, and dare not offer ſuch Contempt to the Name of God.* 'Tis ſuppoſed that this eminent Perſon lived till after the *Nicene* Council, but we have no Certainty thereof.

About the ſame Time appeared *Lactantius,* an *Italian* by Birth, who was ſent in his younger Years into *Africa,* and there became a Scholar to the forementioned *Arnobius,* then Profeſſor of Rhetorick in that Country; under whoſe Tutorage he was ſo diligent a Student, that he not only equalled, but excelled his Maſter. He, in Imitation of him, alſo wrote ſeven Books of Divine Inſtitutions, wherein *he demonſtrates the Being and Providence of God from many invincible Arguments and Teſtimonies, and rationally confutes the Religion of the* Gentile *World.* Next *he diſplays the Excellency and Certainty of the* Chriſtian *Faith, and alſo ſhews what are the uſual Cauſes of Hereſy, inſtancing in Pride, Covetouſneſs, Ignorance of the Scripture, and an over-fond Valuation of falſe Teachers and Prophets.* He alſo therein *diſcourſes of the Happineſs of the Life to come, and of the preceding Day of Judgment, and the* Millennium, *or Reign of* Chriſt *for a thouſand Years.* He lived to the Time of *Con-*

Conſtantine the Great, and was, as 'tis ſaid, ſent for by him into *France*, to be Tutor to his young Son *Criſpus*; but was afterwards reduced, as *Euſebius* tells us, to a very poor and low Condition, probably after the Death of his noble Pupil. We have no certain Account either of the Time or Place of his Death; but his Renown yet lives in his aforeſaid Work, which is eſteemed by the Learned to be written with that Elegancy of Stile, that none have exceeded him, if any equalled him therein, ſince the *Ciceronian* Age.

In the fourth Year of this Perſecution, *Maximinus* came to *Cæſarea*, there to ſolemnize his Birth-day, when *Agapius*, before ſentenced to the wild Beaſts, was brought into the Amphitheater; and being proof againſt the Emperor's Allurements, was expoſed to the Mercy of a She-Bear; which leaving him a little Life, he was the next Day, with great Stones tied about him, thrown into the Sea.

The following Year *Pamphilus*, *Euſebius*'s dear Friend, was ſeized and brought before *Urbanus* the Preſident, who endeavoured, both by Allurements and Terrors, to bring him over; but the Martyr deſpiſing both, remained ſtedfaſt and unmoveable in his Religion. At this the Governor being enraged, commanded him to be expoſed to the moſt cruel Tortures: His Sides were racked, and his Fleſh torn off with Pincers; under all which he remained unſhaken in his Mind, and was at length ſent to keep Company in Priſon with the reſt of the Confeſſors. But the Governor himſelf was ſhortly after with Shame turned out of his Office, and by the Emperor condemned to die.

No

No Obſtacles could keep *Euſebius* from his Friend, whom he viſited and comforted in Priſon: And, during his two Years Impriſonment, they together employ'd their Time in profitable Exerciſes. As they had formerly publiſhed the *Greek* Tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, taken out of *Origen*'s *Hexapla*, for the Uſe of the *Syrian* Churches, ſo now they compoſed an elaborate Apology to defend *Origen* from thoſe rude Cenſures and Reflections which the indiſcreet Zeal of ſome had caſt on his Memory.

After two Years Impriſonment, *Pamphilus*, with ſeveral others, was brought to his Trial. The Judge knowing him to be of invincible Courage, only asked him, Whether he would yet comply? From whom he received a flat Denial, and thereupon paſſed the final Sentence upon him. But between Sentence and Execution, *Porphyrius*, Servant to *Pamphilus*, a young Man of eighteen Years of Age, but of eminent Parts and Learning, interpoſed, and boldly requeſted that the Dead might have a decent Funeral. But he paid dear for his forward Zeal, having his Fleſh rack'd to the Bones; which he endured with incomparable Patience, and was afterwards burnt in a ſlow Fire, entertaining his Friends through the whole Tragedy, with a ſerene Mind, till his Soul mounted up to Heaven, leading his Maſter the Way thither, who ſoon followed him, with his other Companions. Their Bodies were ordered to be kept with a military Guard four Days, that they might remain a Prey to the wild Beaſts; but obſerving that Birds and Beaſts were hinder'd by Divine Providence from touching them, they were at length ſuffered to be decently interred.

Thus

Thus we have brought *Pamphilus* to his Grave, who was a Man of great Learning, but of far greater Piety. He was a *Phœnician* born at *Berytus*, a Place famous for the Study of the *Roman* Laws; where being educated in human Arts, he at length applied himſelf to the Study of Divinity, and was made Presbyter of *Cæſarea*. He was unwearied in the Purſuit of all Parts of Learning, but eſpecially of the Knowledge of the holy Scriptures; for which End he erected a Library at *Ceſarea*, furniſhing it with Books from all Parts, moſtly written with his own Hand. He tranſcribed the greateſt Part of *Origen*'s Works, the Manuſcript of which, St. *Jerom* tells us, was in that Library in his Time, of which he expreſſes great Eſteem. He was eminent for Humility and Charity, eſpecially to the Souls of Men, cauſing great Numbers of Bibles to be copied out, which he kept by him, and freely beſtowed them on ſuch whoſe Piety made them willing to read them, though their Eſtates did not enable them to buy them.

Euſebius being thus bereft of his dear Friend, withdrew himſelf from *Cæſarea* and retired into *Egypt*, where he found the Perſecution ſo far from abating, that it increaſed together with the Heat of the Climate, eſpecially in the Parts about *Thebais*, where he tells us, *He daily beheld moſt diſmal and deplorable Spectacles, ſuch Numbers being executed, that the Swords of the* Pagans *were blunted; and the Tormentors themſelves, though relieving one another, tired out.* And that *here were great Multitudes, both Men and Women, ſometimes a Hundred in a Day, expoſed to the moſt violent and tormenting Deaths.* All which they endured with

the moſt firm Conſtancy, yea, Deſire of Martyrdom; ſome being no ſooner ſentenced, but others crouded up to the Tribunal, openly confeſſing that they were *Chriſtians*. Here *Euſebius* was ſeized and caſt into Priſon, but how long he continued there, and how he came to be releaſed thence, we find not, which hath occaſioned ſome of his profeſſed Enemies to report, That he ſacrificed, and baſely complied with the Perſecutors to obtain his Eſcape; but without any ſufficient Ground for ſuch an Aſperſion.

About this Time *Hierocles*, formerly a Judge at *Nicomedia* in *Bythynia*, where *Diocleſian* kept his Court, but now made Governor of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, violently perſecuted the *Chriſtians*, not only with his Sword, but with his Pen; for he wrote two Books in Imitation of thoſe of *Celſus*, called, *The Word of Truth*, wherein he attempted to prove the Scriptures guilty of Falſhood and Contradiction, and that the Apoſtles were Cheats and Impoſtors, as well as rude and illiterate Men. Yea, he blaſphemouſly charged our Saviour himſelf with being a publick Robber, and that his Miracles were wrought by the Arts of Magick, not being comparable to thoſe of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, whom he preferred before him.

This Book *Euſebius* attacked, and paſſing by all other Parts, which being copied from *Celſus*, were anſwered before by *Origen*, he ſhews that *Apollonius Tyanæus* was ſo far from being fit to be compared with our Bleſſed Saviour, that he was ſcarce worthy to be accounted a Philoſopher, or an honeſt Man.

After the Perſecution had continued eight Years, it ceaſed in *Paleſtine*, as it had done before in the *Weſt*,

Christ *The good Shepherd defends his flock*
But the Hireling flies. John. 10. 11, 12.

Weſt, and did two Years after in all the other Provinces of the *Eaſt*, by the Means of *Conſtantine*, who was the firſt *Chriſtian* Emperor; of whom it is convenient here to inſert a brief Account, to add further Light to the Affairs of the Church. His Father *Conſtantius* was a Man of eminent Piety and Virtue, who chiefly aimed at the Wealth and Proſperity of his Subjects, like *Trajan*, counting his Exchequer as the Spleen, which being overfull, cauſes the Members of the Body to languiſh. And though he never made Profeſſion of *Chriſtianity*, yet he was a great Favourer of the *Chriſtians*. He indeed once politically made Trial of them, by commanding, *That all the Officers of his Houſhold that were* Chriſtians, *ſhould either change their Religion, or leave their Places.* But when ſome thereupon relinquiſhed their Religion, he ejected them with great Diſgrace, ſaying, *Thoſe that were not true to their God, would never be faithful to their Prince.*

But *Conſtantius*'s excellent Reign was but ſhort, for repairing in his ſecond Year into *Britain*, he reſided at *York*, and there fell ſick: Hereupon he ſent for his Son *Conſtantine*, who had been long detained from him by *Galerius* the *Eaſtern* Emperor, becauſe he was jealous of both Father and Son. But *Conſtantine* having now obtained a general Leave to depart, which yet the Emperor intended to prevent, he immediately took the Opportunity, and with great Diligence came to his Father, whom he found paſt Recovery, *Conſtantius* being ask'd which of his Children ſhould ſucceed, he readily anſwered, *None but the Pious Conſtantine!* And ſoon after died, in the Arms of this his beloved Son, in the 56th Year of his Age.

Upon the Death of his Father (*A. D.* 306.) *Conſtantine*, being now about thirty-four Years of Age, was ſaluted Emperor of the *Weſt*, by the univerſal Acclamations and Applauſes of the Army, in Conſideration of both his Father's Merits, and his own, being a Prince of great Wiſdom, Modeſty and Magnanimity. He was born in *Britain* of *Helen* the firſt Wife of *Conſtantius*, married to *Fauſta* Daughter of *Maximian*, who reſigned the Empire with *Diocleſian*; and he was afterward ſtiled *Conſtantine the Great*, from his great Actions and renowned Exploits.

Conſtantine having now reigned five Years, and being, like his Father, ſolicitous for the Good of the People, thought of releaſing the City and Territorries of *Rome* from the miſerable Outrages and Violence of *Maxentius*, a cruel Tyrant, who had uſurped the Imperial Seat there. He was the more excited to this Expedition, by an Embaſſy ſent from the Senate and People to implore his Aſſiſtance, and that he would come and deliver them. Upon this his Reſolutions were fixed, as became ſo great a Mind: But he firſt began to think of a higher Aſſiſtance than his own; and though he ſtill remained in the *Gentile* Religion, yet, like his pious Father, he placed his Hope only in the True God, whom he humbly ſupplicated to bleſs this his righteous Undertaking. Heaven heard his Prayer, and anſwered him in ſo wonderful a Manner, that, as *Euſebius* ſays, it would ſeem incredible, had he not received it from this Emperor's own Mouth.

For as he was marching with his Army, and ſeriouſly engaged in ſuch pious Ejaculations, ſuddenly the Sun declined, and there appeared a Pillar of

of Light in the Heavens in the Form of a Croſs, with this Inſcription upon it [ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ] BY THIS OVERCOME. Whereupon, being alſo encouraged by further Viſions the following Night, the next Day he cauſed a Royal Standard to be made and born before him, like that he had ſeen in the Heavens. And then he conſulted ſeveral *Chriſtian* Biſhops, and was inſtructed by them in the chief Points of *Chriſtianity*, reſolving, when he had Leiſure, to acquaint himſelf more fully with the holy Scriptures.

Being thus animated, he courageouſly went on with his great Army; and notwithſtanding all Oppoſitions, arrived near the Walls of *Rome*. When *Maxentius* being awakened out of his Eaſe and Luxury, came forth to meet him with far more numerous Forces, but moſt of them ſuch as deſired nothing more than to ſee his Fall: So that in ſhort *Conſtantine* obtained an intire Victory, and was met by the Senators and People, who received him with joyful Acclamations, ſtiling him, *their Father, their Saviour, and Author of all their Happineſs.*

The firſt Thing he did after his entring *Rome* was, to aſcribe his Victory to the Bleſſed *Jeſus*, both by giving Thanks to him, and by erecting his own Statue in the moſt conſpicuous Part of the City, holding in his Hand a long Spear in the Form of a Croſs, with an Inſcription, intimating, That *under the Influence of that victorious Croſs he had delivered the City of* Rome *from the Yoke of tyrannical Power, and had reſtored to the Senate and People their antient Splendor and Glory.* Preſently after he publiſhed an Edict in Behalf of the *Chriſtians*, and daily increaſed more and more in Favours

Favours and Kindneſſes towards them. He alſo now ſtrictly commanded that none ſhould hereafter ſuffer the Death of the Crofs, which till then had been reckoned the moſt ſhameful of all other Puniſhments.

About this Time died *Agapius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and none was thought ſo fit to ſucceed in his Place as *Euſebius*, whoſe eminent Learning and Virtue, together with his near Relation to that Church, recommended him to this high Station. *Cæſarea*, after the Ruin of *Jeruſalem*, was the Seat of the Proconſul, and ſo became the Metropolis of the Province, and *Jeruſalem* itſelf was ſubject thereunto. *Euſebius* being advanced to ſo conſpicuous a Seat, ſoon became conſiderable in the *Eaſt*, and was peculiarly intimate with *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre*.

This *Paulinus*, under the incouraging Influences of *Conſtantine*'s Favour, had, partly at his own Charge, and partly by the chearful Contributions of others, erected a very beautiful Church in *Tyre* to the Honour of God; at the Dedication of which, *Euſebius*, in the Preſence of many of the neighbouring Biſhops, and a great Confluence of other Auditors, pronounced that elegant Oration we have in the Body of his Hiſtory; wherein *he thankfully mentions the Care of Divine Providence, in ſo ſtrangely turning their Tears and Sorrows into Muſick and Triumph, by reſtoring to them the publick Exerciſe of Religion:* And concludes with a paſſionate Addreſs to all, *That they would return hearty Thanks, Love, Worſhip, and Obedience to God, ſuitable to ſo great Favours.*

But this Tranquillity of the *Chriſtian* Affairs laſted not long; for *Licinius* the *Eaſtern* Emperor laid

laid aſide his Mask, and became now a profeſſed Enemy to the *Chriſtians*, and not only baniſhed them his Court, and turned them out of all Offices of Truſt, but alſo followed them with cruel Edicts againſt their Eſtates and Perſons. And beſides this there aroſe a Storm, in ſeveral Reſpects worſe than all the *Heathen* Perſecution, *viz.* the *Arian* Hereſy, of which we ſhall treat more fully in the Life of *Athanaſius*.

Arius ſo ſubtilly repreſented his Caſe to our *Euſebius*, that he wrote to *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, by whom he was excommunicated, to readmit him to the Communion of the Church. Whereupon *Alexander* repreſenting the Matter to ſeveral other Biſhops, charged *Euſebius* with too much favouring the *Arian* Party. *Euſebius* provoked hereby, writes to *Alexander*, telling him, "That in his Epiſtle he had wronged *Arius* and "his Followers, in charging them with affirming, *That the Son, like other Things, was made* "*out of nothing*; whereas by Letters written to "himſelf, their Faith appeared to be, *That the* "*God of the* Old *and* New Teſtament *had from* "*Eternal Ages begotten his only Son, by whom he* "*made the Worlds and all Things therein.*" A Fragment of this Epiſtle is extant in the Acts of the *Nicene* Synod; by which one would think either that the Principles of *Arius* were not ſo bad as they were repreſented to be, or elſe that he expreſſed them at firſt after ſo plauſible a manner, as to impoſe on ſome moderate Men.

Private Methods proving too weak to end this Controverſy, *Conſtantine* called a general Council, conſiſting of 318 Biſhops from moſt Parts of the *Chriſtian* World: Which, according to his Summons,

mons, met at *Nice* (*A. D.* 325.) a principal City of *Bithynia* in *Aſia Minor*. Here *Euſebius* had a Seat near the Emperor, and the Honour of entertaining him with a Speech at his coming thither, and bore a very conſiderable Part in the Tranſactions of the Synod. Great were the Endeavours uſed by the Fathers in this Council to convince *Arius* and his Followers of their Errors, and to ſatisfy the Doubtful. Such as were moderate, endeavoured to find out ſome Expedient to heal the Breach. With this Deſign *Euſebius* brought in a Confeſſion of Faith, which was generally approved, though not thought explicit enough in the main Article; and was therefore, with ſome little Alteration, and particularly by the Word *Conſubſtantial*, drawn up into a ſtanding Creed, as follows.

"We believe in One God, the Father Al-
" mighty, Maker of all Things viſible and in-
" viſible; and in one Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Son
" of God, the only begotten of the Father (that
" is) of the Subſtance of the Father; God of
" God, Light of Light, very God of very God;
" begotten, not made; of the ſame Subſtance
" with the Father; by whom all Things were
" made that are in Heaven, and that are in
" Earth. Who for us Men, and for our Salvation
" deſcended, and was incarnate, was made Man,
" ſuffered, and roſe again the third Day. He
" aſcended into Heaven. He ſhall come to judge
" the Quick and the Dead. [We alſo believe]
" in the Holy Ghoſt. But thoſe who hold that
" there was a Time when he was not, or that
" he was not before he was begotten; or that he

" was

" was made of nothing, and thoſe that affirm he " is of any other Subſtance or Eſſence; or that " the Son of God is created, or convertible, or " obnoxious to Change, [all ſuch] God's Holy " Catholick and Apoſtolick Church doth anathe- " matize.

This Creed *Euſebius* recites, in his Letter to the People of *Cæſarea*, aſſuring them they were very careful in the Council nicely to examine theſe Phraſes *of the Subſtance of the Father*, and *conſubſtantial with the Father*. And that after an accurate weighing of the Matter, they agreed that the Word [*Homoouſios*, or] *Conſubſtantial*, ſignified no more than only, That the Son of God had no kind of Similitude with Creatures, but was only, and in all Things, like to the Father who begat him, being of no other Eſſence than that of the Father. Telling them, that being ſo explained, they thought it highly reaſonable to aſſent thereunto, ſeeing they knew that ſeveral learned and famous Biſhops, and other Writers of antient Times, had uſed the ſame Words in explaining the Divinity of the Father and the Son. He concludes, that he thought it neceſſary to acquaint them with theſe Things, that they might know with what Caution, and with how much Reaſon they yielded their Aſſent, finding theſe Things conſonant to the Principles they had before embraced.

When this Aſſembly was ended, *Conſtantine* went forward with his Deſign to propagate *Chriſtianity*; and by Letters to the ſeveral Biſhops, and amongſt others to *Euſebius*, gave Orders to repair the Churches, and erect others where need required.

Nor was he leſs careful to ſuppreſs the falſe Religion, and eſpecially to deſtroy the Monuments of *Pagan* Superſtition and Idolatry; particularly the Oak of *Mamre*, under which *Abraham* entertained the Angels that appeared to him, was avowed by Tradition to be then ſtanding, and was abuſed by the *Gentiles* to idolatrous Purpoſes. He therefore gave ſtrict Orders that the Images ſhould be burnt, and the Altar demoliſhed, and that a *Chriſtian* Church ſhould be built in the Place of it, where nothing but the pure Worſhip of God might be performed.

About this Time *Conſtantia*, *Conſtantine*'s Siſter, wrote to *Euſebius*, as Metropolitan of *Paleſtine*, deſiring him to ſend her the Image or Picture of our Saviour: To whom, checking her vicious Curioſity, he returns this ſmart Anſwer; *Tell me*, ſaith he, *what kind of Image you mean, whether that real and ſubſtantial Form which naturally bears the Character of him? or that which he aſſumed for our Sakes, in taking upon him the Form of a Servant? I cannot ſuppoſe you mean the former, being inſtructed by himſelf, That* no Man knows the Father but the Son; nor does any Man *ſufficiently* know the Son but the Father *that begat him. You doubtleſs therefore deſire the Image of the human Nature, and the Form of a Servant which he took on him for our Sakes. But even this we know to be aſſumed into Partnerſhip with the Glory of the Deity, and that what was mortal is ſwallowed up of Life. What Painter then could be able, with a few lifeleſs Colours and Strokes, to ſet forth the reſplendent Luſtre of ſo much Majeſty?* He concludes, by telling her, That *ſeeing the Diſciples themſelves could not behold him when transfigured in the Mount; he could*

could much leſs be duly repreſented, ſince his Victory over Death, his Aſcenſion into Heaven, and Seſſion upon the Throne of Majeſty at his Father's Right-hand, the holy Angels adoring him with Hymns and Praiſes. For this Anſwer the Fathers of the Second Council of *Nice*, the great Patrons of Image-Worſhip, greatly reproached him, as thoſe of the *Romiſh* Church their Succeſſors herein do to this Day.

The Church being at preſent in Peace, by a total End put to *Heathen* Perſecution, and alſo by the Determination of the *Arian* Controverſy, *Euſebius* now probably ſet himſelf to compoſe his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, as he had ſome few Years before written his *Chronicon*, which was a Work of extraordinary Labour and Induſtry, conſiſting of two Parts: The firſt was a kind of Univerſal Hiſtory, repreſenting *the Originals and Antiquities of all Nations and Cities; the Riſe and Duration of Empires; the Succeſſion of Kings*, &c. *from the Creation of the World, till the* Vicennalia, *or twentieth Year of* Conſtantine. But of this Part we have only ſome Fragments remaining. In the other Part he drew what was in the former into a Compendium, reducing Things to particular Years, from the Birth of *Abraham* through all ſucceeding Ages. After our Lord's Nativity, he regulates Things according to a triple *Æra*, the Year of our Lord, that of the Emperors, and the Time of the Conſuls; and herein repreſents *the State of the Church, the Names and Succeſſions of eminent Biſhops and famous Writers, the ſeveral Hereſies and Perſecutions*, &c. all which are referred to their proper Periods.

By the laſt mentioned Work, *Euſebius* laid a Scheme, as he himſelf tells us, for his future Deſign of an *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, which he alſo accompliſhed, dividing it into ten Books, wherein are accurately and orderly digeſted the Affairs of the whole *Chriſtian* World, for ſomewhat above three hundred Years. Which noble and uſeful Work he dedicated to his old Friend *Paulinus*, Biſhop of *Tyre*. To the ſame Perſon he alſo dedicated two other Books, one concerning the Chorography of *Judea*, which is loſt; and the other, containing an alphabetical Account of both the antient and modern Names of the Places mentioned in Scripture; which has eſcaped the Ruins of Time.

In the Interim, between his *Chronicon* and his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, he ſeems to have compoſed two Books, one intituled, *Of Evangelical Preparation*, and the other, *Of Evangelical Demonſtration*; wherein, with incomparable Learning and Labour, he has, out of their own Writings, ſo baffled the *Pagan* Cauſe, and ſo ſtrongly aſſerted the Truth of *Chriſtianity* againſt both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, that the *Chriſtian* World can never think itſelf ſufficiently indebted to his Memory. In this Work, as well as in his Hiſtory, he has mightily obliged ſucceeding Generations, by tranſmitting to them many Fragments of antient Learning, which otherwiſe had been loſt.

Though the Heat of the *Arian* Controverſies were ſomewhat abated by the Decrees of the *Nicene* Synod, yet it broke out again in the Contentions between *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, and *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch*. The former being returned from his Baniſhment, and got into Favour

vour with the Emperor, procured a Synod to be held at *Antioch*, where *Euſtathius*, a zealous Defender of the *Nicene* Faith, (and, St. *Jerom* ſays, the firſt Writer againſt the *Arians*) was accuſed of *Sabellianiſm*: And to make the Charge ſtick the cloſer, they endeavoured to blemiſh him with groſs Immorality; for a Woman of lewd Fame was brought into the Synod, with a ſucking Infant in her Arms, which ſhe impudently atteſted upon Oath to be his; whereupon the good Man was depoſed, and immediately baniſhed into *Illyricum*. This cauſed great Heats at *Antioch* among Perſons of all Ranks, which had iſſued in Blood, had not due Care been taken to prevent it.

Moderate Men thought nothing better to allay theſe Diſorders, than to chuſe ſome Perſon of Learning and Eminency to ſupply this Vacancy, in whom both Parties might agree, and our *Euſebius* was pitched on in the Council as moſt fit for this Purpoſe. But *Euſebius* not liking to fiſh in troubled Waters, and alſo becauſe the Canons of the Church did not ordinarily allow of a Tranſlation of Biſhops, obſtinately refuſed to comply with this Election, ſending an Account thereof to *Conſtantine*, who much approved his Prudence therein.

The Emperor, upon the Reception of his Letter, wrote to *Antioch*, ſignifying his great Approbation of their Choice; but withal told them, *It was not fit that one Church ſhould be provided for to the Prejudice of another; that the Souls of Men in a ſmaller, as well as in a greater Church, were equally dear to Heaven, and therefore ſhould not have their Guide and Paſtor raviſhed from them.* And concluded with recommending ſeveral to their Election,

Election, and among others *Euphronius*, who was thereupon choſen. He alſo wrote a Letter to *Euſebius*, wherein he greatly commends his Piety and Prudence, in refuſing to accept of this Charge.

This Year (*A. D.* 330.) was alſo remarkable for the Dedication of *Conſtantinople*, before called *Byzantium*, whither *Conſtantine* removed the Seat of the Empire, and enriched it with all the Ornaments of State and Grandeur, calling it *NEW ROME*. He alſo therein erected ſeveral fair Churches; and that they might not be unfurniſhed with Bibles, he wrote to *Euſebius*, whom he knew moſt capable thereof, to furniſh him with fifty Copies fairly tranſcribed for that Purpoſe. Upon the Reception of his Letter, *Euſebius* immediately cauſed the Books to be copied out, and curiouſly bound, and tranſmitted them to the Emperor, who by a Letter ſignified his Reception and Approbation of them. In the ſame Letter he alſo ſignifies how glad he was to hear that *Gaza* in *Paleſtine* had renounced Idolatry, and received the *Chriſtian* Faith; which City he therefore endowed with great Privileges, calling it *Conſtantia*, which was the Name of his own Siſter.

The *Arians*, by their Artifices at Court, daily gained Ground of the Orthodox; and not being able to anſwer the Arguments of *Athanaſius*, the chief Defender of the *Nicene* Creed, they reproached him with infamous Calumnies to the Emperor. *Conſtantine* being incenſed hereat, cauſed a Synod to meet at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, where nothing was done, becauſe *Athanaſius* refuſed to appear. But the Emperor being provoked by his Abſence, cauſed another to be ſummoned at *Tyre*, impowering *Euſebius* and others to enquire

quire into the Merits of the Cauſe, whither he commanded *Athanaſius* to come, under ſevere Penalties. Thither therefore he went, accompanied by ſeveral Biſhops of *Egypt*, and among the reſt *otamo*, who had been Priſoner with *Euſebius* under the *Dioclefian* Perſecution. Him he now roughly accoſted for ſitting as Judge, whom he uncharitably ſuggeſted to have complied with the Idolaters; having no Reaſon for his Suggeſtion, but only becauſe he had been releaſed from Priſon without further Sufferings. *Euſebius* being offended with ſo rude a Carriage, roſe up and diſſolved the Meeting for that Time, ſaying, *If when you come hither you take Liberty to talk at this rate againſt us, it gives Ground to ſuſpect the Charge of your Accuſers may be true; for if you exerciſe ſuch Tyranny here, what will you do in your own Country?*

Hence the Biſhops were ſummoned by the Emperor's Letters to go ſtraight to *Jeruſalem*, and ſolemnize the Dedication of a famous Church built there by him in the Place of our Saviour's Reſurrection, which wanted nothing of Ornament or Magnificence that Art or Coſt could beſtow upon it: Here they were met by Multitudes flocking thither from other Parts to behold this Solemnity, and were received by Perſons of great Honour ſent by the Emperor to entertain them at his Coſt. It was celebrated with magnificent Feaſting, and other great Expreſſions of Joy; with the Exerciſe of a liberal Charity to the Poor, and eſpecially with great Piety towards God: The Biſhops being ſeverally engaged in the Offices of Religion, *viz.* in ſolemn Prayers, Sermons, and celebrating the Euchariſt. But herein none bore a greater Part than

than our *Euſebius*, who honoured the Solemnity, not only by his verbal Orations, but by ſetting forth in Writing the Greatneſs of the royal Edifice in a particular Book, which was annexed to his Account of the *Life of Conſtantine*; but this *Appendix* is now loſt.

In the Time of this Celebration, *Athanaſius* had made his Addreſs to the Emperor, complaining of unjuſt Proceedings againſt him at *Tyre*: Whereupon the Emperor ſummoned thoſe Biſhops to *Conſtantinople*, to give an Account thereof. They accordingly went, and our *Euſebius* among them, who there made an Oration in Praiſe of *Conſtantine*, at the ſolemnizing of his *Tricennalia*, it being now about the Thirtieth Year of his Reign.

Here was likewiſe heard the Caſe of *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Ancyra*, the Metropolis of *Galatia*, who had written againſt *Aſterias*, a Defender of *Arianiſm*; and had therein deſignedly, or by Surprize, run into the Errors of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, affirming, *That our Saviour was a mere Man, and had no Perſonal Exiſtence before his Incarnation, but lay quieſcent in the Mind and Will of the Father, as a Word does in the Mind of a Man, till by actual ſpeaking he brings it forth.* This Book he had preſented, with many flattering Addreſſes, to the Emperor, who referred the Examination of it to the Biſhops of this Council. They having conſidered the ſame, depoſed *Marcellus*, and ſubſtituted one *Baſil*, a learned and eloquent Perſon, in his room, ordering his Book to be burnt whereever it ſhould be found.

They alſo appointed *Euſebius* to confute it; which he accordingly did, in five Books, written againſt *Marcellus*: In the two firſt, he diſcovers his

his Notions out of his Writings; and in the three following Books, intituled, *Eccleſiaſtick Theology*, is contained a Refutation of them. More particularly in rhe firſt Book he explains the Faith of the Church, rejecting the Errors of the *Ebionites*, *Paulinites*, *Sabellians* and *Arians*: After this he ſhews, *That* Marcellus *is guilty of the* Sabellian *Hereſy, and proves by thirty Arguments drawn from Scripture, that the Word is a Perſon ſubſiſting of himſelf, and diſtinguiſhed from the Perſon of the Father.*

The Great *Conſtantine* was ſoon after ſeized with a light Indiſpoſition, which quickly grew up to an incurable Diſeaſe; for which he was firſt carried to the Baths, and thence removed to *Nicomedia*, where immediately he cauſed himſelf to be baptized, being clothed, as the Cuſtom was, in a white Garment, from which Time he would never ſuffer any Purple to come upon him.

After this he made his Will, and ſettled the Affairs of the Empire; and being greatly ſatisfied in what he had done, and longing for the State he expected, he expired in his Palace at *Nicomedia*, on *May* the 22d, in the Year of our Lord 337. about the 65th Year of his Age, when he had reigned thirty Years and ten Months, being univerſally lamented by the Subjects of the Empire of all Ranks and Qualities. *Conſtantius*, the youngeſt of his three Sons, and his Succeſſor in the *Eaſt*, firſt arriving, cauſed the Corps, with all due Pomp, to be removed from *Nicomedia* to *Conſtantinople*, where he was with univerſal Sorrow interred, in the Church he had in his Life-time built to the Honour of the Apoſtles.

He was a Prince of a generous Mind, undaunted Courage, and indefatigable Induſtry: He was very learned himſelf, and a great Patron of Learning in others; and, which is above all, he was very devout and pious, being mighty zealous for the Honour of God, and the Intereſt of Religion, from his firſt Converſion to *Chriſtianity*. But I ſhall not attempt any particular Account of his Character, this being ſo fully deſcribed with great Eloquence by our *Euſebius*, who beſt knew him, in a Book written *concerning the Life of* Conſtantine, and annexed to the End of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*.

Euſebius lived not many Years after his ſo much honoured and beloved Patron, but made his own Exit (*A. D.* 340.) a little before the Death of the younger *Conſtantine*, and was ſucceeded in his See by *Acacius*, one of his Scholars. This his Succeſſor wrote his Life, which had it been preſerved would have given us a better Repreſentation of him; nor need we have been then beholden, as we are now, to the Pens of ſo many that had but little Kindneſs for him.

He was a Man ſober and ſerious, and exceeding zealous for the Honour and Intereſt of the *Chriſtian* Religion, which he readily and ſtrenuouſly defended againſt all Oppoſers. That he was a Perſon of ſingular Learning his greateſt Adverſaries have always confeſt; and the many excellent Books he has left to ſucceeding Ages, beſides a great Number that are loſt, are an abundant Proof thereof. He was mightily verſed in Antiquity, and had great Opportunities to furniſh himſelf with the Monuments thereof: For all the publick Records were ſearched by the Order of

Con

Peter shews **Christ** *the* **Fig-Tree** *which was*
dried up according to his Curse upon it.

MARK. 11. 21.

Conſtantine, as St. *Jerom* informs us, to ſupply him with a compleat Account of the Martyrs that had ſuffered, and under whom they confirmed *Chriſtianity* by Martyrdom.

A great Outcry hath been raiſed againſt him, becauſe of his continual ſiding with the *Arian* Party againſt the Orthodox, and for his own doubtful Expreſſions concerning that Matter; which made St. *Jerom* not ſcruple to call him the *Head of the Arians*. It muſt be confeſt, he had great Intimacy with ſome of the Chief of that Party: His frequent Attendance at Court, and in all eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, engaging him frequently to keep them company, whoſe Principles perhaps he thought not ſo bad as others apprehended them to be. Nor can it be denied, that there are ſeveral unwarrantable Expreſſions in his Writings. But we need not wonder that one who had ſo long converſed with the Writings of the Philoſophers, eſpecially thoſe of the *Platoniſts*, ſhould expreſs himſelf ſomething different from others in ſuch intricate Matters, eſpecially while the Church had given no explicit Determination thereof.

I doubt not but a large and ſufficient Apology may be framed out of his own Writings to prove him no *Arian*, he expreſly therein affirming, *that* Jeſus Chriſt *is the Natural Son of God, and God of himſelf; and that he is the only begotten Son of the Father, by a Generation before all Worlds, wherein he received the Fulneſs of the Godhead from him.* He accounts it Blaſphemy in *Marcellus to make God the Word different in Power and Eſſence from the Father.* If he at any Time ſpeaks of the Father as *the only True God*, he himſelf explains it in his Book againſt *Marcellus*, to mean only, as the

Father is the *firſt in Order*; in which Senſe he obſerves that *Chriſt* himſelf ſays, *That they may know thee the only true God*; and many other Expreſſions of this kind are to be found in his Writings. Nor wanted he Defenders at that very Time when the Clamour was greateſt againſt him; particularly *Socrates* has a whole Chapter wherein he apologizes for him, and proves him clear from the *Arian* Opinions.

The Life of St. *ATHANASIUS*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*.

Alexandria, a City pleaſantly ſituated in a ſerene and healthful Air, had been, during the Line of the *Ptolemys*, the Seat of the Kings of *Egypt*, and was afterwards the Metropolis of the Province, and Seat of the chief Governer when under the *Roman* Power. It was famous for its Riches, Populouſneſs, Schools of Learning, and eminent Profeſſors; and no leſs renowned for being the native City, as of ſeveral other eminent Fathers, ſo of *Athanaſius* in particular, a Perſon of illuſtrious Note in the Hiſtory of the Church. Here was he born about the End of the Third Century, of Parents whoſe Names are not convey'd to us by the Antients; but they are ſaid to be peculiarly eminent for Piety and Virtue, of both which he may after a ſort be counted their Heir, who, among all their Children, was the only Survivor of them.

Ruffinus

Ruffinus tells us a Story, that *Athanaſius* with ſeveral other Youths in their Play, acted the Parts of Eccleſiaſtick Officers; wherein *Athanaſius* excelling the reſt, perhaps both in Parts and Years, perſonated the Biſhop; and that ſome Boys were baptized by him, whoſe Baptiſm he tells us was approved by *Alexander* then Biſhop of *Alexandria*, as valid. And that he therefore ordered that they ſhould not be baptized again, and from that Time took care of his Education, as deſigning him to be his Succeſſor in the See of *Alexandria*. But this Story, as is well remarked by *Du Pin*, and others, paſſes amongſt the Learned for a Fable rather than a true Relation. But however that be, 'tis certain that *Athanaſius* was educated under this Biſhop, who took him into his Family, uſed him as his Secretary, or *Amanuenſis*, and imploy'd him in reading to him, and writing for him, and afterward ordained him a Deacon in his Church. And finding him a Man of Sincerity, as well as of brisk Parts, and of a vigorous Zeal, he admitted him to his private Councils, and took him as his Companion when he went to the famous Synod of *Nice*, where, in all his Conteſts with *Arius*, he acquitted himſelf as an able Champion of the Catholick Cauſe.

This being the chief Tranſaction of his Life, it is needful for the better underſtanding thereof, to derive this Matter from the Fountain-head, and look back to the Time of *Peter*'s being Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who ſucceeded *Theonus* in that See, about the Year 300. This Biſhop was under the *Dioclefian* Perſecution caſt into Priſon, with many more of eminent Note, among whom was *Miletius*, Biſhop of *Lycus* in *Thebais*, a Perſon next to *Peter*,

Peter, of greateſt Authority and Power. Several, through the Severity of this Perſecution, renounced the Faith, and complied with the *Gentile* Rites: Who afterwards repenting, deſired to be re-admitted into the *Chriſtian* Communion; to which *Miletius* would by no means yield, pleading, *That ſuch Lenity would open a Door to Apoſtacy*. But *Peter* was for more gentle Methods, and aſſerted, that after a ſufficient Time of Repentance they might be admitted again; and when this Matter could not be accommodated between them by Arguments, he hung up his Mantle croſs the Priſon, crying out, *Let thoſe that are for me come on this Side, and thoſe that are for* Miletius *go on that Side*; which ſo widened the Breach, that ever after they met apart, keeping, in all Acts of Divine Worſhip, their ſeparate Aſſemblies. After this *Miletius* himſelf is ſaid to be overcome by Temptation to offer Sacrifice to Idols, and ſo needed that Mercy he denied to others; for which, and his ſchiſmatical Proceedings, he he was depoſed by *Peter*, and other Biſhops, from his Epiſcopal Dignity. *Peter* quickly after was martyr'd for the Faith, but *Miletius* getting out of Priſon, ſtill maintained his Dignity as Biſhop, and carried on the Schiſm, exclaiming againſt *Peter* and his Adherents, as having done him great Wrong in their Proceedings againſt him.

Arius, a *Lybian* by Birth, was one of thoſe that ſided with *Miletius* in the aforeſaid Schiſm, being a Man of a ſubtle Wit, and of a turbulent and unquiet Temper, though he carried it under a ſpecious Pretence of Sanctity. He indeed for ſome Time had deſerted this Party, and was made a Deacon by *Peter* of *Alexandria*; but afterward diſliking,

diſliking, and oppoſing his Proceedings with *Miletius*, he was expelled out of the Church. A little before *Peter*'s Sufferings, he much ſolicited to be again reſtored; but *Peter* knew him too well to conſent thereto; being alſo, as it is ſaid in the Acts of his Martyrdom, forbidden to receive him by a Viſion from Heaven. But *Achillas* Presbyter of *Alexandria*, ſucceeding *Peter* in that See, being a Man grave and pious, but of a more eaſy Diſpoſition than his Predeceſſor, was ſo far prevailed with by *Arius*, that upon his Profeſſion of Repentance he was not only reſtored, but made by him a Presbyter in the Church; and afterwards, ſays an antient Writer, he advanced him to be Regent of the Catechetick School of that City.

But *Achillas* being removed in a little Time by Death, *Alexander* ſucceeded him, who was a Man highly eſteemed, both by the Clergy and People, for his Piety, Juſtice, Candor, Kindneſs and Charity to the Poor. Only *Arius* ſecretly reſented this Election, being offended that one to whom he thought himſelf not inferior, ſhould be preferred before him, which is generally thought to be the Occaſion of his ſubſequent Innovrtions in the *Chriſtian* Church. He ſtill continued in his Pariſh Cure, and by Degrees vented his heretical Notions, as did ſome others of the ſame Mind with him. *Alexander* remained ignorant of this for ſome Time, and therefore had a good Eſteem for him, till, as 'tis ſaid, *Miletius*, who was ſound in the Faith, though ſchiſmatical in Practice, came and informed him thereof, and deſired that ſome Stop might be put to this Miſchief.

But it is more probably related by *Socrates*, that at a certain Time *Alexander* freely diſcourſing with ſome

ſome of his Presbyters concerning the Holy Trinity, affirmed, that in the *Trinity* there was a perfect *Unity*; which *Arius* preſently laid hold of, as ſuppoſing he meant it in a *Sabellian* Senſe. Whereupon he oppoſed him, and therein ran into the contrary Extreme, arguing, *That if the Father begot the Son, he had a Beginning of Subſiſtence; and conſequently there was a Time when the Son was not, and that therefore he was produced out of Nothing.* The Controverſy being thus unhappily ſtarted, ingaged many on both Sides; to allay which *Alexander* procured ſeveral Meetings to inquire into it by fair Diſcourſes, wherein himſelf was Moderator; but at length he poſitively declared againſt the Errors of *Arius.*

Furthermore, *Conſtantine* the Emperor plainly affirms the firſt Cauſe of this Controverſy to have been a vain and unjuſtifiable Curioſity, in diſcourſing of theſe profound Myſteries, in his Letter to both *Alexander* the Biſhop, and *Arius* the Presbyter, related by *Euſebius* in the Life of *Conſtantine: We underſtand,* ſays he, *that the preſent Controverſy aroſe from hence, That you,* Alexander, *inquired of your Presbyters what each Perſon's Sentiments was of a particular Paſſage of Scripture, or rather, you demanded their Opinion concerning a frivolous Queſtion. And you,* Arius, *raſhly expreſſed that which you ſhould not have thought; or if you thought it, ought to have concealed in Silence: and hereupon a Diſſenſion is raiſed, and Church-Communion violated. Wherefore,* as he adds, *let both of you accept the Advice of your Fellow-ſervant in pardoning each other, ſeeing it was fit that either no ſuch Queſtion ſhould be asked, or if asked, that no Return ſhould be made thereunto.*

'Tis

'Tis needful before we proceed further in this Story, to fix the Notion of *Arius*'s Principles; which I ſhall endeavour to do, not merely from his Adverſaries, but from his own Words, as we have them in ſome Remains of his Epiſtles and Writings, wherein he affirms, *That God was before he was a Father; that he was before the Son, not only in order of Nature, but of Time. That the Son, though begotten by him, has not the ſame Eſſence, Power and Glory with him. That he is not at all Partaker of his Nature, or exiſting in his Eſſence, but altogether different in Nature and Power, though formed according to the perfect Likeneſs of him.* He further ſays, That *what Subſiſtence the Son had from Eternity, was by the Will and Counſel of God; that he is a God by Conſtitution, and as the Father imparts ſome Divinity to him; and that he was made, created, and eſtabliſhed, though in a more ſublime and myſterious Way than any other Part of the Creation.* 'Tis probable that *Arius* derived theſe Notions from the latter *Platoniſts*, who at this Time governed the Schools of *Alexandria*, and had, in Spite to the *Chriſtians*, departed from the antient Opinions of *Plato*, as coming too near the Doctrines of *Chriſtianity*.

Theſe miſchievous Opinions *Arius* promoted by Diſcourſes and Writings, which were greedily entertained by many who were of unſtable Minds, and inclined to Novelties, and Things above their Underſtandings. He not only diligently preached theſe Errors in his Church, but diffuſed the Venom of them in all publick Meetings and Conferences, and in private Houſes, gaining by crafty Inſinuations many Proſelytes to his Doctrine. *Alexander* the Biſhop having treated him with all

prudent and gentle Methods, and finding he could not be wrought on by Acts of Kindneſs, at length ſummoned a Synod of all the Biſhops under his Juriſdiction, who meeting at *Alexandria*, upon the Examination of the Matter, condemned his Doctrine, depoſed him from his miniſterial Office, and expelled him, with nine of his Adherents, out of the Church. This was ſo far from putting a Stop to him, that he proceeded with more Life and Vigour than before in promoting his Errors, running up and down, both in City and Country, and filling all Places with Clamours againſt *Alexander*, and the Synodical Cenſures. To advance his Reputation abroad, he wrote Letters to ſeveral of the moſt noted Biſhops of the *Eaſt*, to whom he ſo repreſented his Notions and Affairs, and put ſo plauſible a Colour on his Cauſe, that ſome of them oppenly appeared in his Behalf; and moſt of them wrote to *Alexander*, and mediated a Reconciliation, which *Arius* pretended was his greateſt Deſire.

Theſe Proceedings made *Alexander* think it neceſſary to give a more publick Account of this Matter, and therefore he ſent a State of the Caſe in Writing to moſt of the *Eaſtern* Biſhops. His Letter to *Alexander* Biſhop of *Byzantium* is yet extant; wherein he firſt complains, *That* Arius *and his Party had by ill Arts introduced an impious Hereſy into the Church, as deſtructive to the Deity of the Son of God, as the Doctrines of either* Jews *or* Gentiles. And that *not being contented with this, they began to promote an open Sedition, making uſe of their ſeduced Women to propagate their Faction; yea, and to prefer Indictments againſt him, their Biſhop, before the Civil Magiſtrate.* Then

Then *he expoſes the Impiety of their Principles, and confutes them with much Clearneſs; and withal ſtates the Catholick Doctrine in this Point.* And finally, having ſhewed *the Original of theſe erroneous Doctrines,* and complained of *their Reproaches and Slanders againſt him and his Party, he gives an Account of his Faith*; and cautions the Biſhop to whom he writes, *to take heed that he did not countenance them who had been ſo regularly expelled out of the Church.* This is a brief Compendium of that long Letter, which though particularly directed to that Biſhop, was deſigned, as appears by ſome Paſſages in it, for a more general Uſe, and that Copies thereof ſhould be ſent to ſeveral other Biſhops, as doubtleſs they were.

Euſebius, who had been ſometime Biſhop of *Berytus,* and thence tranſlated to *Nicomedia,* was one of the Chief to whom *Arius* addreſſed himſelf, as being a principal Champion for his Cauſe. *Nicomedia* being then the Seat of the *Eaſtern* Emperors, gave him a fair Opportunity to ingratiate himſelf with the great Miniſters of State, and to render himſelf conſiderable at Court. He was a Man of Parts and Learning, of a ſubtle Wit and daring Temper, and had been one of *Lucina*'s chief Scholars, who promoted the Errors of *Paul* of *Samoſata* againſt the Deity of our Saviour, with Additions of his own. To him *Arius* directs a Letter, wherein he ſalutes him with the Titles of, *His moſt deſirable Lord, the Man of God, the Faithful and Orthodox* Euſebius. In the Epiſtle he complains of *Alexander*'s Proceedings as ſevere and unjuſt, deſiring his Favour, and Mindfulneſs of theſe his Troubles, which his Zeal for Truth had brought upon him. *Euſebius* being ready to pa-

tronize this Cauſe, writes once and again to *Alexander* in his Behalf, magiſterially requiring him to releaſe *Arius* from his Excommunication, and to reſtore him to Communion, as one whoſe Opinions were ſound and orthodox. He alſo wrote to *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre*, blaming him for his Silence and Neglect; and preſs'd him to write to *Alexander*, hoping his Interceſſion might prevail. And being diſpleaſed that all theſe Importunities proved ineffectual, he called a Synod of the *Bithynian* Biſhops, by whom Letters were written to others in Favour of *Arius*, perſuading them to uſe their Intereſt with *Alexander* for his Reſtoration. But the good Man ſtill remained as firm as a Rock againſt all their Attempts.

Arius being puffed up with the Interpoſure of ſo many powerful Interceſſors, grew more arrogant, and boaſted of his great Alliances, and the Number of thoſe that conſented with him, ſhewing the Letters that had been written to him, and in his Behalf, and deſpiſed his Adverſaries as ſimple and illiterate Perſons. To repreſs his Inſolence, *Alexander* found it neceſſary to convene a ſecond Synod at *Alexandria*, in which met near a hundred Biſhops out of *Egypt* and *Lybia*, who ſolemnly excommunicatted both him and all his Adherents, declaring them *fallen from the Catholick Faith, and cut off from the* Chriſtian *Church*. Of theſe Proceedings *Alexander* preſently publiſhed an Account, and alſo wrote a more general Epiſtle to all the Biſhops and Governors of the Church, therein complaining of thoſe that encouraged *Arius* in his Hereſy, particularly of *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*; cautioning them not to regard any Thing he had written in that Heretick's Behalf.

And

And having nominated thoſe who were excommunicated with *Arius*, he enumerates their groſs Aſſertions, with a Confutation of them from many Scriptures: And then he concludes as follows; *Since therefore our Lord and Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt *and his Apoſtles, have forwarned us of theſe Matters, we who were Ear-witneſſes of thoſe Mens Impieties, have juſtly condemned them, and declared them ſeparate from the Catholick Church and Faith. This, dear and honoured Brethren, we thought meet to ſignify to your Piety, that you may neither receive them if they ſhould have the Confidence to come to you; nor give Credit to* Euſebius, *or any other who may write on their Behalf: For it becomes us as* Chriſtians *to avoid all that ſpeak againſt* Chriſt, *as Enemies to God, and Deſtroyers of Souls, and not ſo much as* bid them God ſpeed, leſt we be made Partakers of their evil Deeds, *as St.* John *has charged us.* This Epiſtle was ſubſcribed by many Presbyters and Deacons of *Alexandria*, and other Provinces, and among the reſt by *Athanaſius*.

Soon after this Sentence of the Synod, *Arius* thought it neceſſary to leave *Alexandria*; and firſt retired into *Paleſtine*, applying himſelf to the Biſhops there, with all poſſible inſinuations to gain their Friendſhip; by ſome of whom he was received, and by others rejected. And after ſome Letters had followed him from *Alexander*, all grew more ſhy of his Company; whereupon he betook himſelf to his great Patron at *Nicomedia*, and there found a hearty Welcome. Being here, he attempted again by a Letter to reconcile himſelf to his own Biſhop, by explaining his Principles, and avoiding what he thought might moſt expoſe them. This Letter was ſubſcribed by *Arius*, and

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thoſe that were condemned with him in the late Synod; wherein they ſeem at firſt to ſmooth over Things with a plauſible Gloſs, and to uſe Terms contrived to hide their Meaning, but in fine plainly declare, *That the Son is neither Eternal, nor Coeſſential with the Father, but that God was before the Son.*

Thus Things continued till *Conſtantine* came to *Nicomedia*, and intending a further Journey into the *Eaſt*, was advertiſed of the Diſſenſions at *Alexandria*. The good Emperor being greatly troubled at this unhappy News, wrote jointly to *Alexander* and *Arius*, earneſtly perſuading them to lay aſide their nice Controverſies; and that ſince they agree in the main Duties and Principles of *Chriſtianity*, they would return to mutual Love and Charity, and not tear in Pieces and deſtroy the Peace of the Church. He preſſed them at leaſt to have ſome Regard to his Eaſe and Quiet: *Reſtore*, ſays he, *my calm and peaceable Days and Nights, that hereafter the Comforts and Pleaſures of a quiet Life may be my Portion, otherwiſe I ſhall ſpend my Days in Tears and Sorrow; for how ſhall I be able to bear up while my Brethren, the People of God, are rent aſunder by ſuch pernicious and ſcandalous Schiſms?* This Letter, Part of which we cited before, he ſent by *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* in *Spain*, who had been an eminent Confeſſor in the *Dioclefian* Perſecution, a Perſon highly eſteemed by *Conſtantine*, and now therefore conſtituted by him Umpire in theſe Differences. He being thus furniſhed with the Emperor's Letters, came to *Alexandria*; where it was agreed the Matter ſhould be again conſidered in a Synod, which was accordingly convened. But 'tis very probable that neither

neither the Care nor Authority of the Emperor, nor the Preſence of *Hoſius*, did much good, in that it was quickly thought needful to be referred to a more publick Determination.

For *Conſtantine*, upon *Hoſius*'s Return, finding all private Methods unſucceſsful, reſolved, for ſuppreſſing that, and ſome other Controverſies then on foot, to call in the Aſſiſtance of the whole *Chriſtian* Church; and therefore ſends his Letters to all Parts, commanding the Biſhops and Clergy to meet together at a Day appointed. Who upon the Reception of this Summons, immediately flocked out of all Provinces; ſo that *Euſebius* compares this Council to the great Apoſtolical Aſſembly met together on the Day of Pentecoſt *from every Nation under Heaven.*

The Place appointed for this Council was *Nice*, the Metropolis of *Bithynia*, in the ſame Province with *Nicomedia*, where the Emperor then kept his Court. Hither came 318 Biſhops, beſides a numerous Company of Presbyters, Deacons, and inferior Orders; which Number has been moſt generally agreed to by the Suffrage of all Ages. The Members of this vaſt Aſſembly were all brought thither in Carriages, and maintained while there at the Emperor's Charge.

They met on *June* 19, 225. in the great Hall of the Palace, as the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians generally agree; where, before their ſolemn Convention in Council, the Biſhops ſpent ſome Time in preliminary Diſcourſes. Therein they were firſt attacked by certain ſubtle Philoſophers, whom either Curioſity had invited thither, or, as ſome ſuſpect, *Arius* had brought to entangle the Proceedings of the Synod. One of theſe priding himſelf

ſelf in his Eloquence, reflected with Scorn upon the Fathers of the Council; but an old Confeſſor among them, being a plain Man, and unskilful in the Methods of Diſputing, bluntly accoſted him after the following Manner.

In the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, *Philoſopher, give ear. There is one God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all Things viſible and inviſible, who created all theſe Things by the Power of his Word, and eſtabliſhed them by his Holy Spirit. This Word, which we call the Son of God, pitying the Miſery of Mankind, condeſcended to be born of a Woman, to reſide among Men, and to die for them; who ſhall alſo come to ſit as Judge upon whatever we do in this Life. Theſe Things we firmly believe; ſtrive not therefore in vain to confute what we entertain by Faith, or find out how Things may, or may not be, but anſwer me whether thou doſt believe?*

The Philoſopher amazed at the Zeal and Plainneſs of the old Man's Diſcourſe, acknowledged himſelf to be convinced, and perſuaded his Companions to believe alſo; yea, he thanked his Conqueror, ſolemnly affirming, that it was by an unſpeakable Power and Direction of Heaven that he thus became a *Chriſtian*.

But they were chiefly intent upon the *Arian* Controverſy, frequently calling for *Arius* before them. They debated his Propoſitions, and diligently weighed what was capable to be ſaid on both Sides, that ſo nothing might be raſhly determined. This Freedom of Debates produced Multitudes of Queſtions, and various Counſels; ſome adviſing that no Innovations ſhould be made in Matters of Faith, but that it ſhould ſtill be received in that naked Simplicity wherewith, from

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the Beginning, it had been delivered to the Church. But others contended that Times and Circumſtances altered Things, and that we ought not implicitely to follow the Opinions of the Antients, without due Trial and Examination.

Theſe Debates were managed with much Warmth both by thoſe of the Epiſcopal and thoſe of inferior Orders. Among the former none appeared with greater Zeal than *Alexander*, who was more immediately concerned; and among the latter none behaved himſelf with more Smartneſs and Accuracy than *Athanaſius*, who was then Deacon of the Church at *Alexandria*. He with all Boldneſs and Vehemence oppoſed the *Arian* Principles; for which as the *Egyptian* Biſhops in their Synodical Epiſtle relate, that Party never forgave him, transferring their Pique from *Alexander* to him.

When they had ended their preliminary Skirmiſhes, and the Biſhops were met in the Palace, the Emperor came amongſt them, not attended as was uſual with his military Guards, but with Perſons eminent for their Faith and Piety. He paſſed through the ſeveral Ranks on each Side, to the upper End of the Hall; and being deſired by the Biſhops, ſate down in a Chair there placed for him. After which the Fathers took their Places, and when ſome of them had entertained him with Speeches, Silence was made, and the Emperor made his to the following Effect.

He told them, "That he had deſired nothing "more than to ſee this venerable Aſſembly, for "which Sight he heartily bleſt God. That ſince "God had delivered them from Tyranny and "Slavery, he earneſtly deſired they might be for "the future preſerved from inteſtine Diviſions

" in the Church; which grieved him more than " all other Things. *He added*, That having con- " quered his Enemies, he hoped he ſhould have " had nothing to do but to praiſe the Divine " Goodneſs; but being ſuddenly ſurprized with " the ungrateful News of their Diſſenſions, he " had therefore called them together to find out " Remedies for healing theſe Diviſions, and to " eſtabliſh Peace and Amity; to which, *he told* " *them*, they were peculiarly obliged as Perſons " conſecrated to God. By this, *ſays he*, you will " do what is moſt acceptable to the Divine Ma- " jeſty, and what will exceedingly gratify me " your Fellow-ſervant."

And it was not without very great Reaſon that this pious Emperor ſo pathetically exhorted them to Peace, having received from them many Libels of Accuſations, which he had bound up in a Bundle, putting his own Seal upon them. *Theſe*, he gravely told them, *ought to be referred to the Judgment of the Great Day, and not to come before human Judicatures, a Liableneſs to which Perſons in holy Offices ſhould diligently avoid.*

Then having earneſtly exhorted them to forgive one another, and that laying aſide all private Differences, they would apply themſelves to defend the common Faith for which they were convened, he threw the Bundle into the Fire, ſolemnly proteſting, He had hot read one Word thereof. He then told them, that the Faults of Prieſts ought not to be publiſhed to the Scandal of the People, who might hereby take Encouragement to ſin the more boldly.

The Council immediately fell upon the *Arian* Controverſy, and firſt examined the Proceedings of the

the Synod at *Alexandria*, and then cauſed the Doctrines and Propoſitions of *Arius* to be read out of his own Writings: At the hearing whereof the Fathers ſtopt their Ears, declaring them Heretical and Blaſphemous. Things were at firſt argued with much Heat on both Sides, 17 Biſhops appearing in Favour of the *Arian* Cauſe, and ſome few perhaps did not declare themſelves.

The good Emperor heard all with much Patience, and ſat as a publick Moderator between them, readily aſſenting to whatever appeared juſt and reaſonable; but when any ſeemed obſtinate, he endeavoured to reclaim them by gentle Methods, and ſought to reduce all to Love and Peace. The *Arians*, by *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, brought an Account of their Faith in Writing, which *Euſtathius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, one of the Council, calls vile and impious, and tells us it was no ſooner read but it was generally rejected, and immediately torn in Peices before them all.

Another Confeſſion was produced by *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, the Matter of which was generally approved; but it was not judged ſufficiently expreſs and plain, becauſe of the ſubtile Evaſions which the *Arians* made uſe of, endeavouring by ambiguous Words and Phraſes to hide their Meaning.

They profeſt to allow *Chriſt* to be God as well as the Orthodox, but then they meant it only in that Senſe in which Angels and Men are ſometimes ſaid to be *Gods*, and *the Sons of God*, in Scripture. It was therefore generally agreed in the Council, that the true Senſe of Scripture denotes *Chriſt the Son of God to be of the ſame Subſtance and Eſſence with the Father*; which Senſe they therefore con-

cluded was fitly ſum'd up in the *Greek* Word *Homoouſios*, implying him to be *conſubſtantial* or *coeſſential* with the Father.

Hereupon they determined to expreſs their Belief by that Confeſſion which has ever ſince been called the *Nicene Creed*, being drawn up by *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*, and highly approved both by the Council and the Emperor, which we have before rehearſed in the Life of *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea*.

Having thus condemned *Arius*'s Doctrine, they proceeded next to cenſure his Perſon, depoſing and excommunicating both him and his Followers, and forbad him to enter *Alexandria* where he had ſo plentifully ſown his Tares. The Abettors of *Arius* at firſt ſtood off, and conſented not to theſe Decrees; but fearing the Emperor's Diſpleaſure, and being alſo adviſed to it by their great Patronneſs *Conſtantia* the Emperor's Siſter, they at laſt ſubſcribed to the Confeſſion of Faith, though not to the Depoſing of *Arius*.

Philoſtorgius, their own Hiſtorian tells us, they made their Subſcriptions with Deceit, and reſerved their own Senſe to themſelves. There were but two that refuſed utterly to ſubſcribe, one of whom came not long after to *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, and bluntly told him; Euſebius, *you have ſubſcribed only to prevent Baniſhment, but I truſt God you will, notwithſtanding this, be baniſhed within a Twelve-month*; which fell out accordingly.

When the Council had thus done their Parts, the Emperor was not wanting in his, for he commanded *Arius* and his condemned Aſſociates to be immediately baniſhed, who were accordingly tranſmitted

mitted into *Illyricum*, the Place appointed for their Exile.

And then by another Edict, directed to both Clergy and People, he compares *Arius* to *Porphyry*, for his Oppoſition to the *Chriſtian* Religion; and orders, that henceforward he and his Party ſhould be called *Porphyrians*.

He alſo ſtrictly commanded, that wherever any Book or Writing of *Arius* ſhould be found, it ſhould be committed to the Flames; declaring alſo, that if any one ſhould conceal any ſuch Book of *Arius*, and not offer it to be burnt, he ſhould be put to Death.

Several Letters of this Nature *Conſtantine* wrote againſt him, treating him therein with all imaginable Sharpneſs and Severity.

In this Council was alſo determined the Caſe of *Meletius*, the *Egyptian* Biſhop, who had made a Schiſm among the *African* Churches. And in the Iſſue they confined him to his own City, allowing him the Title of Biſhop, but without any Epiſcopal Power either in City or Country. They alſo put an End to the old Controverſy about *Eaſter*, determining it ſhould hereafter be kept in all Places on the Lord's Day, after the Time of the *Jewiſh* Paſſover.

Having finiſhed their Debates, they, as was uſual, gave publick Notice of the Tranſactions of the Council, eſpecially to the Churches whom it more immediately concerned. Particularly a Letter was ſent to the Church of *Alexandria*, and to the Biſhops of thoſe Parts, in the Name of the whole Synod, ſignifying, among other Things, *That they had condemned the ungodly Principles and Expreſſions of* Arius, *as that* the Son of God ſprang

out

out of Nothing, *and that* there was a Time when he was not; *and that* according to the Freedom of his Will he is capable of Vice and Virtue. And in ſhort, *all their other Aſſertions, who ſcrupled not to call the Son of God only a Creature, and the Workmanſhip of God.*

This Synodical Epiſtle was followed by another from the Emperor, wherein he tells them, *He looked upon it as one of the greateſt Bleſſings of the Divine Providence, that Truth had ſo glorioufly triumphed over Error, and that the evil Doctrines of* Arius (whom he ſtiles *the ſhameleſs Miniſter of the Devil*) *were carefully examined and rejected.*

When theſe Matters were thus ſucceſsfully finiſhed, the Emperor invited the Biſhops to a publick Dinner, it being the preſent Solemnity of his *Vicennalia*, ſhewing a particular Eſteem and Reverence to thoſe that had loſt an Eye for their conſtant Adherence to the Faith in a Time of Perſecution. After Dinner he loaded them with Gifts according to their Merits, and the Dignity of ſo great a Prince, preſſing them to maintain an Uniformity in the Faith, and Peace among themſelves; and alſo earneſtly requeſted their daily Prayers for him and his Children, and for the Proſperity of the Empire: Then they mutually took Leave one of another, every Man preparing for his Journey home.

Thus ended this Great and Firſt General Council, after they had ſat about two Months, beginning *June* 19. and breaking up about the latter End of *Auguſt*. Within about three Months after the Synod was ended, *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* of *Nice*, notwithſtanding their politick Diſſimulation at the Council, having

ing now diſcovered themſelves, were ſent the ſame Way with *Arius*, being baniſhed by the Emperor's Command.

Alexander Biſhop of *Alexandria*, died within about five Months after his Return from the Synod; whereupon *Athanaſius* was, by the univerſal Suffrage both of the Clergy and People, choſen his Succeſſor, notwithſtanding his Youth, being probably then but about 28 Years of Age. This was a great Poſt; for to be Biſhop of *Alexandria*, was, as *Nazianzen* ſpeaks, in Effect to be Biſhop of the whole World; and accordingly the Acts and Sufferings of *Athanaſius*, in that Station, make up almoſt the entire Story of the Age.

As his Advancement to the See of *Alexandria* was to the great Joy of the Catholicks, ſo it was to the no leſs Grief and Vexation of the *Arians*. They knew his acute Parts, and great Zeal againſt their Errors, while only in a private Capacity; and therefore concluded they would appear much more now he was placed in ſo eminent a Station. Wherefore they reſolved to unite all their Powers againſt him; and to ſtrengthen their Intereſt, drew in the *Miletians*, who were a numerous Party, and though Schiſmaticks in Practice, yet Orthodox in their Principles, and therefore of good Reputation among the People.

The firſt Thing attempted was, to get *Arius* releaſed from his Baniſhment; which they ſoon accompliſhed, as is plainly intimated in the Petition and Retractation of his two great Patrons, *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* of *Nice*. Herein they repreſent, *That they had hitherto ſubmiſſively acquieſced in the Judgment which his Majeſty had paſſed on them; but leſt their Silence ſhould*

argue

argue their Guilt, they now declared their Agreement to the Faith; and that having diligently examin'd the Word Conſubſtantial, *they alſo conſented thereunto:* And thus, *for the Peace and Quiet of the Church, they had given all neceſſary Satisfaction by ſubſcribing the Creed, though they could not ſubſcribe the* Anathematiſm *againſt* Arius, *as not judging him guilty of what was charged upon him.*

They added, that *having done this, they did now again ratify their Conſent by this Libel, not ſo much becauſe they were weary of their Baniſhment, but rather as being deſirous to avoid all Suſpicion of Hereſy:* Telling him, *If they might be admitted into his Majeſty's Preſence, he would find them exactly agree with the Decrees of the* Nicene *Council: Which Favour they the rather hoped for, becauſe his Majeſty had been pleaſed to releaſe him that was accounted moſt criminal from Baniſhment, and had ſuffered him to vindicate himſelf from the Things charged upon him.* Upon this their Addreſs to the Emperor, the Sentence of Baniſhment was taken off, and they were reſtored to their Sees again.

No ſooner was *Euſebius* returned to *Nicomedia*, but he endeavoured to promote the *Arian* Cauſe, and to reſettle *Arius* at *Alexandria.* To this End he ſmoothly wrote to *Athanaſius*, to reſtore him to his Communion, though to others he threatned them if they ſhould refuſe. But the good Man equally diſregarding his Intreaties and his Menaces, ſent him Word, *That* Arius *being an Heretick, and condemned by the General Council, could not be readmitted.* This failing, *Arius* by crafty Inſinuations prevailed on the Emperor, who now looked on him as agreeing in Faith with the Church, to write in his Behalf to *Athanaſius.*

Conſtantine

Conſtantine hereupon poſitively commanded him *to ſet open the Church Doors to any that were willing to enter*; telling him, *That if he knew him to exclude any ſuch, he would immediately give Orders to diſplace him, and ſend him far enough off.* But *Athanaſius* being confident of the Goodneſs of his Cauſe, was not ſtartled at this ſevere Meſſage of the Emperor, and humbly remonſtrated in his Anſwer, *That the Catholick Church could not poſſibly hold Communion with thoſe Hereticks that plainly ſubvert the Divinity of our Saviour.*

Euſebius being diſappointed in both theſe Attempts, ſends to the *Miletians*; who, partly inſtigated by his Letters, and partly to ſollicite their own Cauſe, *viz.* the Reſtoration of their Churches, deputed three Biſhops of their Party to manage their Affairs at Court. Theſe, by *Euſebius*'s Advice, charged him with ſeditious Practices; but *Macarius*, and another Presbyter of *Alexandria* happening to be there, ſo ſatisfied the Emperor, that he condemned the Accuſers, but yet commanded *Athanaſius* to appear before him.

Euſebius ſtill perſuaded them to ſtand to the Cauſe; and they thereupon charged *Athanaſius* with no leſs than High-Treaſon, *That he had privately ſent a Cabinet of Gold to one* Philumenus, *to enable him to uſurp the Empire.* But *Athanaſius* appearing, gave the Emperor ſuch Satisfaction of his Innocency, that his Adverſaries were condemned, and himſelf not only acquitted, but honoured at his departure with the Emperor's Letter to *Alexandria*, declaring, *That he verily believed* Athanaſius *their Biſhop to be a Man of God, and a moſt worthy and venerable Perſon.*

Euſebius yet prevailing nothing againſt *Athanaſius* for the preſent, turned his Malice another way, *viz.* againſt *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who was a vehement Oppoſer of the *Arians*, and being in ſo eminent a Station, was capable of doing much againſt their Cauſe. Him he ſingles out, reſolving to hunt him down; and with the Aſſiſtance of *Theognis* he procured a Synod to be called at *Antioch*, where *Euſtathius* was not only charged with Heterodoxy in the Faith, but alſo it was backed with the Accuſation of Adultery, which they got confirmed by the Oath of a lewd Woman againſt him; ſo that the good Man was reproachfully condemned and thrown out of his See. And though ſome in the Council ſmelt the Knavery, and perſuaded *Euſtathius* not to ſubmit to the Sentence of Depoſition, yet his Enemies were too quick for him, having immediately aggravated the Matter to the Emperor, and ſo procured his Baniſhment.

This Buſineſs at *Antioch* being over, they now began again to bait *Athanaſius*, by Means of one *Iſchyras*, who had been cenſured by him as a Man of ill Morals, and withal, as uſurping Eccleſiaſtical Orders without being duly called thereto. Him *Euſebius* and his Accomplices encouraged by the Promiſe of a Biſhoprick, who thereupon framed Accuſations againſt *Athanaſius*, of cruel and tyrannical Actings.

And particularly they indicted him of Murder, in making away *Arſenius* a *Miletian* Biſhop, and a dead Man's Hand was produced as Evidence of the Fact. Whereupon the Emperor wrote to his Brother *Dalmatius* the Cenſor to take this Matter into Examination; who immediately diſpatched a Letter to *Athanaſius* to anſwer this Charge alledged againſt

JESUS sitteth down to eat among Publicans & sinners

MAT. 9. 10.

againſt him. The good Man, conſcious of his own Innocency, and the prodigious Malignity of the Fable, at firſt made light of it; but conſidering the Emperor had concerned himſelf therein, he thought it not ſafe wholly to neglect it.

Thereupon he wrote to the other Biſhops of his Dioceſs, and ſent a Deacon to enquire after *Arſenius*, whom, with Difficulty, he at length found alive and well. And thereupon he immediately ſent *Macarius*, one of his Deacons, with Letters to the Emperor, to give him a true Account of this Matter.

Conſtantine immediately commanded *Dalmatius* to ſtop the Proceſs; and wondering at the Impudence of his Accuſers, commanded them to depart from the Court. The Emperor alſo wrote a Letter to *Athanaſius*, letting him know *how careful he was to preſerve Juſtice, and his Delight in good and pious Men above all others, ſeverely cenſuring and threatning the* Miletians *for ſuch wicked Proceedings.* Which juſt Severity frighted them for the Preſent from the like Attempts againſt *Athanaſius.*

But *Euſebius* and his Party, loth to loſe ſuch uſeful Inſtruments, endeavoured to inſpire new Life into them, aſſuring them the Matter ſhould be heard in a Synod, where they doubted not to have the Aſcendant. To effect this, they prevailed upon the Emperor, under Pretence of dedicating his new Buildings at *Jeruſalem*, to call a Synod at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine.* Hither *Athanaſius* refuſed to come; which was ſo improved againſt him, that the Emperor being exaſperated, appointed another to be held at *Tyre*, ſummoning eſpecially ſuch Biſhops as the *Euſebians* had recommended to

him, and commanding *Athanaſius* at his Peril to appear.

This Synod accordingly met, conſiſting of ſixty Biſhops of the *Eaſt*, beſides forty-ſeven that came with *Athanaſius* out of *Egypt*, probably not formally ſummoned, but to give him an honourable Attendance. The Emperor appointed *Dionyſius*, a Man of Conſular Dignity, to preſide as his Commiſſioner in this Synod, and wrote himſelf to them to this Effect: *That they would uſe their utmoſt Endeavour to heal the Breaches of the Church's Peace; that nothing had been wanting on his Part in order thereunto, having ſummoned ſuch Biſhops as they had thought convenient; that nothing now remained but that they would judge, neither for Hatred nor for Favour, but according to Apoſtolick Rules, that ſo at once they might free the Church from Reproach, eaſe his Cares, and purchaſe Renown and Honour to themſelves.*

Athanaſius appearing before the Council, they laid two ſorts of Things to his Charge, Matters of Vice and Immorality, and Matters of Impiety and Profanation. In reference to the Charge of Vice and Immorality, he ſtood indicted of three great Crimes, Oppreſſion, Rape, and Murder. As to the firſt, though ſeveral Inſtances were mentioned, no Proof appears to have been made of them. But then came the next Part of the Charge, that he had offered Violence to a Woman, whom they had prevailed with to come into the Council, and atteſt the Fact, declaring, *That ſhe had vowed Virginity, but having entertained* Athanaſius *in her Houſe, he violently forced her into lewd Embraces.*

Athanaſius, who had ſmelt ſomewhat of the Deſign, brought into the Court with him *Timotheus*, one

one of his Deacons, having agreed with him that he ſhould upon Occaſion perſonate himſelf. When the Judges called upon *Athanaſius* to anſwer, he for the preſent ſtood ſilent; but *Timotheus* turning quick to the Woman, ſaid, *Woman, was I ever in your Houſe? Did I ever, as you pretend, offer Violence to you?* To which with Vehemency ſhe replied, pointing towards him with her Finger, *Yes, yes, you are the Man that forcibly preſs'd upon me, and ſtained my Chaſtity and my Honour*; naming the Circumſtances of Time and Place.

The Cheat being thus detected, put the Contrivers of it to the Bluſh: Yet when *Athanaſius* required that the Woman might be examined before her Diſmiſſion, who was the Contriver of the Plot, it was over-ruled by a clamorous Anſwer, *That they had yet greater Matters againſt him, for which they had Evidence beyond all Exception.*

The next Part of the Charge was, that *Athanaſius* had murdered *Arſenius*, the *Miletian* Biſhop. To prove which, they had a dead Man's Hand in a Box, which they affirmed to be his; pretending alſo that *Athanaſius* made uſe of it in Conjuration; which, in the Iſſue, gave a moſt pleaſant Diverſion to the Synod. For though this Matter had been before confuted, they now dreſſed it up afreſh; but the Divine Providence furniſhed him with an Opportunity to ſilence the Malice of his Adverſaries without all poſſible Evaſion.

The *Miletians* had ſtrictly charged *Arſenius* to keep cloſe, but he, tempted with Curioſity to ſee how Matters went, had privately convey'd himſelf to *Tyre*, deſigning there to remain *incognito*; but he happened to be diſcovered, and privately taken, and Notice was given of it to *Athanaſius*.

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And now the Caſe of the impudent Strumpet being diſmiſt, this of *Arſenius* was brought on; the Proſecutors boaſting that they ſhould not make their Ears only, but their very Eyes Judges againſt him, producing the dead Hand, which they ſaid *Athanaſius* had cut off. At which a great Shout was made in the Synod, many believing it true, and others, that nothing could be made appear to the contrary.

But Silence being made, *Athanaſius* gravely asked the Judges, whether any of them knew *Arſenius?* Which when ſeveral affirmed, he cauſed him to be brought into the Court; and again asked, whether this was the Man whom he was charged to have killed, and cut off his Hand? The Matter was too evident to be denied; and while they were in a ſtrange Surprize, *Athanaſius* turned back the Man's Cloak, and ſhewed them one, and then the other of his Hands.

And now, Gentlemen, ſaid he, Arſenius *you ſee has both his Hands; but where a third is to be found that was cut off, I leave to my Accuſers to diſcover.* Thus ended the Plot, to the equal Joy of the Innocent and Shame of the Guilty, who endeavoured by various Ways to excuſe themſelves from this horrid Forgery; though afterward *Arſenius* himſelf confeſſing the whole, deſired to be reconciled to *Athanaſius.*

And now the good Man being cleared from the Charge of Vice and Immorality, they proceeded to that of Impiety and Profanation; wherein two Articles were inſiſted on: Firſt, *That he had procured himſelf to be ordained Biſhop of* Alexandria, *in a clandeſtine Way, and by unlawful Means; and that in diſlike of him the People had forſaken the publick Aſſemblies.*

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The Falſhood of this Charge is before fully confuted, by the Teſtimony of the Synod at *Alexandria* who ordained him, and in their Synodical Epiſtle (ſet down by *Athanaſius* in his *Apology*) atteſt to the whole Wold he was choſen by the univerſal Suffrage. They alſo confute the contrary Report of the *Arians*, as if he had been ordained clandeſtinely by only ſeven Biſhops againſt the Will of the reſt, aſſuring us, that he was conſecrated at the unwearied Importunity of the People; and that his Entrance upon his Charge was ſo far from being a Cauſe of Complaints and Murmurings, that it was celebrated with popular Triumphs and Praiſes to God.

But that which made more Noiſe was, *That* Macarius *his Presbyter, by his Command, had forcibly broken into the Chancel, while* Iſchyras *was officiating in the holy Miniſtrations; that he had overturned the Communion Table, broken in Pieces the Sacramental Chalice, and burnt the holy Books:* All which *Iſchyras* was there preſent to atteſt.

Several Anſwers were given to this Charge, but all overruled bo the Council; among the reſt a Writing was produced under *Iſchyras*'s own Hand, wherein having with Tears addreſſed himſelf to *Athanaſius*, he diſcovered the whole Conſpiracy, confeſſing he knew nothing of the Things charged upon *Athanaſius*, but that he had been ſet on and compelled by others to give his Teſtimony againſt him.

Upon which his Accuſers were at a ſtand, till they had brought the Matter to this Iſſue in the Council, that the Caſe ſhould be ſuſpended till Commiſſioners were ſent into *Egypt* to enquire the Truth of the Matter, naming ſuch as they could well

well confide in, who with *Iſchyras* preſently ſet out on their Journey.

Athanaſius ſeeing their Deſign, excepted againſt theſe Commiſſioners, and how unreaſonable it was that *Macarius* ſhould be kept Priſoner at *Tyre*, while *Iſchyras* was taken with the Delegates, who were all ſworn Enemies, by which one might eaſily gueſs what Return was like to be made; but all his Pleas were rejected.

This Procedure gave great Offence to the Friends of *Athanaſius*, and quickly after a Proteſtation was made to the Synod, ſubſcribed by forty-ſeven *Egyptian* Biſhops, wherein they ſmartly complained of unjuſt Procedures by the *Euſebian* Party againſt *Athanaſius*, beſeeching the reſt, by all that was ſacred, not to concur with them, as they would anſwer it at the great Day of Account.

Addreſſes were likewiſe made to *Dionyſius*, who preſiden, which ſo far wrought on him, that he charged *Euſebius* and his Party, that nothing might be done which would blemiſh their Proceedings. But ſtill *Athanaſius* ſaw there was no Safety for him at *Tyre*, and therefore withdrew thence, reſolving to appeal to the Emperor himſelf.

In the mean Time the Delegates were arrived in *Egypt*, where they extorted Confeſſions againſt him by all Methods of Fraud and Violence; and having thus packed up what Evidence they could rake together, they returned to *Tyre*; where, *Athanaſius* being fled, it was no hard Matter to procure his Condemnation. They therefore depoſed him from his Biſhoprick, and ordered he ſhould no more inhabit at *Alexandria*, leſt his Preſence there ſhould create Tumults and Factions; and

and they alſo reſtored *John* and the *Miletian* Party to their Communion.

And then they ſent an Account of what they had done to the Emperor, and likewiſe Letters to the ſeveral Biſhops, not to communicate with *Athanaſius*, telling them, *they had convicted him of divers enormous Crimes, of which, by his Flight, he had confeſſed himſelf guilty.* There were many in the Synod would have done him Right, but were overpowered by Numbers; particularly *Paphnutius* the Confeſſor is ſaid to have taken *Maximus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* by the Hand, ſaying to him, *Let us be gone, it not becoming Confeſſors who have loſt their Limbs in the Cauſe of Religion, to go along with ſuch pernicious Company.*

Things were thus concluding when the Synod was commanded by the Emperor's Letters to adjourn to *Jeruſalem*, and celebrate the Dedication of a famous Church built there to the Honour of our Saviour. Which being done, they were ordered to take *Arius*'s Caſe into Conſideration, Endeavours having been uſed to bring him into Favour at Court, at leaſt ſo far as to engage the Emperor to write in his Behalf to the Synod.

This was effected, as is ſaid, by the Importunity of *Conſtantia* the Emeror's Siſter, to that Degree, that he ſent a Letter to invite him to *Conſtantinople*. Thither therefore he came, with *Euzoius* his Companion, and preſented to the Emperor ſuch a Confeſſion, as cauſed him to hope they were reconciled to the *Nicene* Faith: Upon which he recommended the hearing of their Caſe to the Synod, who immediately applied themſelves thereunto.

The Council approving the Declaration of their Faith, they decreed that *Arius* and his Adherents

ſhould be received into Communion; which was done accordingly. They then gave notice of their Determination, both to the Emperor, and to the Church of *Alexandria*, perſuading theſe kindly to embrace them, being ſuch whoſe Faith the Emperor hath pronounced Sound and Orthodox, and whoſe Judgment therein had been confirmed by the Sentence of the whole Synod.

Athanaſius having fled from *Tyre* went to *Conſtantinople*, where he applied himſelf to the Emperor, but obtained no Audience, till he boldly told him, *he deſired no more than that he would not ſuffer him to be ruined by Malice and Violence, and that at leaſt his Judges at* Tyre *might be brought Face to Face with him, and he have Liberty to exhibit his Complaints againſt them.*

The Emperor looking on this but as common Juſtice, diſpatched a Letter, commanding them to come and give an Account of their Proceedings againſt *Athanaſius*. This coming before the Council was broken up, mightily ſtartled his Accuſers, the greateſt Part of whom fearing the Iſſue, ſlunk away and returned home. But *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, and ſome others, reſolving if poſſible to juſtify what they had done, went to *Conſtantinople*, but wiſely waved their former Charges of Raviſhment, Murder, *&c.* as knowing them not defenſible at any impartial Hearing.

They therefore agreed to attack him with a freſh Accuſation, *that he had threatened to ſtop the Fleet that yearly tranſported Corn from* Alexandria *to* Conſtantinople; which they endeavoured to make good by ſeveral Witneſſes. To this the Emperor, notwithſtanding *Athanaſius*'s Defence, ſeemed to give Credit, being jealous, as Princes uſually

uſually are, of the Rights of the Crown, and thereupon commanded him to be immediately baniſhed, but would not ſuffer any other to enter on his See.

And accordingly he was preſently ſent to *Triers* in *Germany*, the Place appointed for his Exile. Though the younger *Conſtantine* and *Athanaſius* himſelf tells us, the Emperor did this in favour to him, to ſecure him from the Reach of his Enemies, who ſought his Life. And the good Man counted it a Mercy, that his Life being aimed at, Divine Providence and the Clemency of the Emperor had turned it only to Baniſhment.

Athanaſius being ſent thus out of the Way, his Adverſaries carried all before them, and *Arius* went in Triumph to *Alexandria*; but met not with that Entertainment he expected, the People generally refuſing to communicate with him, being equally vext at his Return, and the Baniſhment of their Biſhop.

Notice of this being ſent to the Emporor, he again ſummoned him to appear at *Conſtantinople*, and give a further Account of himſelf to him and the Synod there. *Alexander*, the good Biſhop of that City, foreſeeing what was like to enſue, endeavoured to get the Synod diſſolved; but when he could not obtain it, he ſet himſelf againſt whatever tended to the Subverſion of the *Nicene* Faith.

No ſooner was *Arius* arrived, but *Euſebius* appeared as his Patron, and threatned *Alexander* with Baniſhment if he did not favour his Cauſe: And to ſatisfy the Emperor's Doubts, he introduced *Arius* into his Preſence, where he again gave an Account of his Faith; and when the Emperor asked whether he heartily believed what he had

profeſt, without any ſecret Reſervation, he confirmed it with an Oath.

To whom the Emperor replied, *If thy Faith be right, thou haſt ſworn well; but if otherwiſe, thou art forſworn, and God will revenge thy Perjury.* *Socrates* adds, that the Tradition went, that having written his Opinion in a Paper, he held it under his Arm; and when he came into the Emperor's Preſence, he ſecretly laid his Hand upon the Paper, and ſwore he believed as he had written, meaning in that private Paper.

The Emperor fully believing his Sincerity, commanded *Alexander* to receive him into the Communion of the Church, at which the good Biſhop was exceedingly perplexed, but armed himſelf with Courage and Patience, and by Faſting and Prayer earneſtly ſolicited Heaven to come to his Aſſiſtance. His Oppoſers, lifted up by their Succeſs, quickly went to the Church where *Alexander* was, and demanded that *Arius* ſhould be preſently received; but the Biſhop poſitively refuſed to admit ſuch an Arch-Heretick into Communion. It being now *Saturday*, they left him at preſent, ſaying, *As againſt your Conſent we procured him to be called to Court, ſo to Morrow in this very Church he ſhall communicate with us whether you will or no.*

Theſe bold Words made a deep Impreſſion upon his Mind; but ſhutting the Church Doors, he proſtrated himſelf, and ſent up his Prayer to Heaven, ſaying, *If Lord thou permitteſt* Arius *to communicate to Morrow, ſuffer me thy Servant to depart, and deſtroy not the Righteous with the Wicked: But if thou ſpareſt thy Church, as I know thou wilt, regard their Threatnings, and take* Arius *out of*

of the Way, leſt entring into the Church Hereſy enter with him, and hereafter Piety and Impiety be confounded.

His Prayer was heard, for that very Evening, or, as ſome ſay, the next Morning, as *Arius* was going through the Streets with a pompous Train of his Friends and Followers, and was ſwell'd with the Hopes of his Triumph, he was neceſſitated to enquire for a Place of Eaſement. And being directed to one, on the Backſide of the Market, he went thither, where his Spirits ſuddenly fainting, like *Judas* he fell headlong, and burſting aſunder in the midſt, he immediately expired. *Socrates* and others tell us, that his Inteſtines, with a vaſt Flux of Blood, iſſued out from him.

His Friends impatiently waiting for his Return, at length went to the Place, where finding him wallowing in his Blood and Filth, they were ſtrangely ſurprized, and could not but look upon it as a fatal Blow to their Cauſe: Though to cover the Shame and Terror of his infamous Death, they fled to their old Refuge of Lies, giving out it was procured by Magick and Sorcery. But the Account we have given of it, is what *Athanaſius* received from *Macarius* his Presbyter, then preſent at *Conſtantinople*.

Thus died *Arius* the great Incendiary of the Church, a Man whom Nature had furniſhed with acute Parts, and who had acquired no inconſiderable Degree of Learning. He was a very induſtrious and ſubtle Diſputant, as all confeſs, and well knew how to make the beſt of a bad Cauſe. He was proud and conceited, and of a daring Temper, one that durſt ſpeak whatever he thought, and attempt whatever he deſigned. He wrote ſeveral

veral Things; among which his *Thalia*, wherein he repreſented his Opinions, and diſcourſed of the moſt grave and venerable Myſteries in looſe and ſoft kind of Verſes, is often cited by *Athanaſius*. He was as to his outward Shape very tall, lean and meagre, of a pale, dejected and melancholy Countenance, careleſs in his Garb and Attire; ſo that Nature as well as Art had formed him for a great Appearance of Mortification and Contempt of the World; and thoſe that looked no farther than the outward Shew, would have took him for a Man of ſingular Piety.

It was greatly hoped, that this tragical Death of *Arius* would have put an End to his Party, but they ſtill kept up their Spirits, and the Controverſy was yet high at *Alexandria*, where the *Arians* and *Miletians* endeavoured by all Ways to undermine the Catholicks: And the People of *Alexandria* on the other hand, daily pray'd for the Reſtoration of *Athanaſius*; and earneſt Solicitations were made at Court, by the Great St. *Anthony* the Hermite and others in his Behalf, which yet prevailed not to obtain his Releaſe from Baniſhment in the Emperor's Life-time, which is now almoſt at a Period.

For *Conſtantine* the Great, in the following Year (*A. D.* 337.) finding himſelf ill, removed to *Nicomedia*, and made his Will, dividing the Empire among his three Sons, *Conſtantine*, *Conſtans*, and *Conſtantius*. This being ſealed up, he moſt probably put it into the Hands of *Euſebius*, Biſhop of that City, by whom he is generally thought to have been baptized. *Conſtantius* was the firſt that arrived after his Father's Death, to whom *Euſebius* delivered the Will, and doubtleſs improved

proved this Opportunity to engage that Prince's Favour to the *Arian* Cauſe.

The Death of this good Emperor was univerſally bewailed, though by none with greater Reaſon than by the Catholicks; for though the Eaſineſs of his Temper, and his earneſt Deſires of Peace made him liable to be impoſed on by crafty Inſinuations, and drawn to exerciſe ſome Severity againſt *Athanaſius*, yet he was always a firm Defender of the *Nicene* Faith. This none durſt openly oppoſe whilſt he lived, and he was the more confirmed therein, by ſeeing the Vengeance of Heaven upon *Arius*, the great Oppoſer of it.

Though *Conſtantine* the Great had ſent *Athanaſius* to *Triers*, he committed him not only to the Juriſdiction, but Care of his Son *Conſtantine*, who governed the *Weſtern* Parts of the Empire, and kept his Court in that City. By this Prince he was kindly received, but eſpecially by *Maximinus* Biſhop of that See. Here he continued till *Conſtantine* the Great died, the News of which no ſooner arrived, but *Conſtantine* his eldeſt Son began to act here as Heir of his Father's Power.

Among the firſt Cares of his Empire, he took into Conſideration the Caſe of *Athanaſius*, whoſe Fate he pitied. 'Tis ſaid indeed, that *Conſtantine* the Father had deſigned his Releaſe, but he dying, it was left to his Son to compleat the ſame; who, according to his Father's Will, diſmiſſed him. He withal wrote a Letter to his People, ſignifying, *That* Athanaſius's *being ſent into* Gaul, *was to ſecure him from the Fury of his Adverſaries; and that his Father had reſolved to reſtore him, which therefore he thought himſelf the more obliged to perform.* Thus *Athanaſius*, after his Continuance at

Triers

Triers about a Year and a half, returned to his People, being received by all Ranks with great Expreſſions of Joy.

The *Arians* beheld his Return with Envy, and ſeeing they could not hinder it, reſolved to render it uneaſy, blowing up Tumults on purpoſe to improve them againſt him, which they afterwards did, by Means of their potent Friends above. For the *Euſebian* Faction ruled all in the Court of *Conſtantius*, to whoſe Share the *Eaſtern* Part of the Empire fell: And having firſt gained the prime Officers, and then the Empreſs, the Emperor himſelf being young and of a credulous Temper, was without Difficulty brought over to them. They then proceeded to accuſe *Athanaſius* before him, of all thoſe Crimes that had been laid to his Charge in the Time of his Father, with the Addition of ſome other Matters of no more Truth than the reſt.

And not content with this, they ſent Letters to the two other Imperial Brothers, loading him with all the Reproaches they could with any Pretence heap upon him, from the Time of his becoming Biſhop of *Alexandria*. To theſe they now added his preſumptuous returning to his Biſhoprick without the Abſolution of a Synod, by the Authority of which he had been depoſed from it. This his Return, they alledged, was ſo diſtaſtful to the People, that it hurried all Things into a general Tumult, whence inſued Blood and Slaughter, charging him with thoſe Things which were done by the Governor before his Return. The ſame Things were wrote to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, deſiring him to confirm the Sentence paſt on him at the Council of *Tyre*.

Theſe

These Things were especially acted by *Eusebius*, who having been before translated from *Berytus* to *Nicomedia*, obtained about this Time (*A. D.* 339.) an Advancement from *Nicomedia* to the See of *Constantinople*, in the room of *Paulus*, now thrust out of it by the *Arian* Faction. The same *Paulus* was chosen upon the Death of the abovementioned *Alexander*, in Opposition to *Macedonius*, for whom the *Arians* greatly stickled. Scarce was he seated in the Chair, when the same Faction loaded him with so many Reproaches, that they prevailed on the Emperor to banish him; from Exile he returned upon the Change of the Emperors: But *Eusebius* having a mind to his See, so managed Things with *Constantius*, a declared Friend of the *Arian* Cause, that he got into his Place without much Difficulty.

Athanasius having quick Intelligence of these Things, thought it high Time to provide against the Storm he perceived coming upon him; to which End he assembled a Council of the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Thebais*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*, who met at *Alexandria* to the Number of near 100, and unanimously vindicated his Innocency, judging themselves most proper to give Evidence herein, being most of them Eye-witnesses of the chief Passages whereof he was accused. They therefore immediately wrote an Epistle to all the Catholick Bishops, refuting the Calumnies and Scandals that had been cast upon him, by the Letters sent to the Emperors and Bishop of *Rome*. Thus prepared, he dispatched Messengers to the *Western* Emperors and to *Julius*, who meeting with the adverse Party, so baffled their Reports, that they were forced to retire with Shame.

The *Euſebian* Legates being in a great Plunge, requeſted *Julius* that a Council might be called about this Matter, wherein they would be ready to make good what they charged upon *Athanaſius*; which though intended by them only as a preſent Shift, was aſſented to as fair and reaſonable, and ſo they were diſmiſt, or rather fled away by Night, through Shame of being ſo often and ſo publickly confuted. Hereof *Julius* gave notice to *Athanaſius*, leaving it to him to appoint the Place of the Synod, where he might ſafely appear to anſwer for himſelf. But this good Succeſs of his Affairs was allay'd by the Death of his eminent Friend and Patron *Conſtantine*, the eldeſt of the Imperial Brothers, who was ſlain, as he was invading the Dominions of his Brother *Conſtans*.

Matters thus going on at *Rome*, the Eſpouſers of the *Arian* Cauſe againſt *Athanaſius* reſolved to hold a Synod in the *Eaſt*, where they knew how to pack one to their Mind. This they obtained upon Pretence of being called together to conſecrate a magnificent Church at *Antioch*, begun by *Conſtantine* the Great, and finiſhed by his Son *Conſtantius*. There accordingly met at *Antioch* more than ninety Biſhops, who drew up ſeveral Confeſſions of Faith, in Words ſomewhat near the *Nicene* Creed, but ſtill avoiding the Word *Conſubſtantial*, under the Pretence of its being unſcriptural. No ſooner was the Council ſat, but heavy Complaints were brought in againſt *Athanaſius*, which to be ſure wanted neither Wit nor Art to ſet them off; whereupon it was reſolved he ſhould be depoſed.

The Supply of his Place was firſt profered to *Euſebius Emiſenus*, born of an antient and noble Family

Family at *Edeſſa*, the chief City of *Meſopotamia*, where *Thaddæus*, one of the Seventy, had early planted the Goſpel. He was a Man of extraordinary Learning, both divine and human, and had been ſometime Scholar to his Nameſake the Biſhop of *Cæſarea*.

This *Euſebius* was firſt deſigned for the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, but to avoid it he left that City, and betook himſelf to *Alexandria*, there to compleat his Studies in all the moſt uſeful Parts of Philoſophy; and being thus furniſhed, he returned again to *Antioch*, where, when *Athanaſius* was depoſed by the Prevalency of *Euſebius* of *Conſtantinople*, he was pitched on as a Perſon of ſuch eminent Parts and Piety, as would be moſt likely to wean the People of *Alexandria* from their Fondneſs of *Athanaſius*: But he wiſely delining this Offer, was afterwards made Biſhop of *Emiſa*, a City in *Phœnicia* near Mount *Libanus*, and continued in that Station till his Death, which happened about the Year 360.

Upon *Euſebius*'s Refuſal, they pitched upon *Gregory*, an obſcure Perſon born in *Cappadocia*, who accepting the offered Dignity, was conſecrated Biſhop of *Alexandria*. This was contrary to all Rules and Cuſtoms of the Church, to depute him to that Province, who was a perfect Stranger to thoſe over whom he ſhould preſide, and they no leſs ſo to him. However being ordained Biſhop, he as ſuch ſubſcribed the Decrees of the Council; and then they reſolved to implore the Aſſiſtance of the Imperial Force, co ſettle him in the Poſſeſſion of the Epiſcopal Seat, whatever Oppoſition might be made thereunto.

The News of this ſoon flew to *Alexandria*, and alarmed *Athanaſius* to withdraw thence in due Time. He thereupon ſet ſail for *Rome* to clear himſelf in open Synod, according to the Summons he had received from *Julius* to that Purpoſe, who alſo ſent to *Euſebius* and his Party, to come as Plaintiffs, and make good their Charge. The Meſſengers coming into the *Eaſt*, found *Euſebius* and the reſt in the Council at *Antioch*; and the Letters being delivered to them, they were ſtrangely ſurprized to find themſelves ſummoned to *Rome*, a Place where they knew they had neither Intereſt nor Authority, nor ſecular Powers to abet their Practices. This made them to detain the Meſſengers with Delays, till the Time appointed for the Synod was over; and then they fairly excuſed themſelves, pretending they durſt not venture ſo great a Journey, while the Wars with *Perſia* were coming on.

As ſoon as the Meſſengers were returned, the Synod met at *Rome*, where above fifty Biſhops aſſembled, as alſo many of the *Eaſt*, and divers more had come had they not been forcibly hindred by the *Arian* Party. Here *Athanaſius* ſo vindicated himſelf from the Slanders caſt upon him, that the Council cleared him, being abundantly ſatisfied in the Innocency of his Cauſe; and Pope *Julius* wrote a long Epiſtle, in the Name, and by the Order of the Synod, to thoſe in the *Eaſt*, wherein *he ſmartly checks their irregular Proceedings, anſwers their Cavils, refutes their Excuſes for not coming to the Synod, and gives them an Account of their receiving* Athanaſius *to Communion.*

Before the Arrival of this Letter *Euſebius* of *Conſtantinople* was dead, and the Synod probably broken

broken up, ſo that what became of it is uncertain. The See of *Conſtantinople* being thus vacant by the Death of *Euſebius*, the People called home *Paulus* their ejected Biſhop: But the *Arians* would not ſlip this Opportunity, and therefore now ſet up for *Macedonius*, whom they ordained Biſhop of the ſame City.

The People having a mighty Kindneſs for their old Biſhop, were greatly enraged hereat; and both Parties being exaſperated, it broke out into Tumults, and was followed with Blood and Slaughter. Hereupon *Conſtantius* lying then at *Antioch*, ſent *Hermogenes* Maſter of the Horſe, to eject *Paul* out of the Poſſeſſion of his Church, in doing which he found hotter Service than he expected. For the People roſe up in Arms to defend their Biſhop, and were at length ſo enraged, that they ran to *Hermogenes*'s Houſe, ſet it on Fire, and dragging him through the Streets by the Heels, they put him to Death.

The News of this violent Action ſoon brought the Emperor himſelf, though in the depth of Winter, to *Conſtantinople*, who ſuſpended *Macedonius* from the Execution of the Office, but baniſhed *Paul*, ſending him loaded with Iron Chains to *Singara*, a Garriſon in *Meſopotamia*. This was a diſconſolate Place, but here he ſtaid not long, it lying too open to the Enemy, but was removed to *Emiſa*, a City of *Syria* on the River *Orontes*, where he remained probably ſeveral Years.

In the mean Time *Gregory*, made Biſhop of *Alexandria*, by the Synod at *Antioch*, is ſeated in the Chair by the ſecular Power. And that the Matter might be done effectually, they procured *Philagrius* to be again made Governor of *Egypt*, who

who was an Apoſtate from the *Chriſtian* Faith to *Pagan* Idolatry, and had done them conſiderable Service againſt *Athanaſius*, when the Matter of *Iſchyras* was examined by the Meſſengers ſent from the Council of *Tyre*. With him, being attended by a ſtrong Military Guard, *Gregory* ſets forward for *Alexandria*, where arriving, they ſtrengthned their Party, by taking in the moſt profligate Rabble about the City.

Theſe arming themſelves with Clubs and Swords broke into a Church, where were great Numbers of the Catholicks aſſembled, killing, and in the moſt cruel Manner abuſing Perſons of all Orders, Ages and Sexes, and eſpecially thoſe who had more immediately devoted themſelves to the Services of Religion. Some Mens Eſtates were ſeized, the holy Sacrament was profaned by *Pagans*, and ſcornfully thrown on the Ground. The Biſhops were ſpoiled, beaten, impriſoned or baniſhed, and treated without any Reſpect to their Age or Order.

Among the reſt *Potamo*, the aged Biſhop of *Heraclea*, who had loſt an Eye for his Conſtancy to the Truth under the *Dioclefian* Perſecution, was ſo miſerably ſcourged and beaten, that he was left for dead, and ſoon after died of his Wounds. To uphold himſelf in ſuch violent Proceedings, *Gregory* continually courted the Favour of thoſe in Civil Authority, and ſlighted ſuch as were in Eccleſiaſtical Orders. He withal ſent a Meſſenger to *Rome*, where the Caſe of *Athanaſius* was then hearing, to mollify the Reports concerning his Proceedings at *Alexandria*; but neither the Meſſenger nor the Meſſage had any Entertainment there.

Atha-

Athanaſius being abſolved from his Accuſations by the Synod at *Rome*, made that City the chief Place of his Exile, continuing there ſeveral Years, and doubtleſs lay not idle therein, though how he employ'd himſelf we have no certain Account. *Baronius* mentions ſeveral Things here done by him, but without any other Evidence than his own bare Conjecture. That which is moſt conſiderable, could it be proved, is, That *Athanaſius* concluding he could not be cleared at *Rome*, without giving *Julius* and the reſt of the Council an Account of his Faith, then compoſed, in the *Latin* Tongue, that Creed which paſſes under his Name. And that it being approved in the Synod, was laid up with the Acts of it among the Archives of that Church, whence it was publiſhed many Years after.

But it is ſo far from being probable that he then made it, that there is no Evidence that he compoſed it at all. Yea, that 'tis none of his is moſt likely, ſeeing he never mentions it in all his Works, wherein he is very punctual in giving an Account of ſuch Things. Nor is it ſpoken of by any Writer of that or the following Times, nor aſcribed to him by the Writers of his Life in the middle Ages of the Church.

The Truth is, this Creed was not heard of till 600 Years after *Athanaſius* was dead, nor inſiſted on with any Confidence till 200 Years after that, when the Legates of Pope *Gregory* the Ninth pleaded it in their Diſputations with the *Greeks*. Now can it be imagined, that ſo famous a Confeſſion made by a Perſon ſo juſtly reverenced, and his Writings ſo univerſally eſteemed, ſhould lie hid ſo many Ages in the Records of the *Roman* Church,

Church, especially seeing there was daily Occasion of searching those Records, and frequent Resort was had to them from all Parts? But whoever compiled it, it having assumed so great a Name, and bearing so express an Image of his Doctrine, was soon received in the *Western* Churches.

But though there is no Ground to conclude, that *Athanasius* was now forming any Confession of Faith, 'tis certain his Adversaries were composing one in the *East*. For now there was another Synod at *Antioch*, where, besides the several Creeds framed about four Years since, they set forth a very prolix Explication of their Faith, called therefore *The large Confession*. In this they particularly oppose the Heresies of *Paul* of *Samosata*, of *Marcellus*, *Photinus*, *Sabellius*, the *Patropassians*, and some others. And therein they assert, *That the Son of God was not made of any pre-existent Matter, but begotten of the Father only, before all Ages, and this by an unfathomable and incomprehensible way of Generation: That he was not of Man made God, but of God, for our Sakes, made Man, yet never ceasing to be God.*

This Confession they sent the Year following into the *West*, and presented it to many of the Bishops at *Milan*, where the Emperor *Constans* kept his Court, they being there assembled to consider the Case of *Athanasius*, and to petition the Emperor to interpose his Authority, to compose the distracted Affairs of the Church. But they either not well understanding the Criticisms of the *Greek* Language, or suspecting some Heresies couched under these specious Expressions, refused to accept it; saying, *The* Nicene *Creed was sufficient, nor would they have any more*; which the

Eastern

Eaſtern Legates highly reſented, and went away in a great Paſſion.

At this Convention alſo *Photinus* Biſhop of *Sirmium* was condemned, who endeavoured to revive the long ſince branded Hereſy of *Paul* of *Samoſata*, *affirming our Saviour to be only a mere Man.* Towards the Cloſe of this Synod *Athanaſius* came to *Milan*, being ſummoned by the Emperor *Conſtans*, who treated him with great Kindneſs. And tho' he never went into his Preſence, without being accompanied by many Biſhops and others, yet his Adverſaries ſuggeſted to *Conſtantius*, as if he did ill Offices between him and his Brother, of which he purged himſelf in his *Apology* to the ſaid Emperor.

The good Emperor *Conſtans* had often ſolicited his Brother *Conſtantius*, that the *Nicene* Faith might be eſtabliſhed, and the exiled Biſhops reſtored. And he now at length conſented that the Matter ſhould be referred to a General Council, which was accordingly called by the Imperial Letters, not long after that at *Milan*. The Place appointed for their meeting was *Sardica*, an eminent City of *Illyricum*, being conveniently ſeated between the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Empire. Here they aſſembled to the Number of about 170 Prelates of both Empires, as *Athanaſius* himſelf tells us.

But they could not agree when they were come together; for the *Eaſtern* Biſhops kept themſelves in a ſeparate Aſſembly from the *Weſtern*. Thoſe among them that were Orthodox and of a peaceable Temper, were generally overawed by the Numbers of the others. They indeed found quite another Face of Things than they expected, hav-

ing thought that *Athanaſius* durſt not abide and ſtand the Trial; whereas he here appeared prepared for it, and very deſirous of it. They perceived that Things would be managed here, according to the ſtrict Rules of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and that no Force could be put upon the Synod, nor any great Courtiers be admitted to influence their Cauſe, by which Means they had hitherto prevailed.

They were amazed to ſee ſo many there, whom they had depoſed and baniſhed, ſome having brought the Inſtruments of Cruelty, by which they had been tortured, others ſhewing the Wounds they had received from them; and Meſſengers came in the Name of the whole Churches, to repreſent the Injuries done them by the *Arian* Party. Hereupon theſe could not be prevailed on by any Arguments or Importunities to come into the Council. But to put ſome Colour on their Refuſal, they pretended that *Athanaſius* and his Accomplices having been heretofore condemned, they could not join with them, unleſs thoſe were firſt excluded Communion; and divers other Things were pleaded as Reaſons of their Nonconformity.

They then kept themſelves cloſe in the Palace, and, though in a private and clandeſtine Way, held the Formality of a Synod, and reſolved to be beforehand with the *Weſtern* Biſhops, from whom they expected no favourable Treatment. Hereupon they not only depoſed *Athanaſius*, but alſo *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*, Preſident of the Council, and *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and others, whom they looked upon as Favourers of him.

Next

Next they drew up a Confeſſion of Faith, wherein they particularly condemn ſeveral of the *Arian* Propoſitions. Nor could the moſt obſerving Catholicks find any Thing therein to complain of, unleſs that the Word *Conſubſtantial* was left out of it. After this they wrote a long Epiſtle in the Name of the *Sardican* Council, containing a Narrative of what they had done, and of the Biſhops they had depoſed, whom they load with the bittereſt Reflections they could heap upon them. Therein they alſo charge all Governors of Churches, as they value Peace and Order, to have no Communion with them, to receive no Letters from them, nor ſend any to them.

As for the Fathers in the Council of *Sardica*, they concluded that the *Nicene* Creed was ſufficient, and would not yield to have any Additions made thereunto, tho' pleaded for by ſome amongſt them, leſt the *Nicene* Faith ſhould be thought imperfect, and a Way laid open for Men of wanton Wits to make new Creeds as often as Humour or Intereſt ſhould incline them.

As to *Athanaſius* and others that had been condemned and depoſed, and had petitioned that their Accuſers might be ſummoned to appear, ſeeing theſe latter obſtinately refuſed it, they proceeded to hear their Cauſes without them. And firſt they cauſed all the Proceedings of the Synod at *Tyre*, and the Informations that had been taken againſt *Athanaſius*, to be read, and many Witneſſes were examined; and finding the whole, upon accurate Inquiry, to be nothing but a Train of Malice and Villainy, and being confirmed in it by the adverſe Party's utterly refuſing to ſtand the Trial, they pronounced him innocent, reſtored him to his See,

and received him with all Demonſtrations of Kindneſs; and thus they likewiſe dealt by the other that had been ſentenced after the ſame Manner with him.

Next they proceeded to inquire into the Character of the oppoſite Party, in which they were aſſured by Multitudes of Witneſſes, and Complaints of many Churches, of the diſmal and moſt cruel Treatment they had met with, for no other Reaſon, but only becauſe they refuſed to enter into *Arian* Communion. Upon Conſideration of the whole, they condemned and depoſed the chief Heads of the Faction, but expreſſed a particular Deteſtation of *Gregory* the *Arian* Intruder at *Alexandria*, pronouncing him not only no Biſhop, but unworthy of the Name of a *Chriſtian*, and annulled all Ordinations that had been made by him.

Then they wrote to the Clergy and Church of *Alexandria*, to receive *Athanaſius* as their lawful Biſhop, whom they adjudged innocent of all the Crimes charged upon him. They alſo warned all that had communicated with *Gregory*, to repent and withdraw themſelves from him. They ſent alſo a circular Letter to all the Catholick Biſhops, giving an Account of their whole Proceeding, and cautioned them to have no Communion with thoſe whom they had ſo juſtly condemned. Which Synodical Determination was firſt and laſt ſigned by at leaſt 344 Biſhops, after all which they returned home.

The Legates appointed by the Council to carry a Relation of theſe Tranſactions to *Conſtantius*, arriving at the Imperial Court at *Antioch*, met with but cold Entertainment. For the *Arian* Party had

had ſo blocked up all Paſſages, that there was little Hope their Embaſſy ſhould ſucceed. Nay, a Plot was formed utterly to blaſt their Reputation, being contrived by *Stephen* Biſhop of *Antioch*, and carried on by him and his Clergy, together with ſuch lewd Perſons as they had drawn into the Conſpiracy with them, which in ſhort was thus:

An infamous Strumpet was by Night brought into the Biſhops Lodgings, by one *Onager*, of a flagitious Life, who having ſtript herſelf, went directly to the Apartment of *Euphratas* the elder of the two Biſhops. He awaking with the Noiſe, and hearing the Voice of a Woman, cried out with great Amazement, ſuppoſing it to be ſome Demon in a female Shape. The Woman on the other hand, who had been made to believe it was a young Gentleman that deſired her Company, finding him an antient grave Biſhop, alſo ſhrieked out aloud. In ſhort, the whole Family was raiſed; the Woman and ſeven of the Conſpirators were taken and ſecured till the next Morning, when the Matter was heard and laid open before the Emperor, who commanded the Biſhops to depoſe *Stephen*, and put another in his Place, which was accordingly done.

This vile Attempt was ſo overruled by the Divine Providence, that the Emperor's Mind was hereby ſomewhat awakened, he concluding *that could not be a very good Cauſe that needed ſuch impious Arts to uphold it*; and thereupon he wrote to *Alexandria*, commanding all Proceedings againſt *Athanaſius* to be ſtopt. Indeed *Socrates* tells us, that *Conſtans* his Brother had ſeveral Times written to him, and once ſo ſmartly, that he told him,

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unleſs Athanaſius *were ſuddenly reſtored, and his Enemies called to an Account, he would himſelf come in Perſon, and reſettle him by Force of Arms.*

This, and other Things of the like kind made ſome of his Biſhops adviſe him rather to reſtore *Athanaſius*, than that the Empire ſhould be engaged in a Civil War, eſpecially ſeeing it was already involved in a tedious one with the *Perſians*. But nothing contributed more to this Compoſure than the Death of *Gregory* the *Arian* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, which happened in the Year of our Lord 348, about ten Months after the Council of *Sardica*.

Conſtantius therefore wrote to his Brother *Conſtans* to haſten the Return of *Athanaſius*, who alſo himſelf being at *Aquileia* in *Italy*, received an Imperial Letter, giving him Leave and great Encouragement to come home from his Baniſhment. And afterwards he had a Second, to reinforce the Security given in the former, and to grant him the Liberty of the publick Carriages, to convey him the more ſpeedily to Court. And while he yet remained ſuſpicious leſt ſome Snares ſhould be laid for him, a third Letter came from the Emperor, being brought by *Achitas* a Deacon, to give him more full Satisfaction; whereupon he reſolved to abandon all Fears, and enter on his Journey.

But before his Departure from *Aquileia*, he received a Summons from the Emperor *Conſtans* to come to him into *France*; in Obedience to which he travelled thither by the Way of *Rome*, and took his Leave of Pope *Julius*, having thanked him for his Kindneſs and Civilities towards him: The News of this happy Turn of Affairs cauſed

great

great Joy in that City; and *Julius* wrote by him a Letter to *Alexandria*, to *congratulate with them the Return of their Beloved Biſhop, whoſe eminent Sufferings had made him illuſtrious through the World, commending their conſtant Affection and Kindneſs to him.*

Thus leaving *Rome*, and having waited upon the Emperor *Conſtans*, he began his Journey into the *Eaſt*; and being honourably entertained and diſmiſt at every Place through which he paſſed, he at laſt came to *Antioch*, where *Conſtantius* received him with great Humanity, and ſent him quietly to his See with Letters to the Governors for his ſafe Conduct. The good Biſhop, conſcious of his own Innocency, deſired that his Adverſaries might be now called, that he might confute them Face to Face before the Emperor. To this *Conſtantius* would not conſent, but told him that whatever Calumnies were upon Record againſt him ſhould be cancelled; and that for the future he would receive no further ſlanderous Inſinuations: which he confirmed, not only by his Promiſe but his Oath.

He alſo wrote to the ſeveral Biſhops of the Catholick Church, to let them know, *that the moſt Reverend* Athanaſius *being returned, both by the Synodial and Imperial Sentence, he expected that all Decrees heretofore made againſt him, or his Party, ſhould be buried in Oblivion.* He wrote alſo to the Laity of *Alexandria, to receive this their Biſhop with all Readineſs, and live in Peace and Concord with him; and that if any ſhould raiſe Tumults againſt him, he had given Orders to the Judges to puniſh them according to Law.* His Commands were alſo ſent to the ſeveral Governors, to raſe

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out of the Records whatever was to the Prejudice of *Athanaſius* and his Party.

The *Arians* beheld all this with an evil Eye; but not being able to hinder it, they reſolved to make ſome advantageous Improvement thereof, and therefore prompted the Emperor, in Conſideration of his Favour to *Athanaſius*, to engage him to grant one Church in *Alexandria* to thoſe that were of a different Communion from him. To whom the Biſhop modeſtly replied: *'Tis in your Power, Sir, to command what you pleaſe, neither ſhall I contradict you: But I hope your Majeſty will think it reaſonable, that one Church ſhould alſo be granted to the Catholicks in* Antioch *and other Places.* The Emperor could not but allow the Requeſt fair and juſt; which the *Arians* perceiving, let fall the Motion, well knowing that if this Liberty were granted, the Cauſe of the Catholicks would every where prevail over theirs.

All Things proceeding thus ſmoothly, *Athanaſius* ſets out for *Alexandria*, and coming to *Laodicea*, was kindly received by *Apollinaris*, one of the Clergy of that City, who was for this Reaſon excommunicated by *George* the *Arian* Biſhop there, which is ſaid to be the firſt Occaſion of his ſtarting aſide and ſetting up a Sect of his own. While our Biſhop was here, an Accident happened that was like to have ſpoiled the whole Scene of his Affairs, *viz.* the Death of *Conſtans*, a Prince of ſingular Piety and Zeal towards the Church, and a particular Favourer of *Athanaſius*.

This excellent Prince being treacherouſly ſlain by *Magnentius* in *France*, the *Arians* took this Opportunity of traducing *Paul* of *Conſtantinople* afreſh before the Emperor *Conſtantius*, who had releaſed

releaſed him from his long Baniſhment about three Years before. He being thus provoked by them, ſent Orders to *Philip* the *Prætorian* Prefect to eject *Paul*, and to put *Macedonius* in his Place: *Philip* remembring the ill Effect of open Force in the Caſe of *Hermogenes*, ſent him privately away to *Cucuſus*, a miſerable and diſconſolate Town in *Cappadocia*.

Here he was expoſed to Hunger and Cold, and at length confined to a cloſe and dark Dungeon for ſix Days without any Food. After this finding, contrary to their Expectation, ſome ſmall Remainder of Life in him, they ſtrangled him with his own Clothes. This their barbarous Uſage was related by *Philagrius* the Governor of that Province, to *Serapian* an *Egyptian* Biſhop, from whom *Athanaſius* reports it.

Yea, now the *Arians* thought the Day wholly their own, and that for all *Athanaſius*'s Haſte, he ſhould never ſee *Alexandria*: And indeed the Loſs of ſo great a Patron, and the Terror of ſo great Enemies, could not but ſtartle the good Man; when on a ſudden theſe black Clouds were diſpelled, by a kind Letter from *Conſtantius*, *ſignifying his great Grief for the Death of his good Brother, encouraging him againſt all Fears by reaſon of it, and aſſuring him of his conſtant Favour and Protection.*

Being encouraged by this Meſſage, he finiſhed his Journey, arriving at *Alexandria* nine Years after his laſt Departure from it, and was received with an univerſal Joy, both of the other Biſhops of *Egypt* and all the Clergy and People. Publick Feaſtings and Entertainments were made throughout the City, and ſolemn Thankſgivings to God

with extraordinary Devotion, and Charity therein extended to the Poor; and the chief Contention was, who ſhould excel moſt in Acts of Piety and Virtue; yea ſome of his greateſt Enemies openly confeſſed, that all their Teſtimonies againſt him had been falſe, and ſought a Reconciliation with him. Particularly *Urſatius* Biſhop of *Singidunum*, and *Valens* of *Murſa*, who had always been very active in his Condemnation, wrote a ſubmiſſive Letter to him.

The firſt remarkable Thing he did after his Return, was to aſſemble the Biſhops of his Province, who confirmed the Decrees of the *Sardican* Council; upon which the *Arian* Intereſt went down apace, and the People flocked in ſuch vaſt Numbers to the publick Aſſemblies, that the Churches could not contain them. And eſpecially at the Feaſts of *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, the Crouds were ſo great that they earneſtly importuned that the Great Church newly finiſhed, and not yet Dedicated, might be made uſe of for their more convenient aſſembling; which *Athanaſius* as much as poſſible avoided, but was at length conſtrained to yield, which was ſoon improved by his Enemies againſt him.

For the *Arians*, greatly vext to ſee *Athanaſius* live in ſo much Honour at home, and the Catholick Intereſt proſper in every Place, reſolved upon freſh Attempts againſt him, ſuggeſting to the Emperor, *that their Cauſe was like to be ruined, and that his Majeſty himſelf would ſhortly be accounted an Heretick.* And to give Colour to theſe Pretences, they charge him *with uſurping the Imperial Authority, in that he had preſumed of his own Head to celebrate the Dedication of the Great Church at* Alexan-

Alexandria, *which ſhould not be done without expreſs Warrant from the Emperor.*

They further accuſed him *to have held treaſonable Correſpondence with the Tyrant* Magnentius, *pretending they had Copies of Letters between them to that Purpoſe.* For this Suggeſtion there was no Shadow of Ground, but only that *Magnentius* having ſent two Biſhops on an Embaſſy to *Conſtantius*, they put in at *Alexandria*, and being Catholick Biſhops, and *Athanaſius*'s antient and peculiar Friends, they were kindly entertained by him; which was nothing but an Act of common Humanity and Gratitude: But though he offered the Emperor to undergo a thouſand Deaths, if any ſuch Matter could upon a ſtrict Examination be proved, yet it was ſo managed that it begot Prejudices, and exaſperated the Mind of that credulous Prince againſt him, who yet concealed his Reſentments till he had compoſed the Diſtractions of the Empire.

Conſtantius was now at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, where, by politick Means, he brought over and ſecured *Vetrannio* General of the Foot, who about the ſame Time with *Magnentius* had aſſumed the Purple, and ſet up for himſelf. He then goes forward to meet *Magnentius*, and both Armies encountred in the Plains of *Murſa*, a City in *Pannonia*, where after a fierce Engagement *Magnentius*'s Forces were totally routed, and himſelf forced to fly from Place to Place, till at length in *France* he put an End to his own Life.

Conſtantius not venturing himſelf in the Fight, had waited the Iſſue of the Battel in a Church dedicated to the Martyrs, being accompanied only by *Valens* Biſhop of that Place, who, above all

the *Arian* Prelates, was dear to him: And it is not unpleaſant to obſerve what a Cheat he here put upon the Emperor; for having ſo ordered Matters as to have the firſt Intelligence, he ſuddenly brings him the joyful News of an abſolute Victory, while he was diſtracted with a thouſand Cares and Fears concerning the Event of the Battle, And when the Emperor demanded to ſee the Meſſenger that brought him ſo ſpeedy an Account, he pretended it was convey'd to him by an Angel, who came on Purpoſe to inform him of it. This Impoſture, according to his Deſign, did not a little advance his Reputation with *Conſtantius*, who often publickly declared, *he obtained that Victory by* Valens's *Merit rather than by the Courage and Conduct of his Army.*

And now *Conſtantius* is more at leiſure to take *Athanaſius* and his Caſe to task; ſome Attempts having been lately made by the *Arians*, to bring over the *Weſtern* Biſhops to conſent to his Condemnation. *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome* his faſt Friend was now newly dead, and *Liberius* promoted to the Chair, with whom they hoped to ſpeed better than they had done with his Predeceſſor; to him therefore they made Addreſſes againſt him.

Liberius ſummons an Aſſembly of Biſhops, and communicates this Matter to them, who had alſo at the ſame Time before them an Epiſtle ſubſcribed by ſeventy-five *Egyptian* Biſhops in Favour of *Athanaſius*. They thereupon returned Anſwer, they could not give Credit to the Accuſation, and that it would be unjuſt in them to condemn him whom the far greater Part of Biſhops had abſolved.

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Therefore not being able to accompliſh their Deſigns by fair Means, they betook themſelves to their old Way of Force and Violence. And *Conſtantius* begins by publiſhing an Edict, *That all that would not ſubſcribe* Athanaſius's *Condemnation ſhould be baniſhed*, which made the Catholicks look about them, and think it high Time, if poſſible, to prevent the approaching Storm.

Liberius immediately diſpatches *Vincentius* Biſhop of *Capua*, and others, to the Emperor, then at *Arles* in *France*, to deſire that a Synod might be held at *Aquileia*, to compoſe theſe Matters. Coming to *Arles*, they found there a Company of *Arian* Biſhops, and a few of the *Weſtern* ones, whom they had already drawn to their Party, and even ſome who had heretofore ſtoutly pleaded for *Athanaſius*.

Liberius's Meſſengers being come, it was generally agreed to enter upon the Cauſe of *Athanaſius*, but upon Condition they ſhould firſt condemn the *Arian* Doctrine, which they mutually gave under their Hand. But when they were met Synodically, *Valens* and his Party flew off from that Agreement; telling them, *The only Buſineſs was to agree, that no Communion ſhould be held with* Athanaſius. At length, partly by Importunities, and partly by Frowns and Threatnings, *Vicentius* the Pope's Legate was brought to ſubſcribe to his Condemnation, and moſt of the *Weſtern* Biſhops were influenced by his Example, though ſome ſtood firm againſt it; particularly *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Triers*, who was therefore forced into Exile.

Liberius, by many importunate Meſſages, at length prevailed on the Emperor, that Matters might be referred to another Synod, which was aſſem-

aſſembled at *Milan*, whither the Emperor was now come: Hither came *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Vercelles*, who being required to ſubſcribe to the Condemnation of *Athanaſius*, would not conſent unleſs they would firſt ſubſcribe to the *Nicene* Faith, laying it down before them. To which *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Milan* being about to ſubſcribe, *Valens* Biſhop of *Murſa* ſnatched away the Pen and Paper, crying, *That was not to be ſuffered*; which was followed with great Noiſe and Confuſion in their Debates, and great Complaints and Murmurings amongſt the People abroad.

Inſomuch that they thought it needful for their Safety to remove from the Church into the Palace, where *Conſtantius* himſelf ſat as Judge and Moderator, but a very partial one, being always too ready to help out *Athanaſius*'s Accuſers. And when the Catholick Biſhops preſt hard upon the Witneſſes, *Urſacius* and *Valens*, and pleaded, *that they had heretofore, more than once, ſolemnly diſowned and recanted the Charge, and therefore could not be admitted as competent Witneſſes againſt him*; he haſtily ſtarted up, ſaying, *I myſelf accuſe* Athanaſius, *upon my Account believe their Teſtimony.*

To which the Catholick Biſhops modeſtly replied, Athanaſius *could not be legally impleaded, being not preſent*; *and that if what he had againſt him was only by hearſay, he ought likewiſe to believe what was related for him, as well as what was alledged againſt him.* This Anſwer ſomewhat ſilenced the Emperor; but finding himſelf baffled, he was the more inraged, and therefore reſolved the Catholick Biſhops ſhould be baniſhed, and the Churches given up to the *Arians*, and Liberty granted them to take their own Way in promoting their Cauſe.

Con-

Conſtantius, though yet but a Catechumen, and therefore no proper Judge about the Myſteries of the Faith, ſent for the Catholick Biſhops, and commanded them ſubſcribe the Decree of the Synod, and communicate with the other Party. Whereat they being amazed, and replying, *This was not according to the Canon of the Church*; he briskly anſwered, *What I command let that be your Canon, for ſo the* Syrian *Biſhops are wont to entertain my Edicts; either therefore ſubmit, or you ſhall be preſently baniſhed.*

The good Biſhops being yet more aſtoniſhed, lift up their Eyes towards Heaven, and told him, *the Empire was God's, and cautioned him to take heed of provoking the Divine Majeſty to take it away from him.* They put him in mind *of the Day of Judgment, adviſing him not to offer Violence to the Church, nor to introduce* Arianiſm. Hereupon he could bear no longer, but in a great Rage he brandiſhed his Sword at them, and forthwith commanded ſeveral of them to be baniſhed.

And now nothing would ſuffice ſhort of either bringing Pope *Liberius* over, or getting him out of the Way; to this End *Conſtantius* diſpatched *Euſebius* his Chamberlain with Preſents to him, which the Biſhop rejected with a generous Scorn, and told him, *he could not conſent to condemn* Athanaſius, *who had been once and again ſynodically abſolved from all the Crimes laid to his Charge.* And further told him, *that if the Emperor ſought the Peace of the Church, it was fit this Matter ſhould be refered to a Synod, where neither the Emperor nor any of his great Miniſters ſhould be preſent to awe the Council, that ſo the* Nicene *Faith might be*

firſt

firſt confirmed, and the Favourers of Arianiſm *condemned, and then the Caſe of* Athanaſius *be diſcuſſed.*

The Meſſenger being enraged, broke out into Threatnings, and took the Preſents, and entering into St. *Peter*'s Church, offered them at the Altar; but *Liberius* chiding the Guardian of the Church for ſuffering it, cauſed them to be thrown out of Doors. This ſtill more exaſperated the Ambador, who gave no very favourable Account of it to the Emperor, who immediately ſent ſeveral great Officers of the Palace to *Rome*, to bring *Liberius* either by fair Means or foul to the Court.

And at length he was by Night convey'd to *Milan*, where he freely told the Emperor, *He would do well to leave off perſecuting the Church, and that he himſelf would rather ſuffer any Thing than turn* Arian. He cautioned him *to take heed how he unworthily fought againſt God who had made him Emperor; and told him, he would find it hard for him* to kick againſt the Pricks. He alſo added, *That he came with an Expectation to be baniſhed before any Thing was proved againſt him, as the reſt had been dealt with, through Malice and Falſhood.*

Conſtantius hereupon immediately baniſhed him to *Beræa*, a City of *Thrace*; but either to molify the Sentence, or in a generous Compaſſion to the Quality of the Perſon, he preſently ſent after him five hundred Pieces of Gold, as did likewiſe the Empreſs the ſame Sum: But he refuſed both, and bid the Bearer *return them to his Maſter, deſiring him to beſtow the ſame on his Soldiers, on his flattering and needy Courtiers, or on the* Arian *Biſhops, who hung upon him, and had need enough of them.*

them. Thus he went to *Beræa*, but continued not always in this resolute Mind, as we shall find afterwards.

Constantius having thus procured *Athanasius* to be condemned in the two pack'd Synods at *Arles* and *Milan*, he published severe Edicts against him, and commanded *he should be killed wherever he could be met with.* But several Tricks had been first used to persuade him to a voluntary Recess from *Alexandria*; which failing, the *Arians* began to carry it very high, and gave out what they would do in a little Time.

Whereupon the Clergy, and major Part of the City, came to *Serianus* the Commander of the Army, and besought him, *That no Disturbance might be made, till they could have Time to send to the Emperor*; To which with much Difficulty he assented, and confirmed his Promise with an Oath. But within a Month after this, he met above five Thousand Soldiers, and a great Croud of *Arians* with Swords and Clubs, and other military Weapons, broke by Night into the Church, where they were assembled for Divine Worship, and barbarously slew great Numbers of all Orders and both Sexes.

Athanasius not willing to leave his Flock in this Distress, called to the Deacon to sing the 136th Psalm, and the People answered, *For his Mercy endureth for ever.* Notwithstanding which he wonderfully escaped, and was convey'd through the Crowds, and secured out of their Reach. The People used all possible Means to give notice of this Violence to the Emperor, signifying, *They were ready to suffer Persecution, if it were his Majesty's Pleasure; but if not, they desired they might*

quietly enjoy their own Biſhop, and not have any other thruſt upon them.

Athanaſius having thus happily eſcaped the Hands of his Enemies, retired into the Wilderneſs, whence he had Thoughts to go in Perſon to the Emperor, and had proceeded on his Journey, till hearing the cruel Uſage of the Catholicks in all Places he concluded it in vain, and therefore went back to his Solitudes. No ſooner was he gone, but Count *Heraclius* comes with a Warrant from the Emperor, to the Senate and People of *Alexandria*, commanding them upon their Allegiance, jointly to proſecute *Athathanaſius*, and that he ſhould be ejected, and the Churches given up to the *Arians*; which Edict was executed with the utmoſt Rigour.

And now innumerable were the Violences, Butcheries and Barbarities exerciſed upon all kind of Perſons, while they broke open the Houſes every where, under the Prrtence of ſearching for *Athanaſius*. Under all, the innocent People only replied, *'Tis for the Truth that we ſuffer, we cannot communicate with Hereticks; go on to abuſe us as much as you pleaſe, there will be a Time when God will reckon with you for theſe Things.* Nor did this Rage extend only to the Living, but to inanimate and ſenſleſs Things; they took the Epiſcopal Chair, the Communion-Table, the Benches, and whatever elſe they could out of the Churches, and in the Streets made a Fire of them, caſting Frankincenſe into it.

This was a Day of Joy and Triumph to the *Pagans*, who concluded that certainly the Emperor and the *Arians* were coming over to them. Yea, ſo far were they elevated in theſe Hopes, that they

they wanted little of being upon the Point of ſetting up their *Heatheniſh* Rites. Which ill Conſequences, though mixed with ſome miraculous Appearances of God againſt them, prevailed not on the *Arians*, who *Pharaoh*-like went on with their bloody and furious Proceedings, inſomuch that ſome of the *Gentiles* abominated them, as the moſt mercileſs People in the World.

All the forementioned Evils were followed with far worſe, upon the Arrival of the new-deſigned Biſhop, who was one *George*, an inconſiderable Perſon, born in *Cappadocia*, a Country famous for the Lewdneſs of its Manners. *Nazianzen*, tho' of the ſame Country, calls him a *Cappadocian Monſter*, and proceeds to tell us, *He was a Man of a bad Race and worſe Qualities, being ſordidly educated, and of a rough Converſation, who did not ſo much as pretend to Religion, and was fit to perpetrate any Villainy, compoſing his Words and Actions to promote no other Deſigns than thoſe of Gluttony and Exceſs.*

Being ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria* by the *Arians*, and arriving there, he was introduced and inſtalled by the military Guard, after which this Wolf ſoon put off his Sheep's Clothing. For the People generally deteſting Communion with him, and aſſembling in the Churches as they were wont, *Philagrius* his Friend and Countryman (probably made Prefect of *Egypt* on this Occaſion) with an arm'd Multitude of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and all the Scum of the Rabble, broke into the Church, and what miſerable Havock they made there, is eaſy to imagine.

For now were the devoted Virgins hall'd to Priſon, Biſhops committed to the Cuſtody of Sol-

diers, Houſes of Widows and Orphans rifled, Perſons dragged out of their Habitations by Night, and the Brethren of Clergymen ill treated for their Relations Sake. Churches were ſet on fire, Bibles burnt, and the Communion-Tables overturned; *Jews* and *Heathens* pulling off their Clothes, defiled the Baptiſterys, ſacrificed Birds on the holy Table, praiſed their Idols, and blaſphemed the Son of God. I ſhall proceed no farther in theſe tragical Stories, ſo much to the Shame of human Nature, and much more to the *Chriſtian* Religion: It being certain that none of the *Heathen* Perſecutions came up to the cruel Proceedings of this *Arian* Biſhop, but were merciful and human in Compariſon thereto.

While they were engaged in theſe barbarous Proceedings, a Letter came from *Conſtantius* to the People of *Alexandria*, commending them for caſting out *Athanaſius*, whom he reviles as *a Cheat and Impoſtor, and one broke looſe from the Bottom of Hell*; ſaying, *he ran away into a voluntary Baniſhment, becauſe he durſt not abide a legal Trial*: Adding, *that they did well in adhering to the Reverend* George, *a Perſon moſt admirably verſed in Divine Things, who would conduct them in the Way to Heaven; upon whoſe Directions they ſhould depend, as upon a ſacred Anchor, to keep them ſafe from all Winds of Seduction and Error.* This is the Sum of his Letter, which how true it was, is ſufficiently evident at firſt Sight.

And that *Athanaſius* might be no-where ſecure, he wrote to the barbarous Countries to find him out, and deliver him up; and ordered that both People and Clergy ſhould be compelled to become *Arians*. But though the Storm thus raged, *Athanaſius*

nasius had, by Divine Providence, a ſecure Shelter in the Wilderneſs, enjoying a delightful Converſation with the Primitive Monks, who were very different from thoſe of latter Ages, and rather expoſed their Necks to the Sword, than they would diſcover him to his Enemies, in Conſideration of which he afterwards wrote an excellent Epiſtle to them.

And becauſe his Enemies every where reproached him for his Retirement, as an Argument of his Guilt, he wrote an *Apology for his Flight*. Therein he ſhews what great Couſe they had given him to make this Eſcape; and that he was warranted therein by the Will of God, the Reaſon of Things, and the Example of wiſe and good Men in all Ages.

He alſo quickly back'd this with an *Apology to the Emperor*, wherein he particularly anſwers at large to the ſeveral Crimes objected againſt him; and ſome Time after he further juſtified his Innocency, in *a Second Apology*, from the publick Atteſtations given of the ſame in ſeveral Synods. But notwithſtanding all this, ſuch was the Malice of his Enemies, being encouraged by the Emperor's Severity, that they ranſacked every Corner of the Wilderneſs to find him. This forced him to take up his Quarters where he had ſcarce Air to breathe in, and where only one Perſon came at him, to bring Neceſſaries and convey Letters to him.

The Emperor being lately come from *Rome* to *Sirmium*, the *Arian* Biſhops took this Opportunity to convene a Synod there. In this they endeavoured to ſmooth over Things to the Satisfaction of both Parties, framing for that End a new Confeſſion

feſſion of Faith, to which they reſolved to gain Subſcriptions, by ſome of the moſt eminent of the Catholicks.

They made their firſt Attempts on *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* in *Spain*, who had been a noble Confeſſor under the *Heathen* Perſecutions, and was for many Years engaged in the moſt important Affairs of the Church. He was a Perſon peculiarly dear to *Conſtantine*, and therefore often employ'd by him in compoſing great Differences amongſt *Chriſtian* Biſhops, and had a great Hand in drawing up the *Nicene* Creed, being an eminent Member of that Council. The *Arians* well knowing the Importance of having ſuch a Perſon brought over to their Party, or at leaſt ſent out of the way, applied themſelves to *Conſtantius*, ſignifying, that all their Endeavours to propagate their Cauſe would avail little, while *Hoſius* continued to oppoſe them, who was ſo highly eſteemed, that his Authority alone was ſufficient to arm the whole World againſt them.

The Emperor hereupon ſent for him, and endeavoured by fair Means to perſuade him to ſubſcribe and join with the *Arians*. But the good old Man utterly refuſed it, and ſo far prevailed on the Emperor for the preſent, that he let him return again in Peace to his own Country. Yet by the Inſtigation of the *Arian* Party, he quickly followed him with Letters full of Menaces and Reproaches.

To theſe he returned Anſwer, *That as he had ſuffered under the* Maximian *Perſecution, he was ready to do ſo again, rather than betray the Truth. That he had ſeen* Athanaſius *in the* Sardical *Council challenge all his Adverſaries, who were conſtrained*

to

to retire with Shame; that therefore he would not condemn him, nor join with the Arians. He cautioned the Emperor *to live under an awful Senſe of the Judgment to come, and to keep himſelf undefiled againſt that Day.*

The Party being more enraged by this bold Letter, incenſed the Emperor, *That* Hoſius *reflected on him as a Perſecutor, and inſtead of complying with his Majeſty's Deſires, condemned the* Arians *as Hereticks. Conſtantius* being greatly provoked, ſent again for him, and confined him a whole Year at *Sirmium*, as a Place of Baniſhment, till he himſelf came thither.

Hoſius was then handled with great Violence, and expoſed to many Torments, which ſo prevail'd on his great Age and Weakneſs, being now a hundred Years old, that he at length yielded to ſubſcribe the *Arian* Confeſſion. In him we have a great Inſtance of human Weakneſs, and how far a good Man may be overcome by the Violence of Temptation, after many Years Confeſſion of, and Suffering for Truth.

Marcellinus and *Fauſtinus*, two Presbyters, in their *Supplication to* Theodoſius *the Emperor*, tell us, that *Hoſius* returning into *Spain*, became a Perſecutor of the Orthodox. They more particularly relate, that being about to paſs the Sentence of Baniſhment upon *Gregory* Biſhop of *Illiberis*, the ſaid Biſhop thus appealed to Heaven. O Chriſt! *thou who art God, and wilt come to judge the Quick and the Dead, permit not Man to paſs Sentence upon thy Servant, but be thou Judge in thy own Cauſe, and pleaſe, by ſome Inſtance of Vengeance, to determine the Caſe; which I requeſt, not becauſe I am afraid to endure Baniſhment, or any other Puniſhment*

niſhment for thy Sake, but that others may be delivered from that Error whereinto they are inſnared.

Hereupon 'tis ſaid that *Hoſius* being juſt going to pronounce Sentence, was ſuddenly ſtricken from Heaven, his Mouth diſtorted, his Neck drawn awry; and that falling backward from the Bench, he preſently died, to the great Terror and Aſtoniſhment of all the Beholders.

This ungrateful Story is poſitively aſſerted by the aforeſaid Presbyters, within leſs than thirty Years after his Death, with an Appeal to all *Spain* concerning the Truth of it, as a Matter generally known. But probably they were of the *Luciferian* Schiſm, who abhorred all that once communicated with the *Arians*, and therefore were apt to make the Worſt of Things againſt ſuch; and that they did ſo in this Caſe we have good Reaſon to believe, becauſe *Athanaſius* expreſly affirms, that *Hoſius* on his Death-bed declared what Force had been uſed with him, and cautioned all to take heed of being infected with the *Arian* Hereſy.

It was about this Time that the *Arians* began to be divided into two Parties, one of which were called *Homoiouſians*, who ſaid the Son was of the like Subſtance with the Father; and the others, *Anomoeans*, who affirmed that he was in all Things unlike the Father. This Notion was ſtarted by *Aetius*, from whom this Party were alſo called *Actians*, as they were afterwards called *Eunomians* from *Eunomius*, who was Secretary to *Aetius*. That was alſo about this Time, to which St. *Jerom* refers, when he ſays, *The whole World wondered to ſee itſelf become* Arian.

The Court continuing ſtill at *Sirmium*, the *Arians* next Year called another Synod there, in which they

they framed a new Confeſſion of Faith, which was the more remarkable, becauſe Pope *Liberius* was prevailed on to ſubſcribe it, that he might obtain a Releaſe from his Baniſhment. He had now continued almoſt three Years in that State, and, as he plainly ſignified in a Letter to *Vincentius*, which we have in St. *Hilary*'s Works, was now grown weary of his Exile. This the Emperor underſtanding, ſent for him to *Sirmium*, and required him to ſubſcribe the *Arian* Creed.

This Confeſſion was drawn up in plauſible Terms, to which therefore, after Allurements, Threatnings and Force, this Pope at length declared his Conſent. Having done this, he was ſent to *Rome*, with Letters from the Emperor and Council, ordering, That he and *Felix*, who had been put in his Place, ſhould jointly manage the Affairs of that Church. But though *Felix* ſurvived *Liberius*'s Return eight Years, 'tis ſaid he was ſoon after it driven out of the City, either by the Senate or People; and that *Liberius* continued in the ſole Adminiſtration of this Epiſcopal Charge till his Death, which happened in the Year 366, before which, 'tis probably thought, he repented of this his Compliance.

The very next Year *Conſtantius* again convened the Biſhops, who drew up yet another Confeſſion of Faith (ſuch is the Inconſtancy of Error) in the Inſcription of which they ſet the Emperor's Titles, ſtiling him not only *Auguſt*, but *Eternal*, and alſo inſerted the Names of the Conſuls and the Day of the Month, *viz. May* 22. A tacit Acknowledgment, as *Athanaſius* wittily retorts upon them, *That their Faith was not that of the Antients, but took its Date only from the Time of* Conſtantius;

and that they who refuſed to own the Son of God *to be* Eternal, *yet ſcrupled not to give that Title to the* Emperor. In the Body of the Creed they poſitively declare what they had damned in ſome former Confeſſions, *viz. That the Son of God is in all Things like the Father.*

But the Troubles of the Church ſtill increaſing, the Emperor thought of compoſing things, if poſſible, by a more general Council, which was determined to be held at *Nicomedia.* But a great Earthquake having there ſhaken all to Pieces, they afterward pitched upon *Nice*, which was the rather approved of, as *Theodoret* will have it, that their Decrees being called by that Name, their Faith might paſs for the *Nicene* Faith. But hither alſo the Earthquake reached in its Effects, and therefore the Emperor conſulting the *Eaſtern* Biſhops, it was, after other Places nominated, concluded that the Council ſhould be divided, and that the *Weſtern* Biſhops ſhould meet at *Ariminum*, a City of *Æmilia* in *Italy*, and the *Eaſtern* at *Seleucia*, a City of *Iſauria.*

Summonſes being iſſued forth, there met at *Ariminum* about 400 Prelates, being convocated from all Parts of the *Roman* Empire, though they were generally *Weſtern* Biſhops, very few of the *Eaſt* being there. Being met, they could not at firſt agree, whereupon the Catholicks aſſembling in the Church, the *Arians*, who were not above 80, met ſeparate from them, in a Chapel or Oratory, though probably they afterward joined, or at leaſt converſed together. The *Arians* wholly declined medling with the Caſe of *Athanaſius*, and therefore they proceeded to Matters of Faith.

Urſatius

Urſatius and *Valens*, being back'd by the reſt of that Party, moved, That ſeeing a Multitude of Creeds diſtracted Mens Minds, all others might be aboliſhed, and only that compoſed at *Sirmium* eſtabliſhed for a univerſal Standard, as being approved by the Emperor. They pleaded that the Word *Conſubſtantial* was unſcriptural, and to many ſeemed obſcure; and therefore it were better, with the Scriptures, only to ſay, *That the Son of God is in all Things like his Father.*

But upon the reading of that Creed, the Catholicks cried out, *We came not hither becauſe we wanted a Form of Faith, we have one which we received from our Anceſtors, and which we preſerve intire, the Fathers of* Nice *having therein expreſſed all that is neceſſary.* The Emperor ſent a Command, that they ſhould determine nothing as to the *Eaſtern* Biſhops, who were met elſewhere; and that if they did it ſhould ſignify nothing, which Order they complied with a Time, till at length, ſeeing the Treachery of the other Party, they ſaw it neceſſary to confirm the *Nicene* Creed, which they did by a definitive Sentence, *That they ought to adhere to the* Nicene *Confeſſion, which contained the antient Faith of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and was from them handed down to the Fathers; and that therefore they ſhould add nothing to it, nor take any Thing from it:* To which Sentence all ſubſcribed.

Then they explicitly condemned the *Arian* Doctrine in ſeveral Propoſitions, wherein they ſtruck at the very Root of their Errors, cenſuring alſo ſeveral of the *Arian* Biſhops by Name, as obſtinate Hereticks and Corrupters of the *Nicene* Faith. This being done, they wrote an Account

of all to the Emperor, beſeeching him, that no Innovations might be made in the Faith, but that Things might remain as they had been ſettled by his bleſſed Father.

This Letter they ſent by ten of their own Body of honeſt Minds, but unexperienced in Arts and Subtilties, and eſpecially in Affairs at Court. Theſe meeting the ſame Number ſent by the *Arians*, who much outdid them in Craft and Experience, were through their Influence long kept from Audience. And at length the *Arian* Legates circumvented them, to believe their Difference was very ſmall, and but in one Word, *Conſubſtantial*, which was not worth contending about; and, in the Iſſue, they prevailed on them to communicate with the *Arians*. After this they were diſmiſſed, and Orders ſent to *Taurus* the Præfect, not to ſuffer the Synod to break up, till they had all yielded to the preſcribed Form, and that they that ſtood out ſhould be baniſhed.

Partly by theſe violent Proceedings, and partly by Fraud, they were impoſed on, and ſo the *Arian* Confeſſion was publiſhed as the Determination of the Council, which they often boaſted of, and ſet in Oppoſition to that of *Nice*. But notwithſtanding their preſent Conſent, the Catholick Fathers being returned home, were convinced of their Error, and retracted what they had ſubſcribed in that Council, confeſſing with Tears they had been over-reached by Fraud and Subtilty.

Having given this ſhort Account of the Proceedings at *Arminum*, 'tis Time we ſhould look into the *Eaſt*, and obſerve their Proceedings in the Synod at *Selucia*, contemporary with the other. On *Sept.* 27, 359. the Council was opened, and *Leonas* the

the Emperor's Treaſurer, being ſent by him to inſpect the ſame, told them, that every one of them had Liberty to propound what they thought convenient; but much Contention aroſe, whether firſt to enter on Matters of Faith, or to conſider the Caſe of the condemned Biſhops. The Iſſue was, that the Council divided into two Parts, the one was headed by *Acucius* Biſhop of *Ceſarea*, *George* of *Alexandria*, *&c.* to whom about 30 more joined themſelves. The other Party was managed by *George* of *Laodicea*, *&c.* being followed by the greater Number of the Synod. It being agreed that Matters of Faith ſhould be firſt diſcuſſed, *Acacius* and his Party contended that the *Nicene* Creed ſhould be aboliſhed, and another drawn up inſtead of it; the other Side were for adhering to the *Nicene* Faith, only that the Word *Conſubſtantial* ſhould be left out.

But now a third Party appeared, pleading for adhering to the Confeſſion drawn up many Years ſince at *Antioch*, which prevailed; and the next Day it was ſubſcribed, the Doors being ſhut to keep them out that oppoſed. At this the *Acacians* being offended, drew up a new Confeſſion, conformable neither to the *Nicene* nor *Antiochian* Creed, but couched in ſuch wary Expreſſions, as both Parties might ſubſcribe, to which about 40 Biſhops declared their Aſſent.

At this the Synod was much ſurprized, and began to examine this *Acacian* Confeſſion, asking them, *In what Senſe they held the Son to be like the Father?* The *Acacians* replied, That they affirmed him to be like him *in Will only*, not in Subſtance; but all the reſt affirmed him to be ſo *in Subſtance and Eſſence*. The Debate was managed with much Heat

Heat on both Sides, and and at length the Synod proceeded to depoſe *Acacius* and others of that Party, and ſent an Account of what they had done to the Churches and to the Emperor, and ſo diſſolved itſelf.

But the *Acacians* were to nimble for the other Party, and got firſt to Court, and ſo influenced and incenſed the Emperor, that he reſolved to cruſh all that were of the contrary Side; and in order to it was perſuaded to call another Council at *Conſtantinople*, whither he was now returned from the *Weſtern* Parts. Here met to the Number of fifty Biſhops or more, who were divided into two principal Factions, *viz.* the *Semiarian* or *Homoiouſian* Party, under the Conduct of *Baſil* of *Ancyra*, and *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtea*; and the *Heteroufians*, who held the Son to be of a quite different Nature from the Father, the chief Heads of which Party were *Matis* Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, and *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*, with whom ſided *Acacius*. But this latter Party was at laſt brought, through Fear, to condemn ſeveral *Arian* Expreſſions, as, *That the Son of God was made out of Things that appeared not*; *That he was a Creature, and of another different Subſtance with the Father*: But ſtill inſiſted on condemning the Word *Conſubſtantial*.

Upon which *Sylvanus*, turning to the Emperor, urged them with this Argument, *If the* WORD *be neither made out of nothing, nor be a Creature, nor of any other Subſtance, then he muſt be* Conſubſtantial *with the Father, as being God of God, and of the very ſame Nature with him that begat him.* This Argument, though unanſwerable, proved unſucceſsful; yea, the *Acacian* Party made ſuch Exclamations, that the Emperor was angry with the

the other Side, and threatned them with Baniſhment. But *Sylvanus* and others reſolutely told him, *He might appoint what Puniſhment he pleaſed, but it belonged to them as Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, to determine concerning Matters of Religion, and they would never betray the Faith of their Anceſtors.* At length having confirmed the Confeſſion agreed on at *Arminum*, with ſome few Alterations, there was an End put to this Synod at *Conſtantinople*.

Before the End of the ſame Year (*A. D.* 360.) *Conſtantius* coming to take up his Winter Quarters at *Antioch*, the *Arians* took that Opportunity to eſtabliſh their Cauſe by another Synod, and of damning the Word *Conſubſtantial*, declaring *the Son to be in all Things unlike the Father*; whence they had the Title of *Anomoeans*, and affirmed that *the Son was made out of nothing*; whence they had alſo the Title of *Exxcontians*. The See of *Antioch* was vacant at *Conſtantius*'s coming thither, and, upon a nice Inquiry, *Miletius* was judged fitteſt to fill it, who having been a moderate and prudent Man, was thought by each Party to be of their Mind; yet no ſooner was he ſettled here, but he openly declared for the Catholick Doctrine, and ſtoutly defended the *Nicene* Faith. Whereupon his Adverſaries were enraged, and procured him to be depoſed and baniſhed, and *Euzoias*, an old Acquaintance of *Arius*, to be put in his Place.

The Emperor finding the ſeveral Subdiviſions of the *Arians* tended only to undermine one another, reſolved, if poſſible, to bring them to a perfect Uniformity, by the Determination of a yet more General Council, which he intended to call at *Nice*, but was herein prevented by ſudden Death. He had ſome Years ſince joined his Kinſman *Julian* with

with him in the Government, having made him *Cæſar*, and ſent him into *France*, to defend it againſt the *German* Incurſions; which Province he managed with great Succeſs, till partly moved by his own Ambition, and partly by the Requeſt of the Army, he aſſumed the Imperial Name and Dignity, and was now marching into the *Eaſt* to maintain what he had done. The News of this greatly diſturbed *Conſtantius*; yet depending on his former Succeſſes, he patched up a Truce with the *Perſians*, and marched into the *Weſt* to meet his Nephew, but fell ſick of a Fever at *Tarſus*, and died at *Mopſucrenæ* in the Confines of *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*, in the 45th Year of his Age, in the Year of our Lord 361. having been firſt baptized by *Euzoias*.

He had naturally ſeveral good Properties, but was wholly given up to the Conduct of Flatterers, who filled all great Places, and miſerably oppreſſed and fleeced the People under the Shadow of his Authority. Neither his natural, nor his acquired Parts were extraordinary, though he affected to be accounted Learned; nor did he underſtand thoſe Controverſies which he ſo endeavoured to compoſe, by bringing all to his own Mind, having almoſt continually called Synods for that End, which laid him open to the Inſinuations of the *Arian* Party; who abuſing his Power, blemiſhed his Reign with the Blood and Ruin of more Catholick *Chriſtians* than perhaps had ſuffered under the Government of any one *Heathen* Emperor.

This Change of Government cauſed great Alterations in the Church as well as the State. *Julian*, either to pleaſe the People, or to reflect an Odium on *Conſtantius*, immediately ſent for the baniſhed

baniſhed Biſhops, and reſtored their confiſcated Eſtates, earneſtly adviſing the contending Parties to lay aſide all Feuds and Animoſities. This he did, as *Marcellinus* his own Hiſtorian tells us, not in Kindneſs to them, but becauſe he concluded that a general Toleration would ſet them together by the Ears, and ſo he might be more free from their Combinations againſt him, in the Courſes he intended to take. At firſt he treated the *Chriſtians* with much Humanity, commanding that no Violence ſhould be done them; but it was not long e'er he deprived the Clergy of their Honours and Incomes, ſarcaſtically ſaying, He did it that, being poor, they might the more eaſily enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

In the Beginning of this Reign a Riot happened at *Alexandria*, which yet facilitated *Athanaſius*'s Return, by the Death of *George* the *Arian* Biſhop, who was obnoxious to all ſorts of People. The Nobles hated him for his Pride, the common People looked on him as a Tyrant, the Catholicks fled from him as as a cruel Perſecutor; and the *Heathens* alſo hated him for prohibiting their Rites, and forcibly ſpoiling their Temples, which therefore upon *Julian*'s coming to the Empire they took an Opportunity to revenge. When they had abuſed him a whole Day, they at length brought him on a Camel to the Water-ſide, and there burnt him, and the Camel with him for Company, throwing his Aſhes into the Sea, leſt, as they ſaid, his Followers ſhould gather them up and build a Church over them, as they had done by others. This *George*, though decried by *Nazianzen* for his illiberal Education, muſt be allowed to be ſomewhat of a Scholar, as appears by

the excellent Library he left behind him repleniſhed with great Variety of Books, concerning which *Julian* gives a ſevere Charge, that they ſhould all be ſafely tranſmitted to him, as his Epiſtles inform us.

When the Tumult at *Alexandria* was over, *Athanaſius* returned from his Solitudes; and to ſhew he was a welcome Gueſt after his long Exile, the Ways and Streets were crowded with People to ſee him, as *Nazianzen* tells us. Every one ſtrove to outdo his Neighbour in putting a Grandeur on the Triumph, which was ſo great that it became proverbial, in expreſſing any great Pomp, to ſay, *The Great* Athanaſius *himſelf was not brought in with more Honour and Solemnity.*

His firſt Endeavour was to reform the Church, and to heal Feuds and Animoſities: Matters of Doctrine were reduced to their primitive Purity, the Faith of the Holy Trinity was purely taught, and he employ'd his Time in writing to, and receiving Letters from, the moſt eminent Biſhops and Churches in the World. Many other Prelates came in Perſon to ſee him, and for his Aſſiſtance aſſembled in Council at *Alexandria*, where they chiefly debated the Caſe of the lapſed Biſhops, who had in the Time of *Conſtantius* gone over to the *Arian* Party; and at length concluded, that upon Repentance and renouncing their Errors, they ſhould be reſtored to their Sees. Great Debates were among ſome concerning the Words *Eſſence* and *Perſon*, which the Council finding to riſe chiefly from a different underſtanding of thoſe Words, and miſtaking one anothers Meaning, concluded that the *Nicene* Creed was the beſt Compendium of Faith, and that therefore, for the future,

ture, they ſhould acquieſce in the Terms uſed therein.

While *Athanaſius* was employ'd in promoting the Good of his Church, his Enemies, both *Heathens* and *Arians* were diligent to undermine him at Court. *Heatheniſm* was now advanced to the higheſt Degree of Impiety; yet its Votaries could not be ſatisfied while he was in ſo much Eſteem, who kept the People from apoſtatizing to it. Then the whole Tribe of Philoſophers and Magicians complained, that all their Arts would avail nothing, unleſs *Athanaſius* was taken out of the Way; which ſo exaſperated *Julian*, that he ſent a peremptory Edict, that he ſhould be baniſhed on the very Day of its Arrival; and followed it with a Letter to *Eodicius* Governor of *Egypt*, concluding thus, *Of all your Services, none would be more acceptable to me, than to ſee and hear that* Athanaſius *is driven out of* Egypt; *a Wretch, that has dared under my Reign to force many honourable* Greek *Ladies to be baptized.* And when ſome Addreſſes were made in his Behalf, he wrote back, accuſing them for their Degeneracy; and tells them, what Shame it was that any in that City ſhould openly profeſs themſelves *Galilæans*, wiſhing them to hearken to him, who had been twenty Years a *Chriſtian*, but had now for twelve Years paſt, by the Help of the Gods, turned to the other Religion.

Athanaſius perceiving the Storm, upon the firſt Tidings of the Imperial Edict prepared to depart; and when his Friends burſt out into Paſſions of Grief, he ſaid to them, *Be of good Cheer, Sirs, let us give way a little, 'tis but a ſmall Cloud and will ſoon blow over.* He then preſently took Boat and

went down the *Nile* towards *Thebais*, but was immediately followed by the Officer that came to take him; of which Notice being given, his Friends desired him to go ashore and betake himself to the Desart. *No*, replied he, *let us rather return and meet our Executioner, that he may know, that greater is he that is with us, than he that is against us.* They instantly turned back, and the Officer and his Company coming near, did did not at all suspect that *Athanasius* was in a Boat going that Way; and therefore only asked them, *Whether they had seen* Athanasius? Who answered, *He was not far off, and if they made Haste they might meet with him.* Then they parted, and by this Means the good Man escaped, and concealed himself at *Alexandria* till the Storm was over, which happened soon after; for *Julian* being engaged against the *Persians*, was slain in the Battel, and notice miraculously given of it to *Athanasius* at *Alexandria* on the same Day.

This sudden Period of the short Reign of *Julian*, which continued not full two Years, put a mighty Damp on the *Heathen*, but inspired new Life into the *Christian* Cause. For *Jovian*, who, being Captain of the Guards, had been turned out for his resolute Profession of *Christianity*, was now declared Emperor, and immediately ordered the Governors of the Provinces to worship according to the Rules of the *Christian* Religion, that the banished Bishops should be restored to their Sees, and that the *Nicene* Faith should universally take place, sending Letters to *Athanasius*, the great Champion of this Cause, to direct him therein.

Athanasius thereupon called a Synod of the neighbouring Bishops, by which an Epistle was sent

ſent to the Emperor; wherein having ſet down the *Nicene* Creed, they thus conclude: "In this "Faith, Sir, we ought to continue, as being Di- "vine and Apoſtolical; nor can any Man alter "it by plauſible Pretences, or ſophiſtical Reaſon- "ings, as the *Arians* have done all along, who "affirm the Son of God to be made of Nothing, "that there was a Time when he was not, that "he was created and is mutable. For this Rea- "ſon the Council of *Nice* condemned that Hereſy, "and affirmed *the Son to be* Conſubſtantial, *i. e.* "*of the ſame Subſtance with the Father*; which is "the Property of a true genuine Son, begotten of "a true natural Father. Nor did they ſeparate "the Holy Ghoſt from the Father and the Son, "but rather glorified him together with the Fa- "ther and the Son, there being but one Godhead "in the Holy Trinity."

Athanaſius and a Committee of the Council were appointed to wait on the Emperor at *Antioch* with this Letter; and it was high Time for them to haſten thither, for the *Arians* of *Alexandria* had beforehand diſpatched ſome with a Charge againſt him, intreating that any one might be their Biſhop rather than *Athanaſius*. But *Jovian* the Emperor being informed, that they were the Dregs of that *George* the *Cappadocian*, who had waſted *Alexandria* and the whole World, he, for that Time, being on Horſeback, rode away from them. The next Opportunity they told the Emperor, they had ſeveral Crimes to alledge againſt *Athanaſius*, and that he had been baniſhed near thirty Years ago, by the ever-memorable *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*: To whom the Emperor replied, he knew for what Cauſe he was baniſhed, charging them to ſay nothing further againſt him.

They

They further proceeded to accuſe him a little after; but the Emperor told them, upon ſtrict Enquiry, he had found him Orthodox, and a Teacher of true Catholick Doctrine. To which they anſwered, *He ſpake well indeed, but diſſembled in his Heart. That*, replied the Emperor, *is enough which you teſtify of him, that he ſpeaks well, and preaches truly; for we that are Men can but hear what is ſpoken, 'tis God only knows what is in the Heart.* At length *Athanaſius* being come to *Antioch*, the Iſſue of all the Conferences was, that *Euzoius*, the *Arian* Biſhop of *Antioch*, loſt his Labour in endeavouring to ſettle *Lucius* in the See of *Alexandria*; and *Lucius* himſelf was commanded to be gone, and to behave himſelf quietly. Alſo the other Accuſers of *Athanaſius* were puniſhed; and he himſelf honourably diſmiſſed by the Emperor, with great Commendation for the Integrity of his Life, as well as the Soundneſs of his Faith.

At the ſame Time the *Homoiouſians*, one Sect of the *Arians*, who believed the Son to be of a *like* Eſſence with the Father, and are ſometimes by the Antients called *Semi-Arians*, preſented a Petition againſt the *Anomoeans* or *Heterouſians*, another Sect of them, who affirmed him to be of a quite *different* Eſſence; and therein requeſted, that either thoſe Things might be ratified which were concluded in the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, or elſe that a new Council of the Biſhops from all Parts might be called. But the Emperor taking their Petition, gave them only this Anſwer, *That he hated Contention, but loved and honoured all that were ſtudious of Peace and Concord.*

About

About the ſame Time a Synod was held at *Antioch*, wherein the *Acacian* Party, to comply with the Emperor's Religion, readily confirmed the *Conſubſtantial* Doctrine, and repreſented the ſame to him in an Addreſs, ſubſcribed by ſeventeen Prelates, and among the reſt by *Acacius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, than whom no Man had heretofore more vigorouſly oppoſed the *Nicene* Creed. In the mean Time *Aëtius* and *Eunomius*, who were Heads of the *Anomoean* Faction, diligently employed themſelves at *Conſtantinople* to ſtrengthen that Intereſt; but its being lately condemned at *Antioch*, together with the mutual Feuds of the *Arians* among themſelves, gave a notable Check to them, and proved an Advantage to the Catholick Cauſe.

But, alas! theſe promiſing Beginnings were ſoon quaſhed by the ſudden and unexpected Death of *Jovian*, continuing not above eight Months in his Government; to whom ſucceeded *Valentinian*, a great Friend to the Catholicks in the *Weſtern* Part of the Empire. But the *Eaſtern* Part he aſſigned to his Brother *Valens*, (*A. D.* 364.) who being baptized by *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, quickly after declared himſelf for the *Arians*; whereupon they knowing how to improve ſuch an Advantage, procured Edicts, that thoſe who had been baniſhed by *Conſtantius*, and reſtored by *Julian*, ſhould be again expelled their Churches. But the People of *Alexandria* began to remonſtrate, and intreat the Governor not to force away their Biſhop, alledging the Edict was only againſt ſuch as had been baniſhed by *Conſtantius*, and recalled by *Julian*; whereas indeed *Athanaſius* had fled in the Time of *Conſtantius*, but was by him reſtored,

and

and being the only Biſhop perſecuted by *Julian*, was again releaſed by *Jovian*.

The Governor notwithſtanding proceeded in his Reſolution againſt him, which the Multitude perceiving, made head, and reſolved to defend him by Force, threatning to burn the Corn-ſhips that tranſported Grain from *Alexandria*; to prevent which, the Governor prudently deſiſted at preſent, till he could give Notice to the Emperor. But *Athanaſius* foreſeeing what would happen, and fearing to be accuſed of Rebellion, privately retired out of the City, and hid himſelf four Months in a Monument belonging to his Family. His Retirement was ſeaſonable, for that very Night the Governor, attended by the Commander of the Forces, made a moſt ſtrict Search after him in all Corners of his Houſe, but not finding him they returned.

The People of *Alexandria*, to prevent Miſrepreſentation, ſent an Embaſſy to the Emperor, intreating him, that for Peace-ſake *Lucius* might be tranſlated to ſome other Place, and that *Athanaſius* might be ſuffered to live quietly with them. To which Requeſt *Valens* conſented, either in regard of the Veneration *Athanaſius* had in the Word, or elſe fearing to provoke his Brother *Valentinian*; or laſtly, leſt his Refuſal ſhould procure the Miſchiefs of Rebellion in *Egypt*: Yea, the wiſer Heads among the *Arians* did not diſapprove the ſame upon prudential Conſiderations. By this Means *Athanaſius* enjoy'd a calm and ſerene Seaſon the remaining Part of his Life, while the Storm raged in the neighbouring Churches round about him; ſome being ſcourged, beaten, impriſoned, others fined and their Eſtates confiſcated. And when for the Redreſs of theſe intolerable Grievances,

eighty

eighty Eccleſiaſtical Perſons applied themſelves to the Emperor, they were by his Order put into a Ship, under Pretence of being carried into Banniment; and the Ship being out at Sea, the Mariners, according to their Inſtructions, went into the Boat, and ſet the Ship on fire, wherein all theſe innocent Perſons periſhed.

Athanaſius being ſtill quiet at home, was by his Intereſt and Counſels greatly helpful in foreign Parts. Among others St. *Baſil* had lately deſired him to interpoſe his Influence and Authority for compoſing the Diſtractions at *Antioch*, and other Churches of the *Eaſt*, as being a Perſon whoſe Prudence and Piety, Age and Experience, had rendered him the fitteſt for ſuch a Work. But his Weakneſs, and the Multitude of his Affairs at home, would not permit him to undertake ſo great a Journey; however to ſupply the Want of his Preſence, he ſent as Deputy, beſides others, *Peter* a Presbyter of his Church, who laboured diligently in thoſe Matters, till he had brought them to a tolerable Compoſure.

Thus was *Athanaſius* employ'd in aſſiſting and encouraging the Governors of the Churches, and particularly in ſhewing his great Reſpect to St. *Baſil* (by writing in his Behalf, when the Monks of his Dioceſs quarrelled with him) whom he ſtiles, *The Glory of the Church*; and tells them, they had Cauſe to bleſs God that he had given ſuch a Biſhop to that Province: But at length, being full of Days, and broken with extraordinary Labours and Hardſhips, he died in a good old Age, about the forty-ſeventh Year of his Epiſcopal Office, (*A. D.* 373.) having recommended *Peter* his forementioned Presbyter to be his Succeſſor, and

given him many grave and wiſe Advices how to behave himſelf in thoſe troubleſome Times.

And when the Election came on, the People were generally pleaſed and rejoiced in his Deſignation of ſo worth a Perſon, who was therefore choſen, and his Ordination conſummated by the neighbouring Biſhops. But *Euzoius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, obtaining Warrants from the Emperor, came with them to *Alexandria*, and by the Help of *Palladius* the Governor, who was an implacable Enemy to *Chriſtianity*, ſeized *Peter* and caſt him into Priſon, and advanced *Lucius*, whom *Nazianzen* called a *Second Arius*, to the Epiſcopal Seat, giving him Power to do whatever made for the Intereſt of his Cauſe. *Peter* hereupon went to *Rome*, and after ſome Time, was ſo effectually recommended by Letters from Pope *Damaſus*, that he recovered his See, and drove out *Lucius*, who fled to *Conſtantinople*; but the Emperor at that Time was ſo buſied with Wars abroad, and with a threatned Rebellion at home, that he had no Leiſure to interpoſe in this Affair.

Greg. Nazianzen gives the following Character of St. *Athanaſius, viz.* That he was as humble in his Mind as he was ſublime in his Faith; a Man of incomparable Virtue, yet ſo courteous, meek and gentle, that any Man might freely addreſs to him: That in him all Ranks and Orders might find ſomething to admire and imitate; being unweareably conſtant in Faſting and Prayers, inceſſantly perſevering in Thankſgivings and Praiſes, admirable for his Care of the Poor and Condeſcenſion to the Humble, and at the ſame Time reſolute in his Oppoſition to the Proud: That he was a Patron to Widows, a Father to Orphans, a Friend

to

to the Poor, a Harbourer of Strangers, a Phyſician to the Sick, a Keeper of the Healthful, and *became all Things to all Men, that he might gain the more.* His natural Parts were acute, and his Reaſoning ſmart, though his Learning in Philoſophy and Arts was not great, his Time being chiefly employ'd in Theological Studies, in which he had made an extraordinary Proficiency, and was accounted as it were the Standard of the Age for his Judgment in them.

His Works have always been highly eſteemed in the Church, which are either Doctrinal, Polemical, or Hiſtorical. His *Doctrinal* Tracts are moſtly employ'd in explaining and aſſerting the main Principles of *Chriſtianity*, of which nature are his *Expoſition of the Faith*, his *Anſwer to* Liberius, *&c.* His *Polemical* Pieces are levelled againſt either *Heathens* or *Hereticks*, but he principally oppoſes his Forces to the *Arians*, and eſpecially in his *Five Orations* againſt them, a Book, which *Photius* thinks ſufficient alone to overturn the whole Foundation of *Arianiſm*, ſo fully has he managed the Controverſy in theſe Diſcourſes; out of which, as a Magazine, 'tis thought St. *Bazil* and St. *Gregory* drew their beſt Arguments to refel thoſe Errors. His *Hiſtorical* Books give a diſtinct Account of the moſt material Paſſages of his Time, for which we are greatly obliged to him, becauſe otherwiſe we had been left in groſs Darkneſs. Other Writers have little of the Hiſtory of the Church Affairs in thoſe Times, beſides what was borrowed from him. To conclude, thoſe that deſire a more compleat Account of his Works, with a Compendium of them, may be furniſhed therewith from *Du Pin's Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtical Writers.*

The LIFE of St. *HILARY*, Biſhop of *Poictiers*.

THE Place of St. *Hilary*'s Nativity was *Poictiers*, a City of antient Note in *France*, and is this Day the next in Extent to *Paris* itſelf, being an Epiſcopal See, and an Univerſity famous for the Study of the Civil Law. Antiquity has concealed from us the Names of his Parents, but it aſſures us they were Perſons of eminent Rank and Quality, who beſtowed on him a liberal Education, of which we have a clear Proof in his great Learning and Eloquence, which have rendered him famous throughout the *Chriſtian* World. He ſeems to have been educated in the *Heathen* Religion, and to be brought over to *Chriſtianity* by the moſt rational Methods of Conviction, of which he himſelf gives us the following Account.

Having throughly reflected on the *Pagan* Idolatries, he became convinced of the Follies and Vanities thereof, and thereupon ſet himſelf to ſtudy the viſible Frame of the Creation; and ſoon concluded that the Maker muſt needs be alſo the Preſerver and Governor of all Things, and that Omnipotency and Eternity are undoubtedly the incommunicable Perfections of that Divine Being. While he was engaged in ſuch Reflections, he met with the Books of the *Old Teſtament*, and was mightily affected with that comprehenſive Deſcription of God, *I am that I am*, which put him upon further

Searches

Searches into the Divine Nature and Excellencies; a Study, as he declares, very delightful to him. He was mightily encouraged in his Progreſs by the Natural Notices he had of a future State, concluding it an unworthy Thought of God to ſuppoſe him to have made ſo noble a Being as the human Soul, which is capable of knowing and admiring its Creator, with a Deſign it ſhould expire with the Body. Hence he proceeded to the Study of the Evangelical Revelation, and ſo came to the Knowledge of *Chriſt*, the excellent Deſign of his Coming, the Divinity of his Perſon, and the Myſtery of his Incarnation; that *the Word was God*, of the ſame Nature with the Father, and that this *Word was made Fleſh*, being God and Man in one Perſon. When he was thus throughly inſtructed in the *Chriſtian* Doctrines, he was baptized, and ever after reſigned his Underſtanding to the Authority of Divine Truth.

How he ſpent the former Part of his Life we have little Account, only that he was married, and had by his Wife an only Daughter called *Abra*, whom he ſtrictly trained up in Religion and Piety, and continued to cohabit with his Wife after he was made Biſhop; a married State not being then thought unſutable to that Office, as it has been ſince judged to be by the *Roman* Church, which has occaſioned great Scandals to *Chriſtianity*. St. *Hilary*, while a Layman, gave not that Liberty to himſelf, which is uſual for young Gentlemen to do, but kept himſelf under ſuch Diſcipline, that even then he ſeemed deſigned for ſome Eminency in the Church, being very ſtrict in his Life, zealous for the Catholick Faith, and againſt the Enemies thereof, with whom he would nave no Communication,

munication, nor ſo much as ſalute them. He ſpent much of his Time in inſtructing others in the Principles of Religion, and in perſuading them to the Virtues of a good Life, by laying before them the Rewards and Glories of Heaven; an Imployment which I doubt too many in this looſe Age, would think very unſutable to a Gentleman.

Being thus recommended by his Temper and Demeanor, he was, upon the Importunity of the People, made Biſhop of *Poictiers*, about the Year 354, or ſooner. And what he tells us in his Treatiſe *of Synods againſt the* Arians, I think worth our remarking in this Place, *That he had never heard of the* Nicene *Creed till he had been ſometime Biſhop, but that notwithſtanding by converſing with the Evangelical and Apoſtolical Writings, he well underſtood the Faith therein contained.* He being thus eminently ſeated, ſoon became famous for his illuſtrious Parts and Virtues, and was quickly invited to be concerned in ſome of the moſt important Affairs of the Church. An Occaſion of which was miniſtred by the *Arian* Faction, who having pretty well ſubdued the *Eaſt*, attempted to make a like Conqueſt in the *Weſt*; and in order to it procured a Synod to be pack'd at *Arles* in *France*, while *Conſtantius* was there; which, partly by Force, and partly by Fraud and Falſhood, drew not only *Saturninus* Biſhop of that City, but alſo *Vincentius*, Pope *Julius*'s Legate, into their Party. And a little above a Year after, they procured another Synod at *Milan*, wherein they more openly proſecuted their Deſign, and baniſhed thoſe who would not conſent to condemn the *Athanaſian* Cauſe.

Theſe unchriſtian Proceedings rouſed the Spirit of St. *Hilary*, who thereupon publiſhed a Remon-

ſtrance

ſtrance to the Emperor, *laying before him the deplorable State of the Catholick Party, humbly intreating him to deliver them from the Injuries of their Brethren; and that he would command the Governors of Provinces to ſuffer People to enjoy their own Biſhops and Paſtors, and alſo give Order for recalling thoſe excellent Perſons that were baniſhed.* He tells him, *There were eminent* Criſtians *before* Arius, *and that the Plague of* Arianiſm *had but lately infected the* Chriſtian *World; that its Parent was known, and the Nurſers of it of a modern Date; who,* he adds, *by Whips and Gibbets, Chains and Priſons, endeavoured to compel Men, not to become* Chriſtians, *but* Arians, *and abuſed the Imperial Authority to theſe Purpoſes: Inſtances of which there were in the two Synods of* Arles *and* Milan.

This was the Purport of his Addreſs, and that it procured not his Baniſhment, is probably owing to the Fears the Emperor had of the People of *France*, eſpecially ſince that Country was then invaded by *Barbarians*, which obliged him to ſend his Couſin *Julian* with an Army into thoſe Parts, having created him *Cæſar*. Nay, to ſweeten them, he at preſent ſo far complied as to publiſh an Edict, by which he prohibited *Biſhops being tried in Civil Courts, and commanded that their Cauſes ſhould be debated only by other Biſhops as proper Judges of the ſame.*

St. *Hilary* adviſed with the other Catholick Prelates in *France*, who were all highly offended with the Proceedings at *Arles* and *Milan*, and they unanimouſly agreed to abſtain from Communion with *Saturninus*, *Urſatius* and *Valens*, who were the prime Sticklers for the *Arians*. *Saturninus* being a Man of an ill Temper and worſe Morals, ſo

ſtomach'd

ſtomach'd this their Agreement, that by his Intereſt at Court he obtained a Synod to be held at *Beziers* near *Arles*, hoping that by the Influence he had in his own Dioceſs, and by the Countenance of the Civil Power, he might carry all Things according to his own Mind. Thereupon St. *Hilary* drew up a true State of the Caſe, and preſented it to the Synod, wherein he laid open the Craft of the *Arians*, and the Vitiouſneſs of their Cauſe, that their Brethren might not be deceived unwarily by them; but they would not ſuffer it to be read: So that moſt of the Prelates either complied with, or connived at what was done by the *Arian* Faction.

Saturninus got Letters to be ſent in the Name of this Synod, in which by falſe and ſly Inſinuations St. *Hillary* was ſo traduced to the Emperor, that he granted an Order for his Baniſhment as far as *Phrygia*, and the Warrant was ſent to *Julian* to put it in execution. Thereupon St. *Hilary* having diſpoſed his Affairs at home, and committed the Care of his Church to his Presbyters, went to the Place of his Exile, where he continued ſome Years, and there, as is probable, compoſed his excellent Work, in twelve Books, *of the Holy Trinity*, wherein he has largely and accurately handled the whole Controverſy.

In his Baniſhment he frequently wrote into *France*, giving his Friends an Account what Tranſactions were on Foot, what Deſigns the *Arians* were carrying on, what Conſultations he and his Friends, the *Eaſtern* Biſhops, had for the Intereſt and Security of the Catholick Cauſe. And there being a Rumour, that towards the End of the Year 358, a Council was to be held at *Ancyra* in the

the *East*, and another at *Arminum* in the *West*; he gave them Notice of it, and about the ſame Time wrote his Book *of Synods*, wherein he ſets down the moſt conſiderable Confeſſions that had been made ſince the Council of *Nice*, which he tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latin*, and illuſtrated with his own Notes. And, among other Things, he therein largely diſcourſes on the ſo much controverted Words *Homoouſion*, uſed in the *Nicene* Creed, and *Homoiouſion*, preferred to the former by the *Semi-Arians*, both which he ſhews may be expounded in a very ſound Senſe; though out of Reverence to the *Nicene* Fathers, and to prevent Diſſimulation, he thinks it beſt to keep to the Term *Homoouſion* or *Conſubſtantial*, there being no juſt Reaſon why any ſhould except againſt it.

St. *Hilary* having been about three Years in Exile, was called thence to the Council at *Seleucia*, by thoſe to whom the Emperor had committed the Charge of that Affair; and coming thither, he was gladly received by thoſe few Catholicks that were there, but rejected by the reſt, till he had cleared himſelf from an Aſperſion caſt upon him. For the *Arians* had traduced him and the Churches of *France*, as guilty of *Sabellianiſm*, or of maintaining, *That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, were only three Names of one and the ſame Perſon*; but having given an Account of his Faith, and cleared himſelf of this Charge, he was admitted to vote in the Council. There were but few beſides himſelf and the *Egyptian* Biſhops that ſtood by the *Nicene* Creed; yea, ſome there ventured to affirm, *That nothing could be in Subſtance like God*; *that in the Divine Nature there could be no Generation*; *that* Chriſt *was a Creature, and*

that as ſuch only he was ſaid to be born: At the hearing of which and the like Expreſſions, the Synod fell into great Diſorder. But the Iſſue was, that the *Acacian* Party, and their Form, *which denied the Father to be like the Son in Subſtance,* was condemned, and the Confeſſion of *Antioch,* made twenty Years before, was ratified and confirmed.

The Synod being concluded, he goes thence to *Conſtantinople,* reſolving to know the Emperor's Pleaſure, whether he ſhould go home, or return again to his Baniſhment. Upon his coming to Court, he found the Catholick Cauſe greatly declining, and therefore preſented three ſeveral Petitions to the Emperor for Liberty to come into his Preſence, and defend the Orthodox Faith againſt its Oppoſers; but this the *Arians* would by no means admit of. Next he preſented a Diſcourſe, which he ſeems to have pronounced in the Emperor's Preſence, wherein having begged a favourable Audience, he vindicates his own Innocency, and complains of the unhappy State of Religion at that Time, *in that new Creeds were multiplied ſo faſt, that the Faith was loſt in a Croud of Confeſſions, and was ſhaped according to the Humour of the Age, not according to the Truth of the Goſpel; that they were accounted the braveſt Men that could produce a Creed of the neweſt Faſhion and freſheſt Date, and moſt roundly pronounce an Anathema againſt thoſe that differ from them.* Then he goes on after this Manner, *Excellent Stewards of the Divine Myſteries! we form new Creeds every Year, yea our Creeds ſometimes change as often as the Moon: We make Decrees, and then repent of them; defend them, and then anathematize thoſe that defend them. Thus while we bite and devour one another,*

another, we are conſumed one of another. In ſuch ſharp reflections he employs a great Part of his Oration. And becauſe the Emperor required a Faith *agreeable to the Scriptures,* he replies *that the worſt of Hereticks pretend to derive theirs from thence; and therefore,* ſays he, *the Truth lies not barely in the Letter, but in the Senſe of Scripture, which becomes uſeful not merely by being read, but underſtood;* and then concludes with giving the Emperor an Account of that Faith, into which he had been baptized.

We have no certain Information what was the Iſſue of this Diſcourſe; but whatever it was, 'tis certain the *Arians* grew weary of him, and therefore perſuaded the Emperor to let him go home: Whereupon, being accounted the great Troubler of the *Eaſt,* he was commanded to be gone to his own Charge. As he returned he paſſed through *Italy,* and being arrived in *France,* he entered *Poictiers* in a triumphant Manner; where his Preſence filled the People with Joy, and inſpired a kind of new Life into them. Having ſomewhat ſettled his own Affairs at home, he began to look abroad, and endeavour to compoſe the Diſtractions of other Churches, which the State of thoſe Times greatly called for, moſt of the Biſhops of the *Weſt* having been drawn by Artifices into a Compliance with the *Arians* at *Ariminum.* And that which greatly added to the Unhappineſs of Things was, that while ſome were willing to own their Fault in thus complying, others were unwilling to receive them, affirming they were to be rejected as *Heathens* and *Publicans.*

But this good Biſhop was of a more mild and gentle Opinion, and being deſirous to gain them

that had been entangled, and bring them to Repentance, he procured Synods in ſeveral Parts of *France*, wherein theſe Matters were debated. Thither flocked ſuch lapſed Biſhops from all Places, and proteſted, *that whatever they might be accounted, their Conſciences did not charge them with Hereſy, that they thought Mens Minds and their Words had agreed together; and therefore could not have believed that* Chriſt's *Commanders would have fought againſt him; and that their only Fault was in entertaining a good Opinion of ſuch bad Men who had now betray'd them.* All this they acknowledged with Tears and Sorrow, and avowed themſelves ready to condemn the whole Body of the *Arian* Blaſphemies; whereupon they were reſtored to the Communion: But *Saturninus* of *Arles* not only continuing obſtinate in his Adherence to *Arianiſm*, but being alſo accuſed of great Miſdemeanors in his Life and Manners, was excommunicated by all the Biſhops of *France*.

Matters were thus brought in the *Weſt* to a tolerable State, by the Care and Induſtry of this great Man, and ſo continued for ſeveral Years, till *Auxentius* of *Milan*, who had been often depoſed and excommunicated by the Catholicks, had ſo craftily inſinuated himſelf into the Emperor *Valentinian*'s Favour, as to obtain an Edict from him for a quiet Poſſeſſion of his See: Which *Hilary* hearing of, reſolved on a Journey to *Milan* to detect him, and undeceive the well-meaning Emperor. Arriving at Court, he preſently fell on *Auxentius*, charging him with believing contrary to what he had profeſſed before the Emperor and others. *Valentinian* being moved with the Addreſs of ſo venerable a Perſon, referred the Matter to the Hearing

ing of two of his chief Officers, and ten Biſhops joined with them. *Auxentius* at firſt excepted againſt *Hilary*'s being heard as a Biſhop againſt him, becauſe he had been heretofore condemned by *Saturninus*; but that Plea being over-ruled, he then plainly declared, that *he believed* Chriſt *to be true God, and of one and the ſame Eſſence and Divinity with God the Father.* This Confeſſion was recorded, and preſented to the Emperor at *Hilary*'s Motion, who ſtill charged him with Diſſimulation herein; but *Auxentius* denied the whole Charge, and gave ſuch Satisfaction, that he was eſteemed a very Orthodox Biſhop, both by the People and the Emperor, who therefore charged *Hilary* to forbear any further Proſecution, and commanded him to be gone.

But being thus hindered from further ſpeaking, he next Year wrote a Tract againſt this Biſhop, and about two Years after that he collected the moſt material Tranſactions that had happened after the Council of *Arminum.* At length, worn out with his many Toils, Labours, and Sufferings, in defending and promoting the Faith, and having finiſhed his Courſe, he fell aſleep. His Death happened about ſeven Years after his Return from his Exile, on *Jan.* 13, 367. which therefore is, by the *Weſtern* Churches, conſecrated to his Memory. He was buried at *Poictiers* in his own Church, where many and great Miracles are ſaid to have been done by his Remains, which they that are curious in ſuch Inquiries, may find related in *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours*, and eſpecially in *Venantius Fortunatus*, who ſucceeded him in the ſame See above two hundred Years after, and wrote the Hiſtory of him in twenty Books; wherein had he been

been as careful to tranſmit the Particulars of his Life, as he was to give an Account of the Miracles ſaid to be done by him after his Death, we had been much more obliged to him for his Memoirs.

St. *Hilary* was one of more than common Severity of Life, all the Paſſages whereof, as well as his Writings, breathe an extraordinary Vein of Piety and Zeal for God: He had a mighty Veneration for Truth, refuſing no Pains or Study in the Search of it; and in the Defence of it he uſed an extraordinary Liberty of Speech, and was ſometimes tranſported beyond the Bounds of Decency, as is too evident in his Addreſſes to the Emperor *Conſtantius*, wherein he ſometimes uſes Expreſſions inconſiſtent with that Reſpect which is due to ſuch dignified Perſons, though otherwiſe he was of a very mild and gentle Temper. In ſhort, he was in the *Weſt*, what *Athanaſius* was in the *Eaſt*, the great Support of the Catholick Cauſe, to which he remained conſtant, when all other Biſhops ſunk into an unwarrantable Compliance. He principally applied himſelf to Theological Studies, and became a great Maſter of the Controverſies of thoſe Times, being one of the firſt among the *Latins* that openly undertook to defend and explain the Catholick Cauſe. His Works, whereof we have mentioned the Chief as they came in our Way, are written with a Tincture of the *French* Language, and in ſo intricate a Stile, that they often require a ſecond and more attentive reading in order to underſtand them.

The

The LIFE of St. *BASIL*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*.

NEocæſarea, a City in *Pontus* in the leſſer *Aſia*, was the Place of St. *Baſil*'s Nativity, (about the Year 328.) as 'tis generally believed, becauſe 'tis certain here he was educated from his Childhood; and here he ſpent a great Part of his Life afterwards. His Deſcent, both by his Father and Mother, was from an antient and honourable Race, his Anceſtors being Perſons of equal Reputation for Nobility and Virtue, famous both in the Court and Camp, and who had borne the higheſt Offices in their Country, but were eſpecially renowned for their Piety and Conſtancy in the Profeſſion of Religion. For this they were expoſed to very great Sufferings under the *Maximinian* Perſecution, in Compariſon of which all the former were mild and gentle; to avoid the Fury of which they fled to one of the woody Mountains of *Pontus*, where they were expoſed to Hunger and Cold, and all the Hardſhips of a barren and diſconſolate Place; till at length God ſupplied their Wants by a Miracle, cauſing a Herd of fat Deer to come out of a Thicket, and tamely offer themſelves to their Hands. His immediate Parents were famous both for their mutual Kindneſs, and alſo for their Charity to the Poor, and Hoſpitality to Strangers, and for all the Virtues of a good Life. His Father's Name was *Baſil*, a Man prudent and religious;

and

and his Mother's Name was *Emmelia*, a Woman of a ſtrict Conduct, of rare Accompliſhments, and alſo greatly famed for her Beauty.

Our St. *Baſil* their eldeſt Son, was a Youth of a goodly and promiſing Aſpect, an Index of a more than ordinary Wit and ingenuous Mind. His firſt Studies were under the Conduct of his own Father, who carefully educated him in all the Rudiments of Learning, but eſpecially in the right Notions of Religion and Piety, which he promoted both by his Inſtructions and Example. And no leſs induſtrious herein was his Mother *Emmelia*, but eſpecially his Grandmother *Macrina*, who had been ſometime an Auditor of the famous St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*; and having formerly ſuffered for the Principles he had inſtilled into her, ſhe now took all Care to communicate the ſame to her Grandchildren, as St. *Baſil* often gratefully owns in his Epiſtles.

Having ſpent five Years in preliminary Studies under his Father, he reſolved to endeavour his Advancement in Learning by Travel, and probably firſt went to *Antioch*, and ſat ſome Time under *Libanius* the moſt celebrated Philoſopher and Orator of the Age. Hence he went to *Cæſarea* the Metropolis of *Paleſtine*, then famous for Schools of Learning, where he ſoon outſtript his Fellow-pupils, and was reverenced by all for his eminent Learning, but eſpecially for his more excellent Life; for he chiefly applied himſelf to the Divine Philoſophy, of weaning his Heart from this lower World, and ſetting his Affections upon heavenly and eternal Enjoyments. From *Cæſarea* he removed to *Conſtantinople*, then lately become the Imperial City, wherein were many eminent Pro-

Profeſſors of Rhetorick, and of the Philoſophical Sciences.

Having drawn in the ſeveral Excellencies of his former Tutors, to crown all he went to *Athens*, ſo famous for Learning, that it was ſufficient in thoſe Days to give a Man the Reputation of a Scholar, to have ſpent ſome Time in that Univerſity. Such was his Fame here, that they were big with Expectations of his coming, every one ſtriving to get him for their Pupil; and ſeveral troubleſome Ceremonies commonly uſed in the Initiation of Scholars were diſpenſed with, from their great Reverence towards him, as a Perſon advanced beyond the Laws of ordinary Students. Here he met with *Gregory Nazianzen*, who had been formerly his School-fellow, between whom was contracted a moſt intimate Friendſhip, which nothing but Death could terminate; ſo that as *Nazianzen* himſelf expreſſes it, *they ſeemed to have but one Soul between them.* One of the firſt Inſtances of Freedom and Familiarity was given by *Nazianzen* on the following Occaſion. Some *Armenian* Students, who are naturally a cloſe and ſubtile People, being vexed to be outdone by a Novice, who had but juſt got on the Philoſophick *Pallium*, came to him under the Pretence of Friendſhip, and endeavoured by ſophiſtical Arguments to beat him down at the firſt Attempt. *Nazianzen* finding him too hard for them, for the Honour of the Univerſity fell on their Side; but afterwards finding them to contend only through Envy and not for Love to Truth, he preſently deſerted them, and ſo left St. *Baſil* to deal with them alone, which quickly turned the Scale, and cauſed them to retire with Shame.

Two of the moſt eminent Sophiſts, and of the greateſt Renown for Learning and Eloquence then at *Athens*, were *Himerias* and *Prohæreſias*, and upon that Account greatly in Favour with the Emperor *Julian*. The latter of them was an *Armenian* born, and therefore had the Youth of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and the neighbouring Countries, committed to his Tutorage. He was highly eſteemed by the Emperor *Conſtans*, who ſent for him into *France*, and placed him amongſt the Nobles at his own Table. Under theſe Maſters *Baſil* happly improved his Time, but yet quickly grew weary of the Place, as not anſwering his Expectations, and therefore uſed to call *Athens* an empty and vain Felicity.

He had indeed left this City ſooner, had it not been for the Perſuaſions of his dear Friend *Nazianzen*, who both equally increaſed in their mutual Love and Affections, and advanced in their Learning and Piety. They kept Company only with the Meek and Humble, and thoſe whoſe Converſation was likely to make them better; and eſpecially applied themſelves to thoſe Parts of Learning, which were, though not ſo pleaſant as others, yet moſt profitable, and apteſt to miniſter to Virtue and a good Life. And though *Athens* was a dangerous Place, being the Seat of Idolatry, yet they were ſo far from being tempted from their Religion, that they were the more confirmed in it by beholding theſe Abominations. In ſhort, they became famous both in City and Country, and wherever their Tutors were known, theſe were mentioned as the Glory of them.

Baſil now reſolved upon returning home, having repleniſhed his Mind with all the Learning

Athens

Athens could furniſh him with, but found great Difficulty to break looſe from the Intreaties of his Friends, and eſpecially his moſt endeared Friend *Nazianzen*; to part from whom, though but for a little while, ſeemed like pulling Soul and Body aſunder. In his Return he paſſed by *Conſtantinople*, as a Place full of Snares, and went directly for *Antioch*, compleating his more polite Studies under *Libanius*, who now received him as an intimate Friend, and beheld him with a profound Veneration. Here he for ſome Time made uſe of his Oratory in pleading Cauſes at the Bar with great Applauſe, but ſoon grew weary of that, and applied himſelf wholly to the Study of the Scriptures and the Expoſitions of the Antients.

He was eſpecially converſant in the Comments of *Origen*, by reading whereof he became an eminent Oppoſer of the *Arians*, ſhewing how little they underſtood that illuſtrious Writer, while they pretended him to be on their Side. In this Study he and *Nazianzen* ſpent much Time, noting what was of moſt uſe in that great Man's Comments: Part of which Collections are ſtill extant, under the Title of *Philocalia*, conſiſting of Queſtions on the Scripture, with Solutions out of *Origen*'s Comments, put together by theſe two Learned Men. But *Baſil* was yet for farther Travels, and therefore ſpent a conſiderable Time in *Egypt*, *Paleſtine*, *Cœloſyria*, and *Meſopotamia*, among the devout and pious *Aſceticks* and *Hermites* of thoſe Countries, whoſe ſtrict Courſe of Life he greatly admired; and then he returned back and ſettled at *Cæſarea*, the chief City of *Cappadocia*.

Here he received a Letter from *Julian*, now advanced to the Imperial Seat, who was himſelf a

Learned Prince, and a great Patron of Learning in others. Having Acquaintance with *Baſil* while they were Fellow-ſtudents at *Athens*, he now invited him to Court, aſſuring him, notwithſtanding their Difference in Religion, he ſhould find a hearty Entertainment and all Freedom of Diſcourſe, and ſhould have Liberty to return whenever he pleaſed. But the good Man was ſo concerned about the Emperor's Apoſtacy from *Chriſtianity*, that inſtead of accepting his Invitation, he it ſeems ſpoke ſome Things to his Diſadvantage: Whereupon, by a ſecond Letter, *he let him know how much he reſented his Impudence, and the ill Character he had given of him, demanding of him a vaſt Sum of Money towards his* Perſian *Expedition, as ever he hoped to enjoy his Favour.*

Baſil, nothing diſmay'd, preſently returned him a ſmart Anſwer, telling him, *that being ſeduced by wicked and malignant Dæmons, he had exalted himſelf againſt God and his Church, and was fallen from that hopeful State that his firſt Eſſays had given of him while he was a Student at* Athens. *That as for the Sum demanded, he had taken wrong Meaſures in requiring it from a poor Scholar, whoſe Houſe was a Stranger to the Arts of Cookery, a few Colworts with Cruſts of Bread, and a little dead Wine, being ſome of the moſt coſtly Proviſions that were ſerved at his Table.* 'Tis probable St. *Baſil* might write other Epiſtles to him in the Defence of *Chriſtianity*; all which *Julian* thus magiſterially cenſured, *I have read, underſtood, and condemned what you have written:* Whereunto the former returned this elegant Repartee, *You have read but not underſtood, for had you underſtood you would not have condemned it.*

Before

Before we leave *Julian* let us briefly obſerve the Miſchief he did at *Cæſarea*, where St. *Baſil* had now his Reſidence. It was a great and populous City, where lived but a ſmall Number of *Pagans* but great Multitudes of *Chriſtians*, who, as they had formerly pulled down the Temples of *Jupiter* and *Apollo*, ſo they lately demoliſhed a Temple dedicated to the Genius of the City; which put *Julian* in a great Rage, being then earneſtly bent upon the Advancement of *Heatheniſm*. He was greatly offended with the *Gentiles*, though but few, that they had not ventured all to prevent it; and was provoked againſt the Governor becauſe he had not carried it with ſufficient Severity againſt the *Chriſtians*; who pleading in his own Defence, how barbarous it would have been to fall violently upon ſo great a Multitude, *Julian* replied, *It had been but a ſmall Thing if one* Gentile *had diſpatched ten* Galilæans. The Governor had like to have loſt his Life for this prudent Moderation, but his Sentence was at length changed into Baniſhment.

The City he deprived of its Charter, and would not ſuffer it any longer to be called by the Name of *Cæſar*, a Name it had born ever ſince the Time of *Claudius*; but it was afterwards called *Mazaca*. He ſeized on the Treaſures of the Churches, commanding that three hundred Pounds of Gold, making between ten and eleven thouſand Pounds Sterling, ſhould be immediately paid into the Exchequer.

The Clergy he cauſed to be entred upon the Muſter Rolls to ſerve as Soldiers under the Governor; the People he put under Tribute, and after all ſwore, that unleſs the Temple were rebuilt,

built, he would not ſuffer a *Galilæan* to wear a Head on his Shoulders. To be ſure St. *Baſil* and *Nazianzen* eſpecially had been ſeverely handled at his Return from the *Perſian* Expedition, but that it pleaſed God by his merciful Providence to prevent it, *Julian* being therein quickly taken off by a violent Death in the 23d Year of his Age, when he had reigned not full two Years; and 'tis ſaid St. *Baſil* had a Viſion of it the ſame Night he was ſlain.

St. *Baſil* having been ſometime Reader in the Church of *Cæſarea*, was made a Deacon by *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch*; in which Station he had been preſent at the Synod held at *Conſtantinople* in the End of the Year 359. where he aſſiſted *Baſil* Biſhop of *Ancyra*, the Head of the *Homoiouſian* Party, againſt the *Anomœan* or *Heterouſian* Sect: After which he returned home to *Cæſarea*, and chiefly converſed with thoſe that were inclined to a Monaſtick Life. It then happened that the See of *Cæſarea* became void, and after great Struggling and Diſſention the Choice unanimouſly fell upon one *Euſebius*, a Gentleman of Note and Authority in the City, and of a very pious Life, but a Layman, and yet unbaptized. Him the People laid hold on, and tho' he proteſted againſt it, brought him to the Church, deſiring the Biſhops there preſent that he might forthwith be baptized and ordained, which they complied with, ſeeing no other way to allay the Tumult; but when at Liberty, they began to diſown what they had done, pleading it was Uncanonical.

Only *Gregory* Biſhop of *Nazianzum*, a little Town in that Province, and Father to *Nazianzen*, afterwards his Succeſſor, maintained the Election.

And

And that which rendered the Caſe worſe was, that *Julian* now lay at *Cæſarea*, who was greatly perplexed, not only that a *Chriſtian* Archbiſhop was choſen by ſuch numerous Votes under his Noſe, but becauſe he was a Man whom he liked not. The Governor of the Province likewiſe had no Kindneſs for *Euſebius*, and therefore Letters were ſent to the ſeveral Biſhops, commanding them with Menaces to come and make void the Election. Among the reſt one came to old *Gregory*, who immediately returned this ſhort Anſwer: *That in theſe Matters they were ſubject to a higher Prince, who would himſelf examine the Election which they had rightly made.* Which Anſwer, though at firſt not pleaſing, yet afterward allay'd the Emperor's Fury, and ſtopped further Attempts againſt him.

After ſome Time *Euſebius*, the new choſen Biſhop, took an Occaſion of Offence againſt *Baſil*; and though a good Man, herein exceeded the Rules of Prudence and Religion: Whereupon being exceptionable as to his Election, ſeveral of great Reputation fell in with the latter, ſo that great Numbers, both of the Magiſtrates and common People, ſeparated from the Biſhop. Things ripening ſo faſt towards an open Breach, *Baſil* being at a great Loſs how to carry it in this Juncture, thought it beſt for the Peace of the Church to retire for a Time into the Wilderneſs, and lead a ſolitary Life, which greatly agreed with his Inclination. He firſt went to *Neocæſarea*, the Place of his Education, where he met with ſeveral excellent Acquaintance, and finding it a Place of convenient Retirement, he continued there a good while.

But

But at last the Society increasing, he withdrew into the adjacent Wilderness, and took up his Residence in the Mountains, Part thereof being very pleasant in its natural Situration, and exceeding fit for a contemplative Life. With this Station he was mightily pleased, and wanted nothing to compleat his Felicity but the Company of his dearest Friend *Nazianzen*, whom he often invited by Letters, and at length prevailed on to come; their meeting to be sure was mutually joyful and pleasant. These eminent Persons being there, drew great Multitudes after them, who soon grew up into religious Societies, and spent their Time in singing of Psalms, Prayers, Meditations, reading and expounding the holy Scriptures, and in the constant Exercises of Piety and Virtue, as also in bodily Labours; which at once afforded both Maintenance and Recreation.

The People of *Cæsarea* had greatly resented his Departure, and often wrote to desire his Return; to whom he sent an *Apologetical Epistle*, excusing his Retirement, and desiring their Forbearance for a Time: And withal he cautions them therein, *to take heed of Impostors and false Teachers, and particularly maintains the Deity of the Son of God, but especially the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.* But now the good Man found that even the Solitudes of the Wilderness could not secure his Quiet; for *Musonius* Bishop of *Neocæsarea* being lately dead, the People passionately desired *Basil* for his Successor; whereupon the *Sabellian* Faction in that City strongly opposed his Election, and to lessen his Reputation loaded him with Reproaches. They charged him with Innovations in Religion, in setting up Monachism, and with Ambition in endeavouring

vouring to intrude himſelf into the *Neocæſarean* See, and that he had forſaken the Doctrine of their Anceſtors, and eſpecially of St. *Gregory*, the firſt Founder of their Church, whoſe Doctrine they pretended to be the ſame with their own.

Tidings of this coming to him, he betook himſelf to his Defence, writing firſt to the Presbytery and then to the whole Clergy, telling them, *that as to his forming Men into a Monaſtick Life, he was ſo far from owning it as his Fault, that he thought it his Glory, not knowing how Perſons could be better employ'd than by Faſting and Abſtinence to to* crucify the Fleſh with its Affections and Luſts: *That as to his aiming at the Epiſcopal Throne, nothing could be more falſe and groundleſs, as appeared from his Carriage for ſeveral Years in avoiding it, when earneſtly importuned thereto. That,* laſtly, *as to his Doctrine, it was Sound and Orthodox; and that whereas the* Sabellians *ſheltered themſelves under an Expreſſion of St.* Gregory, *he ſhews that that Paſſage only dropt unadviſedly from him in the Heat of Diſpute againſt* Ælian *a* Gentile, *and that his Works in general yield abundant Confutation of* Sabellianiſm.

Though he continued ſtill in the Wilderneſs, he was not there always cloiſtered up in a loneſome Cell, but made frequent Excurſions into the Province, preaching both in Cities and Villages, ſo that ſerious Religion was greatly promoted by him throughout the whole Country. But now great Endeavours were uſed to heal the Breach between *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* and him, whoſe Return the People impatiently deſired; and there was great need of it, for the *Arian* Faction, being encouraged by the Emperor *Valens*, carried all

before them, and made great Advantage of his Abſence, becauſe the Biſhop, though a good Man, was little verſed in thoſe Controverſies. But eſpecially his Friend *Nazianzen*, having been neceſſitated to leave his Solitude to aſſiſt his aged Father, earneſtly ſollicited *Euſebius* for a Reconciliation, and that with ſuch Freedom and Boldneſs, as at firſt provoked his Anger, for which the other apologized with a becoming Submiſſion, but yet abated nothing of his Importunity.

At length *Euſebius* was brought to a good Temper, and ſhewed himſelf forward to an amicable Reconciliation, promiſing he would by his own Letter intimate ſo much to St. *Baſil*, and invite him to return. This good News *Nazianzen* immediately ſent to his Friend, adviſing him to prevent the Biſhop's Kindneſs either by his Preſence or his Letter, or rather by the latter firſt, and then the former, that he might rather ſeem to overcome than to be overcome; ſignifying that the State of the Church much required his ſpeedy Preſence. After this *Nazianzen* himſelf went to him, and found it no difficult Matter to prevail on him to return, his Mind being already poſſeſs'd with the Condition of the Church, and the Neceſſity of his coming, and that therefore all private Grudges ſhould be laid aſide.

Being arrived, he employ'd himſelf in healing Breaches, and in oppoſing the Enemies with great Succeſs; and to ſhew that he was perfectly reconciled to his Biſhop, he carried it towards him with profound Obſervance, excuſing and extenuating his late Unkindneſſes towards him. He was in ſhort the Staff of his Age, the Support of his Faith, the Guide of his Family, and the Agent

of

of his Affairs abroad; ſo that though he was below the Chair, yet the Reins of Eccleſiaſtical Government were in his Hands, *Euſebius* governing the People, and *Baſil Euſebius*, who was content to ſhine with that Luſtre, which the other's wiſe and prudent Management reflected on him.

He addreſſed himſelf freely and boldly to the greateſt of Men, when it was needful either to compoſe Differences, or to promote the Cauſe of the Poor; for which latter an extraordinary Occaſion fell out, by reaſon of a violent Hail of a vaſt Bigneſs, that had fallen in the preceding Year, which beſides other Miſchiefs, deſtroy'd many Mens Lives; and after that there was a great Inundation and terrible Earthquakes, followed by a dreadful Famine, which eſpecially raged in *Cappadocia*. In this diſtreſſed Time, *Baſil* ſo earneſtly and prevalently applied himſelf to the Poor and Neceſſitous, miniſtring at once both to their Souls and Bodies.

About the ſame Time Proof was made of his Conſtancy to the Truth; for *Valens* the Emperor being puffed up with his Succeſſes againſt the *Goths*, reſolved forcibly to carry on the *Arian* Cauſe; and and in order to it, having made Havock in ſeveral other Provinces, was now come to *Cappadocia*, *Modeſtus* the Prefect coming before him to *Cæſarea*, endeavoured by Promiſes and Threatnings to bring over St. *Baſil*, but he remained unmoveable againſt all Attempts; notwithſtanding which the Emperor for that Time departed, without any further Proceedings againſt him.

Thus St. *Baſil* was providentially preſerved to ſupply the Vacancy, which was now made by the Death of *Euſebius*, who having governed that See

above eight Years, expired in his Father's Arms, who piouſly aſſiſted him in his dying Hours. He well knew Endeavours would be uſed to place him in that Seat, and therefore to avoid it withdrew himſelf, under a Pretence of Indiſpoſition; but knowing what Advantage the *Arians* would make of his Abſence, he ſent to *Nazianzen*, earneſtly intreating him to come and take Care of this momentous Affair. But *Nazianzen* was ſo far from hindring his Election, as he had deſired he would, that he promoted it by ſeveral Letters written to the Clergy and People, to aſſure them of his extraordinary Fitneſs for it, above any other he could think of. And of the ſame Judgment was his antient Father the Biſhop of *Nazianzum*, by whoſe Approbation, and in whoſe Name he wrote to the People of *Cæſarea*. Yea, ſuch was the Deſire of this old Biſhop of St. *Baſil*'s Settlement in this Province, that he not only himſelf wrote ſeveral Letters to further it, but he alſo followed them with his own Preſence, though by his great Weakneſs and Infirmities he ſeemed more like a Corps to be laid in the Grave, than a Man fit to take a Journey; but God ſo favoured his good Deſigns, that he returned home much more vigorous and ſtrong than before. Coming to *Cæſarea* he found, as he expected, the *Arians* making their utmoſt Efforts againſt *Baſil*, the Oppoſition being managed moſtly by the Governors and great Men of the Court Party; but Truth and Honeſty prevailed, and ſo the Choice fell upon him, and he was ſolemnly conſecrated by the Prelates to that high Station, in the Year 369.

The Hurry being over, *Baſil* received a congratulatory Letter from his Friend *Nazianzen*, expreſſing

preſſing hearty Joy for this his Advancement, eſpecially at a Time when the Church ſo much needed his prudent Conduct. But no ſooner was he placed in the Epiſcopal Chair, than the Storm lately blown over returned with greater Fierceneſs, by *Valens*'s coming a ſecond Time to *Cæſarea* with his Attendants, to promote the *Arian* Cauſe, being vexed to ſee him choſen Biſhop, notwithſtanding all their Intrigues to prevent it.

At their firſt Arrival he was ſent for by *Modeſtus* the Prefect, who exhorted him *to comply with the Emperor's Religion.* To whom he replied, *That is inconſiſtent with the Will and Command of my Supreme Emperor, nor can I ever be brought to worſhip a Creature, who am myſelf God's Creature, or to adore one that is a made God, who am myſelf commanded to become a Partaker of the Divine Nature.* At this the Prefect was in a Paſſion, and threatned him with Puniſhments. *What are thoſe Puniſhments?* replied the Biſhop; *Are they confiſcation of Goods, Baniſhment, Torments, or Death? None of theſe can reach us; for we need not fear Confiſcation who have nothing to loſe, unleſs a few old tattered Clothes, and a few Books, which is all my Eſtate; as for Baniſhment, I regard it not, who am tied to no Place, ſeeing the whole Earth is the Lord's, whoſe Pilgrim and Sojourner I am: For Torments, my Body can't bear them; and then as for Death, I ſhall eſteem it a Kindneſs and Benefit, ſeeing it will only ſend me the ſooner to God, for whom I here live, and to go to whom I am deſirous to die. In other Things we are very ſubmiſſive and humble, according to the Laws of our Religion; but when the Cauſe of God is at Stake, we overlook all Things elſe, and fix our Eyes only upon him. You*

may therefore threaten us, but let the Emperor know you cannot conquer us. And as for the Advantage of the Emperor's Favour upon Compliance, offer these Things to Children, who are wont to be caught with such Baits. I highly value the Emperor's Friendship while I can enjoy it with the Favour of God, but without that I look on it as dangerous and deadly.

Modeſtus being enraged, replied, *Sure you are mad*, wiſhing him to conſider better of Things; but though he thus left him in a ſeeming Anger, he could not but have an inward Veneration for him, and told the Emperor, *They were overcome by this one Biſhop, whom no Threatnings could ſhake, nor Promiſes allure.* *Valens* had that Generoſity as to admire Virtue even in an Enemy; and though he was aſhamed to deſert his Party, yet he ſtrictly commanded all violent Proceedings againſt him to be ſtopt, and ſought a fair Opportunity of inſinuating himſelf into his good Opinion; which he attempted, by going into his Church when thronged with great Multitudes at Divine Worſhip. But beholding the Order and Decorum of the Service, the Serioufneſs and Gravity of the Biſhop, and the Devotion of the People, the Fervency of their Prayers, and the Harmony of their ſinging Praiſes; he was ſtruck with Horror, and his Senſes began to fail him: Yea, when he came, as was cuſtomary, to make his Offering at the Communion Table, he trembled, and had certainly fallen to the Ground, had not one of the Clergy that ſtood by caught hold on him and ſupported him. Upon which St. *Baſil* diſcourſed largely with him concerning the Faith, and the Emperor heard him with great Attention; which Diſcourſe *Nazianzen*, that was preſent, profeſſes he looked on as ſpoken imme-

immediately from Heaven, and that he could not ſufficiently admire the Wiſdom thereof.

The Edge of the Emperor's Fury after this abated, and he had a better Opinion of *Baſil* and his Party than before; but the *Arian* Prelates at Court diſcerning him to ſtagger, ply'd him ſo cloſe with their Addreſſes, that they never gave over till they had obtained Hopes of this Biſhop's Baniſhment. Yea, ſo ſure had they made themſelves of it, that the very Time was come, and every Thing prepared, nothing being wanting but the Emperor's Hand to the Warrant, which he could not ſign, though he attempted it, the Pen ſeveral Times breaking as he was doing it, at which his Hand ſhook, and an Amazement and Conſternation ſeized his Mind; whereupon catching up the Warrant, he tore it in Pieces.

Quickly after *Galates* the Emperor's Son was ſeized with a malignant Fever, without Hope of Life, which was an extraordinary Grief both to the Emperor and Empreſs, the latter having been alſo troubled with frightful Dreams, by which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe was convinced that his Sickneſs happened by reaſon of the Injury that was done to the Biſhop. Upon which he concluded, that St. *Baſil* ſhould be ſent for, not directly in his own Name, but in that of one of his Great Friends: The Biſhop immediately coming, the Emperor ſaid to him, *If your Faith be true, pray to God that my Son may recover.* To whom *Baſil* replied, *Sir, if you will receive the ſame Faith, and reſtore Peace to the Church, doubt not but he ſhall recover.* Which Terms it ſeems the Emperor liked not, and therefore the Biſhop only added, *Then God's Will be done,* and ſo went out: After which the *Arian* Biſhops

Biſhops came and prayed with him, but he immediately died. *Modeſtus* the Prefect being after this dangerouſly ſick, ſent for *Baſil*, with Tears bewailing his Carriage towards him, and entreated his Prayers for his Recovery, which he accordingly obtained by his Addreſſes to Heaven, as the Prefect often publickly owned. Thus God was pleaſed to maintain the Reputation and Quiet of this excellent Biſhop, in the midſt of his inveterate Enemies; ſo that he was ſuffered to keep his Station, when almoſt all the Catholick Biſhops of the *Eaſt* beſides him were baniſhed.

Baſil having now got ſome Reſpite from his Troubles, applied himſelf to take an exact Account of the State of his Dioceſs, and reformed thoſe Irregularities that had crept in by the Remiſneſs of his Predeceſſors. Many had been received into the Miniſtry, without due Examination of their Fitneſs and Qualifications; Intereſt or Relation, Friendſhip or Neighbourhood, having been a ſufficient Recommendation: And ſeveral had preſſed hard for, and obtained Orders, only to avoid bearing Arms in the military Service; by which Means the Church was filled with ſuch Officers, as were a Scandal to the ſacred Function. And beſides, it was commonly reported, that the Biſhops of his Province were guilty of Simony, in ſelling Ordinations.

As to the firſt, in his Epiſtle written on this Occaſion, he commanded them who had the Charge of theſe Things under him, *to revive the antient Diſcipline*, by which Perſons to be admitted were ſeverely tried, and ſtrict Enquiry made into their paſt Life, and what had been their Education and Deportment from their Youth; *and that none for*

the

the future ſhould be advanced to the Prieſthood any other way. In the mean Time he required them *to ſend him the Names of the Miniſters in every Pariſh, and what was the Courſe and Manner of their Life, ordering that they ſhould be again examined, and if found fit, continued; but if otherwiſe, that they ſhould be expelled from the ſacred Offices.* As for that of mercenary Ordinations, he ſignifies, *He could not eaſily believe the Report,* but yet he lays before them *the Heinouſneſs of the Crime; and that it was in vain to plead they took no Money before, but only after their Impoſition of Hands,* telling them, *that this was but a Trick to deceive the World and cheat their Conſciences, ſeeing they then received it upon that Conſideration.*

He extended his Care to remote Churches as well as thoſe in his own Province; and becauſe the People of *Antioch* had been miſerably haraſſed by the *Arian* Party, when the Emperor was lately there, he therefore wrote a Letter to them, full of Conſolation and Incouragement, ſignifying, *that their preſent Troubles ſhould be borne with Patience, as a Chaſtiſement of their Sins, being deſigned to prevent a greater Deluge of Wrath; that if they were continued, God would give them a proportionable Strength to bear them; that ſuppoſing their Sufferings ſhould continue the whole Time of their Life, that would be very ſhort, compared with their expected eternal Happineſs.* He cautions them *to take heed, leſt any of their Trials cauſe them to decline from the Faith derived from the Antients, and contained in the* Nicene *Creed, which he there ſets down as the Standard of Orthodoxy.*

But, alas! the Church of *Antioch* was not only aſſaulted by the Hereticks, but the Catholick Party

was broken into a lamentable Schiſm, and the People divided between *Meletius* their antient Biſhop, and *Paulinus*, whom *Lucifer Caralitanus* had conſtituted there in *Julian*'s Reign: The Effects of which were a miſerable Decay of Piety, the Increaſe of Hereſy, and the Triumphs of the Church's Enemies. Theſe Diſſentions were a great Trouble to St. *Baſil*, who therefore endeavoured to give a true State of the Caſe, and engage ſome Perſons of Reputation, and particularly *Athanaſius*, to interpoſe for the Accommodation of theſe difficult Affairs. *Athanaſius* hereupon ſent *Peter*, a Preſbyter of his Church, who was very diligent and ſucceſsful in putting an End thereto.

In purſuance of the ſame Deſign, a Letter was drawn up and ſigned by *Meletius*, *Baſil*, and thirty Prelates more, and directed to the Biſhops of *Italy* and *France*; wherein they lay before them the calamitous State of the *Eaſtern* Churches, being haraſſed by Violence and Perſecution, their publick Aſſemblies diſperſed, and People forced to pray in the Fields. They complain that Hereſy was proſperous, and *Arianiſm* rampant; that bad Men were advanced to the Government of the Church, who trampled upon all Laws, wronged the Poor, and devoured the Portions of Widows and Orphans; that there was like People like Prieſt, the former being encouraged in Wickedneſs by the Example of the latter. They tell them, that it was with the Catholicks now as with *Jeruſalem* when beſieged, being not only preſſed by the Enemies without, but deſtroy'd by their own Factions within. They therefore intreat by all that was dear to them, that they would compaſſionate their Caſe, and ſend ſome fit Perſons to their

their Relief, who by their Number and Gravity might be ſucceſsful in accommodating Matters, and might reduce them to a better Condition.

But, alas! this and ſeveral other Addreſſes of the like kind, procured nothing but good Words; the *Weſtern* Biſhops ſitting quiet at home, cared not to engage themſelves in ſuch troubleſome Affairs, eſpecially ſeeing it required them to take ſo great a Journey. Whereupon *Baſil* in a Letter to *Nazianzen*, grievouſly complains of the Pride of the *Weſt*, and how little Good was to be expected from them; ſignifying, that he was reſolved to write to the Pope, and let him know *how ill it became him to inſult over, and add to the Miſeries of the Afflicted, and to count it a Piece of Greatneſs to be proud:* And elſewhere he ſays, in a ſeeming great Paſſion, *that he hated the Pride of that Church.*

Such was the Zeal of this Father for the publick Good, that notwithſtanding his Weakneſs and want of Health, he contented not himſelf to ſtay at home and write Letters, but readily complied with any Occaſion of travelling to ſecure and promote the Church's Peace. He had lately received by Count *Terentius*, a Commiſſion from *Gratian* the Emperor, to viſit the Churches of *Armenia*, and ſupply the Vacancies made therein by Death, Flight, or Baniſhment, under the late Perſecution. *Theodorus*, Biſhop of *Nicopolis*, was joined with him in the ſame Commiſſion; but this well deſigned Undertaking was rendered fruitleſs, by an unhappy Difference that fell out between the two Commiſſioners on the following Occaſion.

Theodotus had convened a Synod at his own City, and among others invited St. *Baſil* thereto,

who coming, found *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtea*, a Man of an unconſtant Temper and unſettled Principles, who had been brought up under *Arius* at *Alexandria*, and profeſs'd himſelf one of his prime Diſciples. But he had often varied the Confeſſion of his Faith, ſo as might beſt ſuit his Intereſt, and thereby had obtained the See of *Sebaſtea* in the *Leſſer Armenia*; but being ſettled therein, he preſently drew up an Anathematiſm againſt the Conſubſtantial Faith.

Baſil was glad to meet him there, and in a two Days Diſpute with him and *Poemenius* his Presbyter who aſſiſted him, he ſo clearly proved the Catholick Doctrine, and anſwered all Objections againſt it, that both of them declared themſelves fully ſatisfied. And as a Teſtimony of their perfect Agreement with him, they went to Church, and gave Thanks to God who had diſpoſed them to be of one Mind, and alſo ſubſcribed the *Nicene* Creed, with a particular Explication of it prepared by St. *Baſil*, in as expreſs Words as poſſible; whereupon they communicated together. The Noiſe of this coming to *Theodotus*, he too haſtily catched up the Report, without conſidering the Circumſtances, and thereupon exclaimed againſt him for communicating with ſo heretical a Perſon; and not only forbore to invite him any longer to his Synod, but alſo refuſed to join with him in his Prayers. This Reproach was the more believed, becauſe *Euſtathius* afterwards denied that he had recanted any of his Opinions; and Letters were ſcattered by him and his Friends to that Purpoſe, containing many diſingenuous Reflections on St. *Baſil*. *Theodotus* relating this before *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Baſil* replied, he could hardly think the Man

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ſo bad, as to deny with ſuch Peremptorineſs what was ſo lately done; and concluded to put it upon this Iſſue, namely, he would produce the Confeſſion ſubſcribed by him, which if he acknowledged, he would ſtill maintain Communion with him, but if otherwiſe, he would totally renounce it. Which Motion *Meletius* approved, and *Theodotus* thereupon ſeemed reconciled, but ſoon changed his Mind, and became very paſſionate and unſeemly in his Treatment of him. Whereupon finding no good could be done, *Baſil* departed, and ſoon after wrote to Count *Terentius*, to inform him why he had not more ſucceſsfully managed the Affair committed to him.

Euſtathius ſtill went on in expreſſing his Rage and Malice againſt *Baſil*, writing Letters into all Parts to reproach him, and refuſed to meet him either to give or receive Satisfaction, and withal endeavoured to poiſon the People in all Places with his *Arian* Notions. All this the good Man long bore with invincible Patience, returning no Anſwer for three Years together, hoping in time Malice would be weary, and that his Innocency would clear him from all Aſperſions; but finding the Reports ſtill ſpread and received in all Places, he thought it high Time to engage in his own Vindication, and thereupon wrote a long Epiſtle to *Euſtathius* himſelf, wherein, with great Mildneſs, he wipes off the ſeveral Blemiſhes caſt on him, and lays open the malicious Contrivances of his Enemies.

And probably he had contented himſelf with this private Defence, had not his Adverſaries advanced new Charges againſt him; for finding the Buſineſs of *Euſtathius* inſignificant, they accuſed him

him of being a Favourer of *Apollinaris* the *Laodicean*, who was a Man of excellent Parts, but had lately vented ſome dangerous Opinions about the Perſon of our Saviour. A Book containing theſe Errors was charged upon *Baſil*, and every Place began to ring of his deſerting the Catholick Cauſe, and communicating with Men of heretick Principles.

Hereupon he wrote an Epiſtle to the *Weſtern* Biſhops, who had likewiſe heard this Complaint of him, and therein gives the following plain Account of the Matter: *That all this Noiſe ſprang from a Letter of Compliments, that had nothing of religious Controverſy in it, and which he had written above twenty Years before to* Apollinaris, *while both of them were Laymen; which Letter had been corrupted by ill Hands, and made to ſpeak what he never intended.* He further tells them, *That if any of them had ever written to either* Jews *or* Gentiles, *they might thereupon as well be deemed ſuch, as that he ſhould be accounted a Favourer of* Apollinaris, *merely becauſe he had written to him, ſeeing all that knew him muſt needs know, that he abhorred thoſe Errors with which the other was charged.*

But notwithſtanding his Endeavours to defend himſelf from theſe Reproaches, it was induſtriouſly ſpread in ſeveral Places, that he was erroneous in the Doctrine of the Trinity, and particularly that he denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt. His Friend *Nazianzen* ſent him a particular Inſtance of this Report, telling him in his Epiſtle, that being lately at a publick Feaſt, where *Baſil*'s Name was honourably mentioned, a certain Perſon of a monaſtick Life replied, *He looked on all thoſe Commendations but Flattery, becauſe though he*

he lately heard him ſpeak excellently well of the Father and the Son, yet he expreſs'd himſelf in obſcure and ambiguous Terms concerning the Holy Ghoſt; and he added, that he concealed a double Meaning under his florid and rhetorical Diſcourſe. The firſt Riſe of all this Clamour was no more than this, that *Baſil* did not always conclude his Prayers with aſcribing Glory to the Holy Ghoſt, as to the Father and the Son, but ſometimes he therein aſcribes Glory to the Father and the Son, *in* or *by* the Holy Ghoſt.

This Report, raiſed on ſo ſlight an Occaſion, he at firſt neglected; but finding it continue and increaſe, he often preached on that Subject, aſſerting the Deity of the Divine Spirit, and expreſſed himſelf freely in all Places concerning it, and particularly to *Nazianzen*, adding this ſolemn and unuſual Imprecation, *That he might for ever be deſerted by the Holy Spirit, if he did not adore him as Coeſſential with the Father and the Son.* And as he frequently vindicated himſelf from this Reproach in his Epiſtles, ſo he likewiſe wrote ſome diſtinct Tracts upon the Argument, particularly that famous Diſcourſe, intitled, *De Spiritu Sancto*, wherein he largely and exactly handles the whole Controverſy.

But having cleared himſelf from this Aſperſion, of excluding one of the Divine Perſons from the Godhead, he was afterwards accuſed of aſſerting three Gods, becauſe, in Oppoſition to the *Sabellian* Hereſy, he taught there were in the Divine Nature three diſtinct *Hypoſtaſes* or Perſons, which Word was uſed by many to expreſs *Subſtances* or *Eſſences*: From this he cleared himſelf, by explaining his Meaning in his Diſcourſes from the Pulpit.

Yet

Yet ſtill ſo induſtrious were his Enemies to report theſe Stories, and ſo over-credulous ſome of his Friends in receiving them, that the Monks that lived under his Diſcipline were very uneaſy, whom therefore he endeavoured to ſet right by a large Epiſtle written to them, as alſo did the Great *Athanaſius*, who rebuked them with Sharpneſs for their Demeanour towards him, and receiving groundleſs Reports againſt him. The Truth is, ſo perplexed was the good Man's Mind with the Calumnies contrived by his Enemies, and too much entertained by his Friends, that he ſolemnly profeſſed, *He was ready to queſtion, whether there was any Honeſty or Fidelity to be found among Men.*

Beſides all theſe, another Accident fell out that created him much Trouble. *Cappadocia* had been lately divided by *Valens* into two Parts, which ſome thought he did in a particular Spite to *Baſil*; one of which Parts was called *Cappadocia Prima*, and the other *Cappadocia Secunda*. *Cæſarea* continued the Metropolis of the former, as it had been of the whole intire Province; but *Tyana* was made the Metropolis of the other Diviſion, and a great Part of the Country aſſigned as a Province belonging to it. Hereupon *Anthimus* Biſhop of *Tyana*, challenged a Metropolitical Juriſdiction over all the Churches in *Cappadocia Secunda*, pleading it was but fit *that the Eccleſiaſtical Power ſhould be enlarged anſwerable to the Civil.* *Baſil* remonſtrated againſt theſe Encroachments, but perceived it to be in vain to contend much, being likely to find little Favour at Court, and as little Relief from the Deciſion of a Council, the *Arians* then carrying all before them; and therefore he reſolved to make the beſt he could of a bad Matter,

ter, and to repair the Breach, by erecting new Epiſcopal Sees within his own Province. By this Method he at once allay'd the Storm, and provided better for the Neceſſities of the Church; for the Biſhopricks being made ſmaller, they were better watched over, and more Care taken of Mens Souls.

Much about the ſame Time he heard the afflicting News of the Death of the Great *Athanaſius*, and the violent Perſecution that raged after it at *Alexandria*, the *Arians* ſparing no Age, Sex or Order; which excited him to ſend them a Conſolatory Letter, telling them, *That their deplorable Condition had almoſt tempted him to queſtion, whether our Lord had not utterly forſaken his Church, and whether this was not the laſt Hour when the great Apoſtacy was to take Place, and* the Son of Perdition be revealed, who exalts himſelf above all that is called God, or is worſhipped. He then adds many Encouragements to Patience, from the Conſideration of the Neceſſity of Sufferings, together with the profitable Uſe which may be made of them: And then concludes with intimating, *He would have come himſelf to them, but that Weakneſs and Sickneſs retained him a Priſoner in his Bed, deſiring their Prayers, that the few Days or Hours he had to live, might be uſefully employ'd in the Service of* Chriſt *and the Church.*

After this he ſpent the Remainder of his Life in preaching at home, and writing Letters to foreign Parts, for the reſolving of Difficulties, and the Promotion of Piety, of which Letters there are a great Number among his Works. But at length his Body was ſo weakened with inward Diſtempers and outward Labours, that he found the Time

drawing near, when his tottering Carcaſe muſt fall to the Ground; which perceiving, he ordained ſeveral of his Followers, that a Succeſſion of Miniſters in his Church might not be wanting. But his Weakneſs at laſt forcing him to take his Bed, the News of it quickly ran through the City, and brought Multitudes together with great Lamentations, who ſeemed as if by their Prayers they would arreſt his Soul, which was now aſcending to Heaven. He for ſome Time exerted his utmoſt Strength in pious Diſcourſes to thoſe that were about him; but his Spirits at length failing, he reſigned his laſt Breath (*A. D.* 378.) with this divine Expreſſion, *Lord, into thy Hands I commit my Spirit*, having governed the Church of *Caſarea* ſomewhat above eight Years. To what Years he attained before his Death is uncertain, ſome intimate not above forty-five; but this is ſufficiently confuted, by his ſo often mentioning his old Age in his Epiſtles.

His funeral Solemnities were ſuitable to ſo great a Perſon, being attended by vaſt and almoſt innumerable Crowds of People of all Ranks and Orders, who by their Lamentations drown'd the Noiſe of the Pſalms, which according to Cuſtom were ſung at his Interment And what greatly augmented the Mourning was, that ſeveral in the extraordinary Throngs were preſſed to Death, who yet were counted happy, in that they became the Companions of his Departure. At length the Corps, with much Difficulty, was laid in the Grave, being attended with a very affectionate Epitaph or Funeral-Song, compoſed by his dear Friend *Nazianzen* in remembrance of him.

This

This laſt mentioned Father, who had ſo able a Pen, and was ſo well acquainted with St. *Baſil*, ſignifies his Deſpair of deſcribing his juſt Character; yet we ſhall attempt after him to repreſent ſome of the chief Strokes and Lines thereof. He was a Man of a quick and ready Wit, cloſe Reaſoning, a deep and ſolid Judgment, which natural Perfections were highly improved by his acquired Learning; to advance in which he had great Opportunities, and made uſe of all with the utmoſt Diligence and Induſtry. He was eminent in all the Liberal Arts, had rifled all the Treaſures of the *Gentiles*, and dived into the greateſt Profundities of Philoſophy; in which reſpect *Philoſtorgius* tells us, and perhaps truly, *That* Athanaſius *was but a Child to him.* But not ſatisfied with this, he chiefly applied himſelf to the Study of the holy Scriptures, and became perfect Maſter of the niceſt Speculations of thoſe Times. He well knew the Subtilties of the ſeveral Sects, and how to countermine them, whence as he often encountered both *Heathens* and Hereticks, ſo he ſeldom failed of coming off a Conqueror.

His Stile and way of Writing is almoſt inimitable, being proper, perſpicuous, ſignificant, ſmooth and eaſy, and yet perſuaſive and powerful, and flowing from him with a natural and unaffected Grace and Sweetneſs. He was a Man acted by the true Genius of Religion, a ſincere Lover of God, preferring his Glory and the Intereſt of *Chriſt*, far before his own Eaſe and Safety; earneſtly deſirous of Peace, but yet a zealous Aſſertor of the Truth, and of that *Faith* which was once *delivered to the Saints.* He voluntarily choſe a mean way of living, his Wardrobe affording but one Coat

and a Cloke; the cold Ground was uſually his Bed, Bread and Salt his Bill of Face, and the next Spring his Cellar, at which he quenched his Thirſt, ſpending moſt of his Eſtate, which was not inconſiderable, in charitable and pious Uſes. The Greek *Menæon* further tells us, he was as to his Body tall and ſtreight, lean and meager, of a brown Complexion but ſomewhat ruddy, his Viſage and his Beard long, having few Wrinkles in his Face, and thoſe not ungraceful to him.

His genuine Writings that are yet extant, conſiſt of Commentaries, Controverſies, Sermons, Encomiaſticks, Epiſtles, and Canonical Tracts. Under the firſt we conſider his *Expoſitions* upon ſeveral Parts of Scripture. His *Controverſies* were chiefly with the *Arians*, and particularly *Eunomius*, againſt whom he wrote a Treatiſe, which St. *Jerom* calls an incomparable Book; thither alſo we may refer his Diſcourſe *of the Holy Spirit*, it being partly Polemical. His Sermons or Homilies are ſometimes upon certain large Portions of Scripture, as his Homily on *the ſix Days Work*, which, *Gregory Nyſſen* ſays, ought to give place to nothing but the Divine Writings, and alſo his twenty-two Homilies on the Pſalms. Beſides which he has Diſcourſes or Homilies on particular Subjects, as *of Covetouſneſs*, *of Envy*, *of Drunkenneſs*, *&c.* in all which he excellently accommodates himſelf to the Capacity of his Hearers. In his *Encomiaſtick Orations*, he elegantly diſplays the Courage and Conſtancy of the Martyrs and Confeſſors, with earneſt Exhortations to an Imitation of them. But of all St. *Baſil*'s Writings, and, as *Du Pin* ſays, perhaps of all Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, his *Letters* are the moſt learned and curious.

rious. They are written with an inimitable Purity, Majesty and Eloquence; and as they are very numerous, so they contain a very great Variety of Things. We have in them not only the historical Account of the chief Transactions of his own Life, but also a lively Representation of the most remarkable History of his Time.

I shall say no more of his Books, only offer you a little Tast of the Encomium given of them by *Nazianzen*, who must be allowed a very proper Judge in this Matter. He tells us they were so esteemed by the Antients, that *he was counted the best Scholar, who most conversed with, understood, and digested his Writings, which alone are sufficient to lead one into all the Paths of Learning. As oft*, said he, *as I read over his* Hexaemeron, *I converse with my Maker, view the Wisdom of his Works, and adore him more than I was wont to do, upon merely observing the Frame of the Universe. When I peruse his Tracts against Heretick, me-thinks I perceive the Flames of* Sodom, *and the Confusion of* Babel's *Builders breaking forth against them. When I have been conversant in his Book* of the Holy Spirit, *I am enabled confidently to declare and maintain the Truth. When I penetrate into his* Expositions, *I am carried up above the Letter, and find Light more and more darting into my Mind, till I am raised up to the highest Pitch of Illumination. While I read his* Commendations of the Martyrs, *I contemn the Body, and am joined with the heavenly Choir, and inspired with a longing Desire of Martyrdom. If I set myself to consider his* Moral *and* Practical Discourses, *I am immediately incited to* cleanse my self from all Filthiness both of Flesh and Spirit, *and to break forth into the Praise of*

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the Divine Excellencies, being changed into a God-like Temper.

For a Concluſion of St. *Baſil*'s Life, and to render the Story of him more clear and compleat, we ſhall give the Reader a brief View of his neareſt Relatives. His Father *Baſil* being removed by Death while the Children were young, his Mother *Emmelia* took Care of their Education, and afterwards betook herſelf to a Village near the Wilderneſs, whither her Son *Baſil* was retired, that ſhe might enjoy the more Comforts by his Viſits, and the better ſupply him with Neceſſaries. She had ſtill with her *Macrina* the eldeſt, and *Peter* the youngeſt of her ten Children, when ſhe was debilitated with extreme Age and fallen into her laſt Sickneſs; theſe attended her in her dying Hours. When having earneſtly implored the Divine Majeſty for her Children that were abſent, ſhe being in the midſt between theſe two that were now with her, took them into her Hands, and reſigned them to God in the following Manner: *To thee, O God, I dedicate the firſt Fruits, and the Tenth of my Children, both are moſt rightfully thine, and therefore let them be intirely conſecrated to thy ſelf.* And ſo having given Order concerning her Funeral, ſhe died a little before *Baſil*'s Advancement to the See of *Cæſarea*, whoſe Loſs he greatly bewailed, as that of the chief Comfort of his Life.

Macrina was his eldeſt Siſter, who received her Name from her good Grandmother *Macrina*, ſometime Auditor of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*. The Mother of this Virgin took peculiar Care to train her up in the Knowledge of the Scriptures, and particularly of *Solomon*'s Rules for the due Conduct of Life.

Life. She was very converſant in the *Pſalter*, which ſhe learned by Heart, and repeated on all Occaſions, particularly Morning, Evening, and at Meals; yea, whenever ſhe applied herſelf to Devotion, ſhe was wont to ſing a Pſalm. This was her pious Practice before ſhe arrived to the Age of twelve Years, and her Piety increaſed proportionably to her Age, ſpending moſt of her Life in Retirement and Devotion.

Of the Brothers, *Baſil* was the eldeſt, and next to him was *Naucratius*, a Youth a of comely Shape, ſtrong Body, and no leſs eminent in Endowments of Mind. When he was come to the twenty-ſecond Year of his Age, and had been often greatly applauded for his Eloquence in his publick Orations, he ſuddenly caſt off all, went into the Deſart, and ſettled in a convenient Solitude near the River *Iris*, enjoying only the Society of ſome mortified Men, whom he ſupplied with Proviſion by hunting, in which he was expert, and withal often attended on his Mother. He continued in this Retirement for above five Years, and then he and his Companion *Chryſtaphius*, whom he loved above all others in the Family, went out a hunting together, and were both brought home dead, to the exceeding great Affliction of his aged Mother and his Siſter *Macrina*, who loved him above the reſt of her Brethren.

Next to him, and third from St. *Baſil*, was *Gregory*, who at firſt applied himſelf with great Delight to the Study of Rhetorick, till *Nazianzen* perſuaded him to lay aſide that for more divine Studies, and alſo rebuked him for ſeeming more deſirous of being eſteemed an Orator than a *Chriſtian*; after which he devoted himſelf to a ſtrict

Search

Search into Theology, and the Meaning of the holy Scriptures, and alſo diligently enquired into the Controverſies of the Age, becoming very eminent therein.

At length he was conſecrated Biſhop of *Nyſſa*, a City in the Borders of *Cappadocia*, though the exact Time of his Advancement into this See cannot be poſitively determined. In this Station he was a vigorous Champion of the *Nicene* Faith, and ſo vehement an Oppoſer of the *Arians*, that he was for that Cauſe depoſed and baniſhed by the Emperor *Valens*, (*A. D.* 370.) In this Condition he continued ſeven or eight Years, being expoſed to very great Difficulties and Sufferings, but often received Comfort from his Friends, particularly from the Letters of *Gregory Nazianzen*. After *Baſil*'s Death he was delegated among other Biſhops to viſit the *Eaſtern* Churches, miſerably haraſſed by the late *Arian* Perſecutions; his Charge being borne, as himſelf tells us, by the pious Emperor, meaning, I ſuppoſe, *Theodoſius*.

He was after this preſent at, and of eminent Note in the *Conſtantinopolitan* Synod, (*A. D.* 381.) whither he brought his twelve Books written againſt *Eunomius*, who had compoſed a pretended Anſwer after *Baſil*'s Death, to what he had written againſt his Errors; but *Nyſſen* took up the Controverſy, in Vindication both of his Brother and of the Truth. In this Council he had a chief Hand in drawing up the Confeſſion of Faith, which was therein confirmed, and little differs from that of *Nice*, unleſs that it contains a more particular Explication of the Deity of the Holy Spirit.

This

This *Gregory Nyſſen* having been formerly at *Jeruſalem*, a Queſtion was propoſed to him by one, *Whether it were a neceſſary Part of Religion to make Pilgrimages to that City?* a ſuperſtitious Fancy, which, it ſeems, then began to get into the Heads of ſome. He freely declared his Judgment for the Negative; yea, he affirmed, *That ſuch Journies were not only unneceſſary, but attended with great Inconveniencies both to Soul and Body:* Telling him, *they had more Reaſon to expect* Chriſt's *Preſence in* Cappadocia, *where God was frequently and ſincerely worſhipped, than at* Jeruſalem, *where Vice and Immorality abounded.* He farther adds, *That though he himſelf had been there, it was not out of Curioſity but Neceſſity, to be ſerviceable to the Churches, being abundantly ſatisfied of the Certainty of our Lord's Life and Death, before he ſaw* Bethlehem *or* Calvary: *And that the only Advantage he had reaped, was to find that Piety flouriſhed more at home.* Concluding, *That wherever we are, God will be preſent with us, if our Souls are fit Habitations for him; but if theſe are defiled, we ſhall be as far from his Preſence at* Golgotha *or the Mount of* Olives, *as at any other Place.*

St *Gregory Nyſſen* lived to a great Age, being not only alive when St. *Jerom* made his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers in the Year 392, but preſent in a Synod at *Conſtantinople* two Years after. The Year after that Synod he made his Exit, his Memory being celebrated in the *Weſtern* Martyrologies on *March* the 9th, and in the *Greek* on *Jan.* the 10th. He wrote many Books, moſt whereof ſtill continue as Monuments of his Learning and Eloquence, a particular Account of which, the learned Reader knows where to find.

The laſt of the Brothers, and indeed the youngeſt of all the Children, was *Peter*, whoſe good Education was greatly owing to the Care and Tenderneſs of his Siſter *Macrina*; for ſhe ſo ſeaſoned him in his Youth with Principles of Piety, and ſo filled up his Hours with Inſtructions in Divine Things, that he had ſcarce any Leiſure to attend unprofitable Diverſions. He had natural Abilities fit to be improved in any kind of Learning, but his Genius moſt peculiarly led him to mechanical Arts, wherein of himſelf he attained a Perfection beyond moſt others by long Inſtructions. He indeed equalled not his Brothers in Learning, but came not behind them in Virtue and Piety, for the Promotion of which he alſo betook himſelf to Solitudes, ſpending the greateſt Part of his Life with his Mother and Siſter in their Retirement.

After St. *Baſil* was made Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, he ordained this his Brother a Presbyter, who afterwards was advanced to the Biſhoprick of *Sebaſtea*, probably the City of that Name in *Cappadocia*. At what Time he was made Biſhop, how long he continued ſo, and how he diſcharged this Work, we have no Account; nor have we any of his Wrirings, except one ſhort Epiſtle written to his Brother *Nyſſen*, who at his Requeſt had undertaken to anſwer *Eunomius*. To conclude, theſe brief Hints, which Antiquity has left us of St. *Baſil*'s Brothers and Siſter, may ſufficiently convince us of the Truth of what *Nazianzen* ſays in his Funeral-Oration, That *though his Parents were illuſtrious for divers other Things, yet their chief Glory was their Children*; for indeed it is an Inſtance rarely to be parallel'd, for three Brothers to be all Biſhops at the ſame Time, and Perſons of ſo great Note and Eminency.

The

The LIFE of St. *GREGORY NAZIANZEN*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople.*

'TIS very fit that the Lives of *Gregory Nazianzen* and of St. *Bazil* ſhould be joined together in our Account, ſeeing they were ſo firmly united in their Affections, and in the Intimacy of their Converſation, being indeed the greateſt Inſtance of Friendſhip that we meet with in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. *Arianzum*, a Village of ſmall Note belonging to *Nazianzum*, was the Place of his Birth, which latter was a Town in that Part of *Cappadocia Secunda* which was called *Tiberina*, a mean barren Place which yielded little Pleaſure in its Situation, and had probably been never mentioned in Hiſtory, had not its Intereſt in this illuſtrious Perſon given a Reputation to it, as his Birth there gave him the Name of *Nazienzen.* He was born about the Time of the great *Nicene* Council, as if brought forth by the Divine Providence, on purpoſe for the Defence of that Faith, which then began to be ſo violently aſſaulted by the *Arians* its profeſſed Enemies, and which the Fathers of that Synod ſo piouſly and vigorouſly maintained. He deſcended from Parents of eminent Eſteem for their Quality, and no leſs for their Virtue and Goodneſs.

His Father's Name alſo was *Gregory*, who was a good Man, but ſo unhappy in his youthful Education as to be trained up in an odd Sect of Religion, a kind of Mixture of ſome peculiar Rites of *Judaiſm* and *Paganiſm*: With the *Gentiles* they bore a Reverence to Fire and Light, but rejected Idols; with the *Jews* they obſerved the *Sabbath*, and abſtained from ſome ſorts of Meat, but received not Circumciſion. They profeſſed to worſhip none but the Supreme Deity, whence they took to themſelves the Name *Hypſiſtarians*, or *Worſhippers of the moſt High God*. This having been the Religion of his Predeceſſors, he was in his younger Years a zealous Maintainer of it; and when at laſt he came to deſert it, he thereby loſt the Love of his Friends; yea, his own Mother thereupon frowned on him, and deprived him of his Eſtate. All this he indured cheerfully, knowing that by loſing his earthly Mother, he obtained an Intereſt in the heavenly Father; and by loſing his tranſitory Wealth, he ſecured in *Heaven a better and an enduring Subſtance*.

About the Time of our St. *Gregory*'s Birth his Father became a *Chriſtian*, to which the Entreaties and Perſuaſions of his Wife, *Nazianzen*'s Mother, was not a little conducive. He was indeed greatly prepared for ſuch a Change by the Excellency of his natural Diſpoſition and the Goodneſs of his Manners, living ſuitable to the *Chriſtian* Rules, before he made any Profeſſion of the *Chriſtian* Faith. But that which providentially farthered the pious Deſign of his virtuous Yoke-fellow, was a Dream he had one Night, that he was ſinging thoſe Words of the Pſalmiſt, *I rejoiced when they ſaid to me, Come let us go up to the Houſe of*

of the Lord. This Accident, together with the Application of theſe Words by his religious Spouſe, ſo convinced him of the Sweetneſs and Excellency of *Chriſtianity*, that he broke through all Difficulties that withheld him from it. And that nothing might be wanting, it providentially fell out, that at this very Time *Leontius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* put in at *Nazianzum* in his Way to *Nice*, being then going to the Council there. To this Prelate he applied himſelf, and being more fully inſtructed in the *Chriſtian* Doctrine, he was ſoon after baptized, and ſolemnly received into the Church.

The Circumſtances of his Baptiſm are ſaid to have been very remarkable, and that as he came up out of the Baptiſterion, an extraordinary Brightneſs was obſerved about him, but eſpecially by the Biſhop of the Place, to whom it appeared with ſuch Refulgency, as occaſioned him to cry out before the People, *That this Perſon was anointed by the Divine Spirit to ſucceed him in his Office.* Nor was it long before it ſo fell out, for that Biſhop dying, the Care of his Province was, after ſome Time of Vacancy, committed to this *Gregory*. He found the See but in a diſorderly Condition, partly becauſe his Predeceſſor, the firſt Governor thereof, had continued but a little Time therein, and withal, becauſe though he was a Man of an excellent Life, yet he wanted thoſe Abilities, which the Neceſſities of the Church required. As the Conſequence of all which the See was much overrun with Error and Vice, when our *Nazianzen*'s Father entered upon it, who yet applied himſelf to this Work with ſuch Diligence, that in a little Time he wrought a great Reformation among them, at the ſame Time reducing them to the

Rules

Rules of Civility and Religion, and in that Station he continued about the Space of 45 Years.

So illuſtrious a Perſon was *Nazianzen*'s Father, and his Mother *Nonna* was no leſs eminent for her Piety, ſhe having improved the Virtues of her religious Anceſtors to that height, that ſhe became the Wonder of the Age for Goodneſs, as this her Son every where teſtifies concerning her. Having yet no Child, or at moſt but one Daughter, ſhe was very deſirous of a Son, and, like *Hannah*, promiſed if God pleaſed to give her one, that ſhe would wholly dedicate him to the Services of Region. God was pleaſed to hear her Prayers, and while ſhe was with Child to repreſent to her, as 'tis ſaid, what kind of Son he ſhould be, and by what Name he ſhould be called. And when at length ſhe was made the joyful Mother of him, ſhe was religiouſly punctual in the Performance of her Vows concerning him.

Our St. *Gregory*, the Son of theſe religious Parents, proved a Child of excellent natural Endowments, which being advanced by their careful Education, ſoon cauſed him to excel his Equals in Learning, and generouſly to ſlight the little Sports and Divertiſements of youthful Vanity, as obſtructive to his nobler Studies. He even then took Pleaſure in reading ſuch Books as were compoſed for the Defence of *Chriſtianity*, and in converſing with wiſe and good Men. But to improve himſelf further by foreign Travels, he went to *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and there firſt became acquainted with *Baſil*; and then quitting that Univerſity, he ttavelled to *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, of which Province the Great *Euſebius* was at that Time Biſhop. Here he enjoy'd the Inſtruction of ſome of

the beſt Maſters of the Age, but was chiefly under the Tutorage of *Theſpeſius* an Orator of great Note; and particularly applied himſelf to the Study of Rhetorick, and had for his fellow Pupil *Euzoias*, who was afterward made Biſhop of that Place by the *Arians*. Having made what Progreſs he could here, he went thence to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, whoſe Schools were then in Eſteem next to thoſe of *Athens*.

Having proceeded thus far, he reſolved to compleat his Studies in the renowned Univerſity of the laſt mentioned City, in order to which he went aboard a Ship of *Ægina*, an Iſland not far from *Athens*. But it being about the middle of *November*, and a tempeſtuous Seaſon, when they were near *Cyprus* a terrible Storm aroſe, and ſuch Darkneſs, that they could diſcern neither Land, Water, nor Sky, and withal a dreadful Thunder and Lightning. And beſides all this, their Calamity was much increaſed by Hunger and Scarcity, their Proviſions both of Food and Water being ſpent or ſpoiled. In this Diſtreſs they met with ſome ſeaſonable Supply from a *Phœnician* Ship near them, though in the like Danger with themſelves. But the Tempeſt yet encreaſing with great Rage, both the Skill of the Maſter, and the Srength of the Mariners proved uſeleſs, inſomuch that every one concluded himſelf loſt, and looked for ſudden Death the next Moment. In the mean Time our ſtudious Paſſenger was thoughtfully reflecting on his paſt Life, and nothing grieved him ſo much as his being unbaptized, and thereby excluded from the Privileges of the *Chriſtian* Church. This cauſed him to break forth into great Paſſions of Sorrow, inſomuch that the very Seamen,

Seamen, as if unmindful of their own Danger, became Companions of his Mourning.

But having ſomewhat recovered his Spirits, he applied himſelf to God by earneſt Prayer, pleading the eminent Preſervations he had formerly granted his Servants, and the particular Care of Divine Providence over himſelf in Times paſt. He alſo pleaded his being ſolemnly devoted to God, which Reſignation of himſelf he now renewed with aſſured Promiſes of performing his Vows, if Heaven would pleaſe to deliver him. His importunate Supplications were heard, ſuddenly there was a great Calm, the Ship ſecurely proceeded in its right Courſe, and as the happy Conſequence of this Appearance of God, all the Paſſengers preſently declared their Reſolutions to become *Chriſtians*. And much Addition was made to the Memorableneſs of this Deliverance, in that his great Danger was at the ſame Time repreſented in Viſion to his pious Parents, who addreſſed themſelves earneſtly to God for his preſervation, as he himſelf tells us, adding alſo that ſoon after he fell into a Dream, and therein triumphed over a malignant Dæmon that had ſedulouſly contrived his Ruin.

The Storm being thus over, they paſſed by *Rhodes*, and ſoon after came to *Ægina*, and at length arrived at *Athens*, where he was gladly received, and his eminent Abilities ſoon rendered him the Admiration, not only of his Scholars, but alſo of the Maſters in that famous City. Hither *Baſil* in a little Time alſo came, and here the Friendſhip, begun before between theſe two, was compleated to that Degree, that, as *Nazianzen* himſelf expreſſes it, they ſeemed to have but *one Soul*

Soul uniting their two Bodies. They dwelt, eat, and ſtudied together, mutually exciting each other to a generous Emulation, not only in Learning, but alſo in Virtue and Religion. They were obſerved by all for their Gravity, their Temperance, their Chaſtity, their Contempt of the World, the Firmneſs of their Minds under the greateſt Dangers, particularly in a dreadful Earthquake which extended through all *Greece*, when rhe Spirits of moſt others failed them for fear. Here our *Nazianzen* fell into Acquaintance with *Julian*, afterwards Emperor, and from many Inſtances of his ſtrange and unbecoming Carriage he predicted his future Demeanor, often ſaying to ſome of his Friends, *Behold what a Plague the* Roman *Empire nouriſhes in its Bowels!* He continued at *Athens* about four Years, though *Baſil* went away ſooner, having been greatly importuned, and at length prevailed with by the Students to ſtay there, and make a publick Profeſſion of Rhetorick; which Province he managed with great Honour both to himſelf and the Univerſity.

But at length being thirty Years of Age, his Love to his own native Soil, his Eſteem for his aged Parents, and the Thoughts how much of his own Life was run out, prevailed on him to return home. Hereupon he privately took leave of his Friends, left *Athens*, and went by Land to *Conſtantinople*, where he met his Brother *Cæſarius* newly come from *Alexandria*, who was ſo famous for Learning, and eſpecially the Study of Phyſick, that he was importuned by a Committee ſent by the Emperor, to become their Phyſician, as that which would be eſteemed the Glory of that Imperial City. Such Solicitations, to be ſure, could

not but have much Force on a young Gentleman s Mind; but however, the Influence of his Brother's Perſuaſions ſo prevailed on him, that he modeſtly declined all, and returned with him into their own Country, being both to be ſure extraordinary welcome to their Parents after ſo long an Abſence.

Quickly after their Arrival *Nazianzen* performed his ſolemn Vow of devoting himſelf to his Redeemer by holy Baptiſm, and then conſidered in what kind of Life he ſhould fix himſelf. He was ſtrongly inclined to a State of Solitude, but withal zealouſly deſirous of a compleat Underſtanding in the Diving Writings, and to be better acquainted with the Myſteries of *Chriſtianity*, which he thought might be better promoted by a well choſen Society. Thereupon he determined to take a middle Courſe, of not wholly forſaking the World, nor too much involving himſelf in the Affairs of it, concluding he could enjoy the Advantages of Contemplation at home, as well as in the Wilderneſs, and withal be uſeful to his aged Parents. He eſteemed it as an excellent Improvement of his Divine Philoſophy, to be able to advance the Ends of Virtue without retiring to a Monaſtery, and to live the Life of a religious Monk, without being ſhut up in a loneſome Cell.

To render him the more publickly uſeful, his Father prevailed with him by earneſt Solicitations, though contrary to his own Inclination, to enter Eccleſiaſtick Orders, and conſtituted him a Preſbyter, to which he the more patiently ſubmitted becauſe of the Neceſſities of the Church, it being then much infeſted with Hereticks, as he tells St. *Baſil* in a Letter to him on that Occaſion. Of their crafty Artifices he had mournful Experience in

in the Deception of his own Father by them. For the *Arians*, in the Convention at *Conſtantinople*, in the latter End of the Year 359, had with all poſſible Subtilty refined the Expreſſions of their Doctrine, pretending, in reverence to the Divine Oracles, they could not uſe the Word *Conſubſtantial*, as being an unſcriptural Term; and therefore laying that Word aſide, they expreſſed the Article thus: *That the Son was in all Things like the Father, according to the Scripture.* By this ſpecious Pretence they deluded ſeveral of the *Eaſtern* Biſhops, and among the reſt, *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, who ſubſcribed their Confeſſion, and admitted them to Communion. Upon this many refuſed to communicate with him, and a great Breach was made in his Church, which had become wider, had not this Son put a Stop thereto. He firſt made his Father ſenſible of his Miſtake, which he readily acknowledged, and thereupon the offended Party was ſoon brought to a Reconciliation, for confirming which our *Nazianzen* then made his firſt *Oration* concerning *Peace.*

Julian being now advanced to the Imperial Seat, was heartily vexed to ſee how his *Heatheniſh* Party was every where run down, and that particularly *Bazil* and *Nazianzen* vanquiſhed them with their own Weapons, which therefore he reſolved to wreſt out of their Hands, by eſtabliſhing a Law which not only forbad *Chriſtians* to teach School, but alſo prohibited their being taught the Learning of the *Gentiles.* But herein the Device of this crafty Enemy was diſappointed, for God hereupon ſtirred up ſuch as abundantly compenſated the Want of thoſe Profane Authors by their excellent Writings. The moſt noted Writers of this kind,

were the two *Apollinaries* in *Syria*, the Father and the Son. The former, being an ingenious Poet and Grammarian, compoſed the *Jewiſh* Antiquities to the Time of King *Saul*, in heroick Verſe, in Imitation of *Homer*, which he divided into twenty-four Books, and he nominated each after the Letters of the *Greek* Alphabet. He alſo repreſented the reſt of the Hiſtory of the *Old Teſtament* in other kind of Verſe, in Imitation of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Pindar*; and indeed he comprehended the whole Syſtem of the Liberal Sciences in divers ſorts of Poetry, taking his Argument from the Scriptures.

About the ſame Time the younger *Apollinaris*, Son of the former, reduced the Hiſtories of the Goſpels, and St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, into the Form of Dialogues, like thoſe of *Plato*, and in his Stile. This he did with ſuch Accuracy, that he was eſteemed not to come behind the moſt celebrated of the Antients in their Compoſures. He alſo wrote a Book intitled, *Concerning the Truth*, which he dedicated to the Emperor, wherein he excellently maintained the Cauſe of *Chriſtianity*. We have alſo ſtill extant, an exact and noble metrical Verſion of the *Pſalms*, compoſed by the ſame Hand. By theſe means the *Chriſtian* Youth were ſufficiently ſupplied, notwihſtanding their being withheld from the profane Learning of the *Grecians*. This excellent Writer is indeed ſaid afterwards to fall into ſome Errors concerning the Myſtery of the Incarnation, and to give Riſe thereby to a Sect of Hereticks called *Apollinarians*, who affirmed *that* Chriſt *had a human Body, but not a reaſonable Soul or Mind, his Divine Nature being inſtead thereof.*

Julian

Julian did not only aſſault the *Chriſtians* by ſuch crafty Methods, but alſo by open Force: Particularly, he ſent a Party of Soldiers with an Officer to *Nazianzum*, demanding the Church lately built by the Elder *Gregory* to be ſurrendred to him, which the good old Man courageouſly refuſed; and the People were ſo affected therewith, that the Officer was forced quietly to return. Quickly after this *Julian* was ſlain, upon which *Nazianzen* publiſhed his *Invective Oration* againſt him, wherein *he ſmartly expoſes his Vanity, in endeavouring to hinder the* Chriſtians *from uſeful Learning, ſeverely inveighs againſt his great Impiety, and diſcovers how the Vengeance of God ſhin'd forth in his miſerable Death.* And then he concludes with *admiring the Wiſdom of the Divine Providence, and confounded the Deſigns of the* Pagans.

Sometime after this *Nazianzen* retired into the Wilderneſs, having been earneſtly invited by his dear Friend *Baſil* to come thither to him: For though he was in holy Orders, he looked upon his being brought thereinto as a kind of force put upon him, and therefore took Liberty to diſpenſe with the Obligation laid on him thereby. In this Retirement he arrived to a higher Degree of contemning the World, correcting the Exorbitances of Nature, bridling his Affections, and ſubduing his lower Appetites to the Conduct of Reaſon. Here the Earth was his Bed, the moſt ordinary Diet his Fare, and the coarſeſt Garments his Clothing. He ſpent his Days in Watching, Weeping, Faſting, and Labour, and a great Part of his Nights in Hymns and Meditations, not ſuffering the Allurements of Pleaſure to have any Entertainment in his Mind. He here alſo improved his

his Knowledge in the holy Scriptures, with which the more he converſed the better he liked them; and in a little Time deſpiſed thoſe profane Authors which had been formerly his Delight.

But here he muſt not remain long; his Father's growing Weakneſs, and great Age, together with the *Arians* vigorous Oppoſition to the Church, loudly calling for his Preſence at home. His Father had often ſollicited his Return to aſſiſt him in theſe Difficulties, and had uſed his Friends Interceſſion, as well as his own Application to attain it, which at length effectually prevailed on him. After his Return he publiſhed a large *Apology* for his Abſence, therein ſhewing, *that he retired not through Fear of Danger, nor becauſe he ſlighted an Eccleſiaſtical Function, or was offended that no higher Preferment was offered him, but that it proceeded from his Affection to a ſolitary Life, as likewiſe from a Senſe of the Importance of the miniſterial Work, and of his Unfitneſs for the Diſcharge of it.* He further declares, *that he was induced to return in Compliance with the Deſires of the Church at* Nazianzum, *and from a Reverence of his Father's Commands, which he could no longer withſtand in refuſing to come to his Aſſiſtance.*

Thus he became Co-adjutant to his Father, ſupporting his Age by unwearied Diligence, in preaching the Truth, convincing Oppoſers, and helping him in all Parts of his Office; though ſome that had importuned his Preſence now manifeſted an Indifferency towards his Miniſtry, as he complains in a Diſcourſe on that Occaſion. Before he had been long thus engaged, the Family was greatly afflicted by the Loſs of his Brother *Cæſarius*, who was a Gentlemen for Parts, Learning and Virtue, excelling

excelling moſt of his Time. As he was eminent in other Parts of Learning, ſo he was moſt peculiarly eminent in the Knowledge of Medicine, and was therefore, as we heard before, invited by the Emperor's Order, and upon moſt honourable Terms, to continue at *Conſtantinople*, which he then refuſed. But at length, to the great Trouble of his Friends, he returned thither, and was chief Phyſician, and afterwards alſo Treaſurer to *Julian* the Emperor, who had a Value for any Man of Learning, and bore a very peculiar Kindneſs towards him. This was a great Grief to his Parents, and the greater, becauſe ſome were not wanting to reproach them with it, *that he, the Son of a* Chriſtian *Biſhop, ſhould dwell in the Family of an Apoſtate Emperor, that openly defy'd* Chriſtianity; alledging, *that Biſhops would not be likely to prevent others from being corrupted, or keep themſelves from Infection, if they could not firſt prevail on their own Children.*

Theſe Conſiderations *Nazianzen* had laid before *Cæſarius* in a Letter, *intreating him to quit his Offices, and retire, both to preſerve himſelf from Pollution, and to relieve the Minds of his aged Parents, being unable longer to ſupport themſelves under this Burden.* He put him in mind, *that if his Arguments prevailed not, he muſt either be unequally aſſociated with the Impious, while he himſelf remained a ſincere* Chriſtian, *or elſe, which would be infinitely worſe, be vanquiſhed by their Temptations, and become like them.* This Counſel obtained its deſired Effect, and *Cæſarius* reſolved to part with all, rather than *make Shipwreck of a good Conſcience. Julian* had endeavoured both by Threats and Allurements to bring him over to *Paganiſm*, as likewiſe to convince him by Dint of Argument; but

but *Cæsarius* was Conqueror in all, and positively told him *he was a* Christian, *and determined to continue so.* And thereupon he took the Opportunity of the Emperor's going into *Persia*, and returned home to the great Satisfaction of his Relations.

But about two Years after he went again to Court, when *Valens*, who was not yet tainted with the *Arian* Heresy, governed the *Eastern* Part of the Empire, who advanced him to his former Dignities, and designed his Advancement to greater. He was in *Bithynia* in the Discharge of his Office, when that dreadful Earthquake happened which made great Desolations in several Places, and particularly ruined the famous City of *Nice*; nor was *Cæsarius* himself preserved without a very peculiar Providence. This *Nazianzen* soon improved, to excite him to greater Seriousness in Religion, and withal signified *his hearty Wishes for the Enjoyment of his Company, and that they might together praise God for so eminent a Deliverance. Cæsarius* apprehended his Meaning, and in Compliance with his Desires returned home, but soon after fell sick and died, to their unspeakable Sorrow.

Nazianzen made a Funeral Oration at his Interment, commending him for his ingenuous Temper, his Sobriety and circumspect Life, for his Care in preserving himself from Polution in the midst of Temptations, and keeping himself clear from the Vices with which Courtiers are usually infected. He also declares his Stedfastness in Religion, and his incomparable Charity to the Indigent, whom he had made the sole Heirs of his plentiful Estate, comprising all in these few remarkable Words, *My Will is, that all I have be given to the Poor.* Yet no sooner was he dead, but some greedy Officers

Officers laid hold of his Eſtate, pretending a Right to it, which cauſed much Trouble to *Nazianzen*, who was truſted with the Diſpoſe of it, and created a Conteſt which continued long, and occaſioned him to write once and again to *Sophronius* the Governor about it.

Nazianzen's Brother being thus dead, he remain'd with his Parents, expreſſing all dutiful Reſpects to them, till at length a new Trouble aroſe, which he often laments as the greateſt that ever befel him. The Emperor *Valens* had lately divided *Cappadocia* into two Provinces, making *Tyana* the Metropolis of that which was hereupon called *the Second Cappadocia*; by which Means *Anthimus*, Biſhop of that Place, claimed the Government of the Churches within that Province, which had been formerly ſubject to *Baſil* as Archbiſhop of *Cæſarea*. *Baſil* hereupon erected new Biſhopricks, and among the reſt he made *Saſima* one, a Town ſituate on the Borders of that new-made Province; and that he might have a truſty Friend in it, he deſir'd our St. *Gregory* to accept thereof as his Charge. But *Nazianzen* rejected it with Contempt, as contrary to his beloved Retirement, and alſo reſented it as a great Affront that he ſhould offer him ſo mean a Place, and in all Reſpects ſo inconvenient for him. *Baſil* being vexed at ſuch a Refuſal, treated him with an over-great Sharpneſs, charging him with Clowniſhneſs, and not underſtanding his Intereſt, or how to oblige his Friends. The other replied with no leſs Acrimony, telling him, He could not imagine how he had deſerved ſuch Uſage, that it was unreaſonable for a Man to be affronted, and then blamed for complaining of it; that abating his Epiſcopal Dignity, he knew

not wherein he was inferior to him, as he himſelf had been ready enough to acknowledge at other Times. He told him, that People generally cried out againſt him for this Attempt, and that their moſt gentle Reflections were, that it agreed not with the Rules of true Friendſhip, as being an Inſtance of Diſreſpect towards him, who had been ſerviceable to him upon ſo many Occaſions. He added, that he had been made uſe of by him only as a Scaffold, which when the Building is erected, Men take down and throw away as no further uſeful; and therefore beg'd him no longer to hinder his Repoſe; concluding, that he had no mind to a Biſhoprick, though others were eager in the Purſuit of that Dignity.

Into ſuch Heats and unbecoming Reflections, theſe two ſo intimate Friends brake forth on this Occaſion.

Notwithſtanding all this *Baſil* would not relinquiſh his Attempt, but applied himſelf to *Nazianzen*'s Father, by whoſe Influence and paternal Commands he was at length prevailed with to conſent, and ſo ſubmitted himſelf to be ordained Biſhop of that Province. At the ſame Time he made an apologetick Oration, and therein eſpecially directed his Diſcourſe to his Father and St. *Baſil*, ſignifying the Reaſons why he was ſo averſe from accepting that Charge, and alſo telling them, that ſince he was now in it he expected their Guidance and Direction in performing the Duties thereof. But he could not forbear ſtill reflecting on the Unkindneſs of his Friend *Faſil*, in putting ſuch Difficulties upon him, though he now did it with much more Modeſty and Gentleneſs than before. The next Day being a Feſtival for commemorat-

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ing the Martyrs, came *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Baſil*'s Brother, whom *Nazianzen* entertained with an Oration, therein preſſing to an Imitation of the Piety, Purity, Zeal and Conſtancy of thoſe that had by Martyrdom borne a Teſtimony for Religion. And further ſhewed, That we, in Conformity to them, ſhould offer up our ſelves as a living and reaſonable Sacrifice to God; and that this was the only way to honour the Martyrs, and be accepted with *Chriſt*, and not by meeting to eat and drink, and to indulge our Appetites, which is more ſuitable to an *Heathen* Feſtival than a *Chriſtian* Solemnity.

Anthimus of *Tyana* ſoon endeavoured to bring *Nazianzen* over to his Party, and to own him for his Metropolitan, but he continued ſtedfaſt to the Intereſt of *Baſil*; whereupon *Saſima* was ſeized, and ſo to his great Satisfaction he was hindred from entring upon the Government of it, nor indeed was there any Thing to invite him thereto, it being a very mean, dirty, and unwholeſome Place.

Hereupon *Nazianzen* retired to a ſolitary Hoſpital, and there paſt his Time in the Exerciſes of Devotion and a mortified Life, but was ſoon diſturbed in his Retirement by his Father's Commands and Intreaties, to take on him the Charge of *Nazianzum*; his own great Age and Infirmities having diſabled him from bearing the Burden thereof himſelf. He knew his Son's Averſeneſs to it, and therefore applied himſelf with all endearing Inſinuations. *Son*, ſaid he, *your aged Father is become a Petitioner to you his youthful Son. I ask not Riches or Honours from you, but only that, like* Aaron *and* Samuel, *you would miniſter before the*

Lord. Reject not his Desires who was the Instrument of your Being; and, though the Request were not so reasonable as it is, remember that it is your Father that makes it. Comply with me in this, or else I protest some other shall close my Eyes and take care of my Funeral; this I will inflict as a Punishment upon you. Assist me the little Time I have to live, and then I will leave you to follow the Counsels of your own Mind. To this melting Address *Nazianzen* replied: *Sir, how grievous soever your Commands are, yet for your Sake I submit; but upon this Condition, that when it shall please God to remove you to Heaven, I may be wholly free from any further Care of this Province.* Upon these Terms they agreed, and so he became his Father's Substitute, and thereupon made an Oration to the People, signifying with what Difficulty he was brought thereto, and that his Compliance was merely in Reverence to his Father, and from a Desire of promoting the publick Good, and therefore desired the utmost Assistance which they were capable to render him therein. He further told them, that when he could be no longer assistant to his Father in his Office, none should compel him to continue in it, contrary to his Inclination; seeing all that undertake the Episcopal Work should do it with a Freedom of Mind, and not have any Force put upon them therein.

'Twas soon after his coming into this Station, as is probable, that we find him employ'd in appeasing the Governor, who was offended with the People of *Nazianzum*, for Tumults lately made, either upon Account of their burdensome Taxes, or upon some other Occasion. 'Tis thought by some of the Antients that this Governor, who now

now threatned them with Severity, was one *Julian*, formerly *Nazianzen*'s Schoolfellow and intimate Acquaintance. To appeaſe him *Nazianzen* gets up into the Pulpit, and makes an Oration, firſt applying himſelf to the People, to encourage them againſt Deſpondency under their apprehended Danger; and alſo to caution them againſt Inſolency, minding them of the Obedience that is due to Magiſtrates, according to the Rules of *Chriſtianity*. Then he addreſſed him to the Governor, admoniſhing him of his religious Education, his Baptiſm, and Profeſſion of *Chriſtianity*; exciting him by ſeveral powerful Arguments to exerciſe his Authority with Mercy and Gentleneſs, and to improve the ſame for *Chriſt* from whom he had received it.

Shortly after he was the mournful Orator that preached at the Funeral of his Siſter *Gorgonia*, who had been Wife to *Vitalian*, a Gentleman of thoſe Parts, by whom ſhe had ſeveral Children. In his Oration he gives this Character of her, " That ſhe " was a Woman of great Virtue, Piety and Cha- " rity, her Doors being open to all that were in " Want and Neceſſity, and of ſingular Prudence " in her relative Capacities. That ſhe ſhas of a " grave and even Demeanour, between Merri- " ment and Moroſeneſs, a great Enemy to all " artificial Beautifyings, very modeſt in her Dreſs, " and temperate in her Diet; and frequently ſpent " whole Nights in reading the Scriptures, and " Divine Meditations; in praiſing God or pray- " ing to him, through her Frequency in which, " *her Knees were grown hard like thoſe of Camels.* " She would not, through Baſhfulneſs, as he fur- " ther tells us, ſuffer any Phyſician to come near " her

" her in her greateſt Sickneſs, and being once " ſeized with a malignant Fever, which was " deemed mortal, ſhe ventured on the following " ſtrange Method of Cure: Finding ſome Inter- " vals between her Fits, ſhe got up in a ſtormy " Night, and went to the Church, and kneeling " at the Communion-Table, earneſtly requeſted " her Recovery, reſolving ſhe would not go hence " till ſhe was reſtored to her Health, which ſhe " at length obtained. But ſtill ſhe retained her " *Deſires of departing, and of being with* Chriſt, " the particular Day of which was repreſented to " her in a Viſion," as he further relates. In her laſt Sickneſs, ſhe called her Husband, Children and Friends about her, and after ſuitable Diſcourſes with them, ſhe was heard, with a very low Voice, to repeat thoſe Words of the Pſalmiſt, *I will lay me down in Peace and reſt*, and ſo expired.

Not long after her Death followed that of her Father, when he had been Biſhop of *Nazianzum* 45, and was arrived to the Age of 100 Years. Through his great Age he was attended with many Infirmities and almoſt continual Pains, except when engaged in his publick Miniſtrations; at which Time either the Fervency of his Devotions extinguiſhed the Senſe of his Dolours, or elſe God mercifully mitigated the ſame at thoſe Intervals, ſo that he had then perfect Eaſe. His eminent Virtues were well known before he became a *Chriſtian*, as he was afterwards a ſerious Profeſſor and a moſt excellent Biſhop, making up his Want of thoſe Advantages of Education, which ſome had, by his unwearied Induſtry, through which he attained to a great Underſtanding in the Scriptures and the Doctrines of Religion. He was a zealous

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fender of the Catholick Faith, and recovered his See from great Corruptions, both in Principles and Practice, with which he found it overſpread. He obſerved a due Medium both in his Food and Raiment, between Sordidneſs and Curioſity. He was courteous and affable in his Converſes, and though naturally paſſionate he never gave way to it, unleſs where Zeal for Religion required the Exerciſe of a juſt Anger. He was eminently charitable to the Poor, and, in a Word, *a true* Nathaniel *in whom there was no Guile.* This is a Breviate of the Character that *Nazianzen* his Son gives of him in his Funeral Oration, at the Concluſion of which he addreſſed himſelf to his Mother *Nonna*, to comfort her under ſo great a Loſs, ſignifying, *We ought not to envy the Happineſs of our godly Friends for our own Conveniency*; and ſupported her with the Conſideration, *That ſhe muſt quickly follow him to the ſame Felicity.*

Theſe Conſolations were very ſeaſonable, for ſhe being much about the ſame Age with her Huſband, and being now deprived of him who was the chief Prop of her Life, ſhe died, as is very probable, about the ſame Time; whom *Nazianzen* deſcribes in the following Manner: *She was a Woman of extraordinary Piety, which ſhe received as it were by Inheritance from her Anceſtors, and imparted the ſame to her Husband and Children, being a faithful Wife and an excellent Mother. She ſlighted the Bravery which other Women admired, accounting the Divine Image the trueſt Beauty, and Virtue the greateſt Nobility. She reverenced the Miniſters of* Chriſtianity *as the Ambaſſadors of Heaven, and ſpent her Time in Faſtings, Watchings, Prayers, and ſinging of Pſalms Day and Night.*

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She ſhun'd converſing with her neareſt Relations, if Heathens; *nor would ſhe eat, or have any Familiarity with ſuch as defiled themſelves by* Pagan *Worſhip. She was of an even Temper under all Troubles, and praiſed God under all Calamities, though at the ſame Time none was more compaſſionate to others in their Diſtreſs.*

Sorrows thus following one another, ſufficiently weaned *Nazianzen* from home; and now looking on himſelf fully releaſed from his Charge, he reſolved to retire, having firſt endeavoured, though in vain, to procure one fit to ſucceed his Father at *Nazianzum*. Yet he continued not long in his Solitude, but returned therefrom about the Time of St. *Baſil*'s Death, whom, to his great Trouble, he could not attend in his laſt Hours, being hindred by his own Sickneſs; yet he ſhewed a due Reſpect to his Friend's Memory, by an eloquent Encomiaſtick in Commendation of him. About this Time his Preſence was deſired in a Synod held at *Antioch*, to heal the Diviſions that had been long in the *Eaſtern* Churches cauſed by the *Arian* Party. He was here pitched upon, in Conſideration of his great Learning and Abilities, to go to *Conſtantinople*, the chief Refuge of thoſe Hereticks, and there aſſiſt the Orthodox in defending the Catholick Faith.

When he arrived at the Imperial City, he took up his Reſidence with a Relation of his own, who is probably ſuppoſed to be *Nicobulus*, who had taken to Wife *Alypiana*, one of his Siſter *Gorgonia*'s Daughters. He found the *Arians*, through *Valens*'s Favour, here poſſeſſed of all the Churches, and carrying Things ſo high, that hardly any dared openly to confeſs the Truth. At the beginning he

he preached in his Lodgings, and had quickly a numerous Auditory; and the ſame Houſe being thereupon freely given by the Bounty of his Kinſman, was ſoon erected and conſecrated into a Church, which *Nazianzen* called the Church of *Anaſtaſia*, or of the Reſurrection, becauſe the Catholick Faith had there a kind of Reſurrection from the Dead. Here he preached frequently and courageouſly with good Succeſs, and with much Satisfaction to his People, but was greatly envied herein by their Enemies. The *Arians* who denied *Chriſt*'s Divinity, and the *Apollinarians* who placed it in the room of the human Mind, hereupon traduced him as an infamous Heretick, and Maintainer of Three Gods, becauſe he aſſerted there were three *Hypoſtaſes* or *ſubſiſting Perſons* in the Divine Nature, which the Ignorant took for three diſtinct Eſſences. Thereupon they inſtigated the Multitude to Violence, who ſtoned him with Stones, and drag'd him before the Magiſtrate; but he comforted himſelf *with the Goodneſs of his Cauſe, and in Confidence he had God on his Side, and the holy Angels to protect him*; and at length the Charge being found groundleſs, he was quietly diſmiſſed.

His violent Conflicts increaſed his Auditors, and brought him Admirers from remote Countries, the moſt noted of whom was St. *Jerom*, who having left the *Weſt*, had for ſome Years reſided in the Deſarts of *Syria*, and being ordained Presbyter by *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, he came to *Conſtantinople*, and was for ſome Time under the Diſcipline of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and often ſpeaks of it as his Glory, that he had been one of his Scholars. This St. *Jerom* was born at *Stridon*, a City in the Con-

fines of *Dalmatia*; he ſtudied at *Rome* under *Donatus* the Grammarian, and was there baptized. He ſpent much Time at *Jeruſalem* in learning the *Hebrew* Tongue, in order to the better underſtanding of the Scriptures, and after this became St. *Gregory*'s Auditor. He afterwards wrote a Book againſt *Helvidius*, who was Patriarch of the *Antidica-Marianites*, whoſe Errors conſiſted in aſſerting, *That after our Saviour's Birth, the Bleſſed Virgin had Children by* Joſeph, *who are called in Scripture our Lord's Brethren.* *Jerom* was the firſt that wrote againſt *Pelagius*, whom he oppoſes in his Dialogues againſt him. He had alſo a Diſpute with St *Auguſtine*, which was ſoon ended by an amicable Agreement between them. He died in the Year 420, about the 80th Year of his Age. *Eraſmus* ſays, he was without Controverſy the moſt learned of all *Chriſtians*, and that for Eloquence he excelled *Cicero* himſelf.

The Catholicks were now grown conſiderably numerous at *Conſtantinople*, and therefore deſired *Nazianzen* for their Biſhop, with whom concur'd the Generality of the Orthodox Biſhops of the *Eaſt*, and eſpecially his old Friend *Meletius* of *Antioch* ſtruggled hard to ſettle him in that See. He was thereupon conſtituted in that Province, in the Year 380, and *Peter*, *Athanaſius*'s Succeſſor at *Alexandria*, ſignified by Letters his Approbation of the Choice, and congratulated his Advancement to that Station. But *Nazianzen* ſoon grew weary of his Place, by reaſon of the great Troubles he met with, which were begun by one *Maximus* an *Egyptian* of *Alexandria*, who was a Cynick Philoſopher that profeſs'd *Chriſtianity*, and pretended to be of a noble Family, and alſo to have been a great

great Sufferer for the Truth. He made Shew of much Strictneſs and Gravity in his Life, and as thoſe Philoſophers are wont to do, he took Liberty to ſpeak bluntly to the greateſt of Men, and freely to reprove the Vices of Perſons of the higheſt Quality as well as others; by which ſpecious Pretences he gained great Reputation in the World, and converſed with Men of thiefeſt Note. Being thus prepared, he came to *Conſtantinople*, and quickly inſinuated himſelf into *Nazianzen*'s Company, who entertained him with an Oration full of great Commendations of him. Nay the good Man took him into his Houſe, and having inſtructed him in the Myſteries of the Faith, baptized him, and after ſome Time advanced him to Orders in the Church, truſting him with his Secrets.

And now *Maximus* begins to enter upon his treacherous Deſign againſt him, aſpiring to the See of *Conſtantinople*, thinking he deſerved it full as well as his Maſter. To this Purpoſe he conſulted with one of *Nazianzen*'s Presbyters, who had great Power under him, but yet being diſguſted that he was not himſelf made Biſhop, he joins with his Enemy. And now an Intereſt is made for him at *Alexandria*, and *Peter* who had declared his Approbation of *Nazianzen*'s Election, eſpouſed *Maximus*'s Deſign, and ſent three Biſhops to *Conſtantinople* to promote it. When they arrived, *Nazianzen* not ſuſpecting their Errand, welcomed them with an Oration in Praiſe of their City, as a Bulwark to the Catholick Cauſe, and in Commendation of *Athanaſius* their late, and *Peter* their preſent Biſhop; and withal commended them for ſo readily joining themſelves to the Orthodox Party upon their coming to the City. *Maximus*, to en-

ſure theſe Biſhops the more firmly to him, corrupted them with large Bribes, having obtained Money upon Credit for that Purpoſe. And now *Nazianzen* being indiſpoſed, and therefore retired for ſome Time from the City for the Benefit of the Air, theſe *Egyptian* Biſhops by Night broke into the Church, and placed *Maximus* on the Epiſcopal Throne. But a great Outcry being made of it in the Morning, the People generally came together; yea, the *Arians* themſelves joined with the Orthodox, and drove them out before they could finiſh their Work.

However they withdrew to a Player's Houſe hard by the Church, and finiſhed their Work in ordaining him; of which the People being informed, they were in a great Rage againſt them, and much blamed *Nazianzen* himſelf for having cheriſhed ſuch a Viper in his Boſom. The good Man being ſincere, little ſuſpected any ſuch Treachery; but upon receiving the News of it, haſtned to the City, and in an Oration let the People know *how unwillingly he had left them, and how chearfully he returned again to them.* And then he ſeverely reflects on the Villainy of *Maximus* and his Party, *declares the Character of a true* Chriſtian *Philoſopher, and ſignifies his Willingneſs to have his own Life tried by that Character.* As to his over Indulgence towards him, *he acknowledges he had been often betray'd by the Eaſineſs of his Temper, being inclined always to put the beſt Conſtruction on Things; and ſhews we ought to make our Eſtimate of Men by their Speeches and Demeanour, God only being the Searcher of Hearts.*

This Diſcourſe calmed the Minds of the People towards him, but their Fury was encreaſed againſt *Maximus*

Maximus, who finding the Slipperineſs of his Standing, fled out of the City; and, if he went not himſelf, he wrote to the Biſhops of *Italy* aſſembled at *Aquileia*, and withal ſent *Peter* of *Alexandria*'s Approbation of his Ordination; whereupon they alſo too haſtily declared themſelves for it, ſuppoſing *Nazianzen* to be advanced contrary to Rule. Hereupon they wrote to the Emperor, intreating him to eſtabliſh *Maximus*, who at the ſame Time went to the Court then at *Theſſalonica*, to ſolicit his Cauſe with him. But the Emperor utterly rejected his Requeſt, and threatned to puniſh him, if he did not deſiſt. Being fretted at this Repulſe, he went to *Alexandria*, and having brib'd a Party, applied himſelf to the Biſhop, and plainly told him, *If he did not ſtand by him, he would thruſt him out of his own Seat, and take it to himſelf.* But the Governor of *Alexandria* being provoked at his Impudence, immediately baniſhed him out of the City, and we have no Account what became of him afterwards.

Thus *Nazianzen* was freed from the Miſchiefs of *Maximus*, but ſtill met with great Troubles from the *Arians*. A Woman of that Party about this Time killed *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Samoſata*, by throwing a Brickbat on his Head as he went thro' the Street, being juſt returned from his Baniſhment. But their chief Pique was againſt *Nazianzen*, whom not now daring to aſſault openly, for fear of *Theodoſius* the Emperor, who was a great Favourer of the Catholicks, they endeavoured to blaſt his Reputation. And becauſe they wanted greater Things to alledge, they reproached him with the Obſcurity of the Place of his Birth, and the Meanneſs of his Deſcent, the Ungenteelneſs of his

his Carriage, and the Plainneſs of his Speech; ſome charged him with being of a moroſe, and others that he was of too eaſy a Temper.

Theſe little Aſperſions he wipes off in a publick Oration, wherein he chiefly applies himſelf to the *Arians*, and therein tells them, *That however the Meanneſs of his Birth might be eſteemed his Misfortune, it was none of his Fault; nor was he any more to be blamed for it than a Dolphin for not being a Land-Animal, or an Ox for not being bred in the Water. If he was born in an obſcure Corner, ſo,* he adds, *were* Moſes, Samuel, David, *and ſeveral other Worthies.* He teaches them, *that true Nobility conſiſts in being born from above, and in a truly ſpiritual Frame, and in being adorned with the Divine Image in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs. As to his Moroſeneſs and avoiding Converſation, with which they charged him,* he tells them, *it proceeded not from Pride, but from a ſerious Deſire of being better acquainted with himſelf than others. The overgreat Mildneſs and Eaſineſs which ſome alledged againſt him, he counted his Glory, as being herein like the Son of God himſelf, who endured the greateſt Injuries with Meekneſs, and forgave his worſt Enemies.* And laſtly he concludes *with appealing to themſelves concerning the Inoffenſiveneſs of his Demeanour amongſt them.*

Such indeed was the Gentleneſs of this Father, that divers of his beſt Friends were offended with him; becauſe they thought he did not ſufficiently exerciſe his Authority, and improve his Intereſt to ſecure 'em againſt their Oppoſers. Yea, by the Inſtigation of that Presbyter who had combin'd with *Maximus*, ſome of theſe became his Enemies; ſo that Troubles increaſing, he reſolv'd

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to relinquish the Charge he had undertaken; and therefore, in the close of his Farewel-Sermon, he *earnestly presses them to Constancy in the true Faith, and to think of the Sufferings he had endured for it.* Upon this his People were strangely surpriz'd; and ardently *besought him not to leave his Flock to the Wolves that were ready to devour them.* One of them in particular said, *Sir, if you depart, you thereby banish the Orthodox Faith out of this City.* This Expression had so great an Influence upon him; that, being overcome by the Tears and Intreaties of all Sorts, *he promis'd to continue till a Synod,* which was soon expected, *should come to constitute one more worthy in his Place.*

The Emperor *Theodosius* being last Year at *Thessalonica,* was taken sick, and sent for *Acholius,* Bishop of that Place, in order to his being baptiz'd, but first inquir'd into the Faith the said Bishop and his People profess'd; and being inform'd that they adher'd to the *Nicene* Creed, and abhorr'd the *Arian* Impieties, he was thereupon baptiz'd by him. About the same time he publish'd an Edict in Favour of the Catholicks, and for the Suppression of the *Arians,* and this Year he publish'd another at *Constantinople* to the same Purpose. When he was come thither, he sent for *Demophilus,* the *Arian* Bishop, and commanded him *either to subscribe the* Nicene *Creed, and reduce the People to Unity; or else to relinquish his See, and depart out of the City.* The Bishop knew it to be in vain to contend; and therefore sent for his People, and gave 'em Notice, that *seeing they were excluded from their Churches, they would the next day hold their Meetings without the City-Walls.*

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The Emperor in the mean time ſhew'd great Kindneſs to *Nazianzen*; telling him, *That he was ſent of God to ſettle him in the quiet Poſſeſſion of his Church.* But ſtill the *Arians* made ſo many Complaints and Tumults, that he was forc'd to conduct him with a military Guard thro' the Crowds unto his Inſtalment. As they were paſſing along, a black Cloud, thick Darkneſs, and a ſudden Storm aroſe, which the Enemies interpreted to be a Token of God's Diſpleaſure againſt their Proceedings. But on the other Hand, the Catholicks ſoon thought 'em ſufficiently confuted; in that they were no ſooner in the Church, but the Sun ſhin'd forth with extraordinary Brightneſs.

Nazianzen was ſo highly eſteem'd by the Emperor, that he ſometimes plac'd him at his own Table; who yet came rarely to Court, the Cuſtoms thereof not ſuiting his Temper; who was unacquainted with the Arts of Flattery and Diſſimulation, uſually to be found in ſuch Places. His conſtant Imployment was in Devotion, Preaching, and viſiting the Sick; and ſometimes he went out of Town, partly for his Health, and partly for Retirement. The Profits of his Church, tho' large, made no Addition to his private Eſtate; but he left the Management thereof wholly to the Eccleſiaſtical Stewards and Treaſurers, his Thoughts being employ'd about Matters of a more ſublime Nature. He was about this time detain'd by Sickneſs in his Bed, when many came with thankful Acknowledgments of the great Bleſſings God had by him beſtow'd on 'em. Among the reſt, one that had been hir'd to aſſaſſinate him; but was hindred by a ſpecial Interpoſure of Divine

vine Providence, came with doleful Lamentations to confeſs their Fault and deſire Pardon, which the good Man readily granted him, ſaying, *I require no other Satisfaction, than that for the future you relinquiſh your evil Companions, and heartily devote yourſelf to God.*

The Emperor being very deſirous that the Church's Tranquillity ſhould, if poſſible, be reſtored, in order thereunto ſummoned the Biſhops of the *Eaſt* to convene at *Conſtantinople*. They accordingly met there to the Number of 150 Catholicks, beſides about 36 of the *Macedonian* Party, who were alſo invited in Hope that an Union might be obtained between them. This Synod was made up of none but the *Eaſtern* Biſhops, but yet it has been always approved and acknowledged as a General Council by the Catholick Church. The firſt Thing they went upon, when aſſembled, was the Settlement of the See of *Conſtantinople*; and having heard and debated all Things between *Nazianzen*, who was in it, and *Maximus*, who ſtill claimed a Right to it; they unanimouſly condemned the Pretences of the latter, and adjudged the Title rightfully belonging to the former.

Being come to this Iſſue, they placed *Nazianzen* in the Epiſcopal Chair, who with Tears and Intreaties endeavoured to avoid it, but was at length prevailed on by this Argument, *That it would be a likely means to reconcile contending Parties.* Some indeed oppoſed, pleading againſt it, that he had been Biſhop of *Saſima* and *Nazianzum*, and the Tranſlation of Biſhops was contrary to the Canons of the Church. But Anſwer was given to this, that thoſe Canons were deſigned only to pre-

vent Ambition, and had often been diſpenſed with when the Needs of the Church required it.

The Council next proceeded to Matters of Faith, confirming the *Nicene* Confeſſion, and adding an Explication thereto in the Article concerning the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe the Synod was eſpecially called againſt the *Macedonians*, who were erroneous therein. The Judgment of the Council was expreſſed in an explanatory Creed, drawn up, as 'tis ſaid, chiefly by *Gregory Nyſſen*; being in the main the ſame with that compoſed in the Council of *Nice*, which you have in the Life of *Euſebius*. The only material Difference between them lies in the following Words: *We believe in the Holy Ghoſt the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceeds from the Father; who, together with the Father and the Son, is worſhipped and glorified,* [*and*] *who ſpake by the Prophets. We believe one Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church; we acknowledge one Baptiſm for the Remiſſion of Sins; look for the Reſurrection of the Dead, and the Life of the World to Come.* Amen.

This *Conſtantinopolitan* Creed now uſuall paſſes under the Name of the *Nicene*, though but an Explication of it, and is one of the three famous Creeds publickly owned by our Church, as the Reader may eaſily obſerve. Only this wants the FILILOQUE, or what is now expreſſed in the Creed concerning the Holy Ghoſt's proceeding both from the Father and the Son. This Clauſe was afterwards added, but at what Time is not eaſy to determine. It ſeems not to have gained any publick Place in the Creed, till the Time of Pope *Nicolaus* I. after the middle of the ninth Century. And then it was brought in to the great

Offence

Offence of the *Eaſtern* Churches, who hereupon broke off all Communion with the *Weſtern*.

Having thus eſtabliſhed the Faith, the Fathers proceeded next to cenſure thoſe who were the Oppoſers of it; and particularly they condemned the *Sabellian*, the *Marcellian*, the *Photinian*, the *Eunomian*, the *Apollinarian*, and the *Macedonian* Hereſies: We ſhall therefore give a brief Account of each of them. The *Sabellians* received their Name from *Sabellius*, a *Lybian* Biſhop of *Ptolemais* in *Pentapolis*, a Region of *Lybia*, who began his Hereſy in the foregoing Century, in the Time of *Valerian*'s Reign. He had been a Scholar of *Noetius* of *Epheſus*, from whom he received the chief Ingredients of his corrupt Principles, which he at length formed into the following impious Aſſertions.

He aſſerted, *That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, are but one and the ſame Perſon, diſtinguiſhed by three ſeveral Names, as in Man there is Body, Soul, and Spirit; the Father being anſwerable to the firſt, the Son to the ſecond, and the Holy Ghoſt to the third. Or, as the* Sun, *tho' but One, has Three Powers, Light, Heat, and Circular Form; ſo,* he taught, *the Father to be anſwerable to the ſubſiſting Form, the Holy Ghoſt to the Heat, and the Son to the Light, who, as a Beam, was in Time ſhed upon the World, by whom all Things were made, and then taken up into Heaven again, as a Beam into the Body of the Sun.* He further taught, *That by Virtue of this Oneneſs of Perſons,* the Father *might be ſaid to* ſuffer, *whence they are ſometimes called* Patropaſſians; though that Name was given to a more antient ſort of Hereticks. The *Sabellians* received, beſides the Scriptures, ſeveral Apocry-

phal Writings, eſpecially a Book called *Egyptian Goſpel*, in which our Saviour is introduced, teaching his Apoſtles, *That the Father and the Son are but one and the ſame Perſon.*

Marcellus, who was next condemned, was Biſhop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, of the Riſe of whoſe Hereſy we have treated in the Life of *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and therefore ſhall now only give a brief Account of his Error, wherein it chiefly conſiſted. He aſſerted, *That Chriſt began to be the Son of God at his Incarnation, that his Kingdom ſhall continue to the Day of Judgment, and to the End of the World, and ſhall then ceaſe; and the Word that came forth from, be reſolved again into the Father, and be no more a diſtinct Subſiſtence.* In Oppoſition to theſe Hereticks, the Fathers added that Clauſe to the Creed concerning our Saviour, that *his Kingdom ſhall have no End.*

Photinus, from whom the *Photinians* derived their Name, was a Diſciple of *Marcellus*, born at *Sirmium*, and afterwards made Biſhop of that City. He was a Man of acute Parts and a voluble Tongue, who partly agreed with his Maſter, and reviv'd the long ſince condemned Hereſy of *Paul* of *Samoſata*, which *confounded the Holy Trinity, and denied our Lord's Eternal Exiſtence.* He affirmed, *that the* Word *was not* Eſſential, *but only a Word* brought forth *in Time, God making uſe of it in the Creation, as a kind of mechanical Inſtrument*; *and that* Jeſus *who received this Word was but a mere Man, and had the Beginning of his Being from the Virgin* Mary; *and that he then only began to be* Chriſt *when the Holy Ghoſt deſcended on him in* Jordan. He was often condemned for theſe Blaſphemies, by the *Arians* as well as the *Catholicks*, and died in the Year 375.

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The *Eunomian* Hereſy was firſt taught by *Aetius*, born at *Antioch* in *Cœloſyria*, who was at firſt a Goldſmith by Trade, but afterwards applied himſelf to the Study of Logick, Philoſophy and Divinity. He was at length made Presbyter and Deacon of *Antioch*, from which he was depoſed by the Council at *Conſtantinople* in the Year 360, and baniſhed by *Conſtantius*, but was afterwards recalled by *Julian*, and reſtored to his Biſhoprick. From him his Followers were called *Actians*, as they were afterwards called *Eunomians* from his Scholar *Eunomius*, who became more famous than his Maſter.

This *Eunomius* was born at *Dacora*, a ſmall Village near *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and at *Antioch* received his Doctrine from *Aetius*, being alſo baniſhed with him; but he was at length made Biſhop of *Cyzicum* by *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, and died at *Dacora* his native Place, about 394. Theſe two corrupted the *Arian* Notions, and rendered them more peſtilent than *Arius* himſelf or any of his Followers had taught them. They were Heads of that Party of the *Arians* who were called *Anomœan* or *Heterouſians*, who aſſerted our Saviour to be of an Eſſence totally different from that of the Father, as we have formerly obſerved in the Life of *Athanaſius*. And whereas it was cuſtomary at that Time to uſe a trine Immerſion or Dipping of Perſons in their Baptiſm, at the naming of each Perſon of the Holy Trinity, as *Tertullian* tells us, and St. *Ambroſe* yet more expreſly declares it; *Eunomius*, in Oppoſition to others, would uſe only a ſingle Immerſion or Plunging of thoſe he baptized, pleading they were baptized into *Chriſt*'s Death, who died but once for them.

The

The next ſort of Hereticks were the *Apollinariſts* or *Apollinarians*, ſo called from *Apollinaris*, ſometime Biſhop of *Laodicea*, of whom we have ſpoken before. His Errors, as *Nazianzen* relates them in one of his Epiſtles, were, *That our Saviour brought his Fleſh with him from Heaven, which he thought ſufficiently proved by theſe Words*, No Man hath aſcended up into Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven, even the Son of Man who is in Heaven; *whence he inferred he was the Son of Man before he came from Heaven, and this ſenſe the Apoſtle ſays*, The Second Man is the Lord from Heaven: *That in this State he had no human Mind, but that was ſupplied by his Divine Nature.* This Father further tells us, that beſides all this he maintained, *That Chriſt died as to his Divine, as well as Human Nature; and was raiſed up again by the Father.*

There remains but one ſort of Hereticks more that were now cenſured, *viz.* the *Macedonians*, called alſo *Pneumatomachi*, or *Oppoſers of the Holy Spirit*: And becauſe this Council was called chiefly to oppoſe theſe, we'll ſpeak ſomewhat more diſtinctly of the Author of this Sect, and his Followers.

The *Nicene Creed* is moſt expreſs in ſtating the Truth concerning the Divinity of *Chriſt*, this only being at that Time oppoſed by the *Arians*; but ſays no more concerning the Divine Spirit, but only, *We believe in the Holy Ghoſt*; becauſe no Queſtion had been then made concerning his Deity. But afterward when the *Arians* came to be divided into many Parties, ſome of them firſt queſtioned, and then utterly denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt. The firſt open Maintainer of this Error

was

was *Macedonius*, who had been Deacon under *Alexander* Biſhop of *Byzantium*, but was afterwards made Biſhop of that City by the *Arians*, in Oppoſition to *Paul*, who was choſen into the ſame Station by the Orthodox Party, upon the Death of *Alexander*. This Man had formerly held with the worſt of the *Arians*, who were of the *Diſſimilar Opinion*; but at length he deſerted them, and joined with the *Homoiouſians*, who aſſerted the Son to be in all Things of a like Eſſence with the Father. But as to the Holy Ghoſt, he affirmed that the ſame Honour belonged not to him, and that he was but a Servant or Miniſter, though of a ſomewhat more exalted Order than the Angels. He held ſeveral Synods of his Party in *Julian*'s Time, by which means his Notions were greatly propagated.

The Time of this *Hereſiarch*'s Death is uncertain; but whenever that happened, his Hereſy was kept alive by his Followers. In the Point of *Chriſt*'s Divinity, they kept a Medium between the Catholicks, and the moſt Corrupt among the *Arians*; yea *Nazianzen* and ſome others of the Antients, allow them to maintain the Truth in this Article of *Chriſt*'s Divinity. They rejected the Wore *Homoouſios*, or *Conſubſtantial*, as unſcriptural; and on the other hand they anathematized the *Anomœans*, or *Eunomians*, and affirmed with the *Semiarians*, that the Son is in all Things of a like Eſſence with the Father. But then as to the Article of the Holy Ghoſt, they are in the Canons of this Court called *Pneumatomachi*, becauſe they utterly deny'd the Deity of the Holy Spirit. This Sect became numerous, not only at *Conſtantinople*, but alſo in *Thrace*, *Helleſpont*, *Bithynia*, and

and other Parts. The Emperor *Theodoſius* ſummoned their Biſhops to the Council, in hopes of gaining them, for which great Endeavours were uſed, but all proved ineffectual; they poſitively declaring they would never ſubſcribe to the *Conſubſtantial Doctrine*, and ſo left the Council; for which obſtinacy they were condemned: And with this the Determinations of the Synod concerning Matters of Faith ended.

Then the Synod proceeded to conſider ſome Things relating to the external Policy and Diſcipline of the Church, amongſt which the moſt remarkable is expreſſed in the following Canon: "The Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſhall have the next "Place of Honour after the Biſhop of *Rome*, be"cauſe *Conſtantinople* is New *Rome*." This was the firſt Step by which the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* aſcended towards a Rivalſhip with *Rome*, which the Council of *Chalcedon* afterwards advanced into a compleat Equality; and ſo underſtood the foregoing Canon, that the Prepoſition *after* did not mean any Inferiority of Degree, but only a Poſteriority in Time. And, as the Foundation of the Grandeur and Preheminence of the Church of *Rome* at firſt, was that City's being the Seat of the Empire; ſo the Fathers of that Council thought but reaſonable, that ſeeing *Conſtantinople* was now become the Seat of the Imperial Throne, the Church there ſhould in Correſpondence thereunto be equally Privileged and dignified with that at *Rome*: The Fathers having always granted a Precedency to Biſhopricks, anſwerable to the Rank thoſe Cities held in the Dignity of the Civil State.

Things had hitherto gone on pretty quietly in the Council; but *Meletius* the good Biſhop of *Antioch*

tioch dying at this Time, great Heats arose about the Election of a Successor, which was at length fixed upon *Flavianus* Presbyter of the same City. *Nazianzen* endeavoured to still these Commotions, and promote Unity; but his seeming chiefly to fall in with the Judgment of the *Western* Bishops, in Behalf of *Paulinus*, who had also been ordained Bishop of *Antioch*, caused those of the *East* to fall upon him: And at length nothing would satisfy them short of his Resignation of his Place, to which they pleaded he had not been chosen according to the Ecclesiastical Canons. He thereupon replied, *That it was sore against his Will, that ever he was advanced to that Station; and that he expected no Reward but from above, for all the great Pains he had taken in the Discharge of his Office: But yet*, as he adds, *it seemed strange that after he had been prevailed on by their own Suffrages, and the Importunity of the People, any should now endeavour to nullify their own Act. However*, as he proceeds, *if they have a mind so to do, he was ready freely to resign, and return to his welcome Solitude; telling them it was his Comfort, that however they might part him from his See, they could not separate him from God.* No sooner was this heard of by the People, but they came thronging about him, and earnestly intreated him *to pity his miserable Flock which he had hitherto nourished, and watched over with so much Care and Diligence.* He could not but be much melted with their Tears and Intreaties, but yet still firmly persisted in his Resolution, which grew stronger and stronger every Day.

And this his Purpose was the more fixed by the new Oppositions which *Timotheus* Bishop of *Alex-*

andria now made againſt him, who indeed profeſſed to have no Diſreſpect to his Perſon; but only he complained of the Irregularities that had been committed by thoſe that had ordained him, being contrary to the Canons, which, as he pleaded, allow of no Tranſlation from one See to another. Our Biſhop endeavoured to compoſe the Strifes that aroſe on this Occaſion, by his Oration *concerning Peace*, wherein he elegantly lays beſor them the great Bleſſings of Concord, and the unſpeakable Miſchiefs of Variance and Animoſities amongſt *Chriſtians*. *What a Shame is it*, ſays he, *that ſuch Reverend Prelates as preach Peace to others, ſhould fiercely ſtrive one againſt another? It matters not what becomes of me, ſo Unity may be maintained among you. I am content to ſacrifice my Reputation, provided you may remain in Amity. Nay, though I have not at all been guilty of raiſing the Storm; I am willing to be like* Jonah *thrown into the Sea, ſo the Tempeſt may be thereby appeaſed, and the Ship ſaved.* And ſeveral other Things he added to the like Purpoſe.

After this he went to Court, where falling on his Knees, and kiſſing the Emperor's Hand, he addreſſed him after this Manner: "Sir, I am not "come to beg Riches, or Honours for myſelf, or "my Relations, but all I requeſt is Leave to be "gone, that I may no longer be an Occaſion of "Envy to my Adverſaries, or of Grief to my "my Friends. I entreat you make this one of "the principal Triumphs of your Reign, to re"duce them by your Authority to Peace, upon "whom the Fear of God don't ſufficiently pre"vail. This is the laſt Requeſt of him, who, as "your Majeſty knows, was contrary to his own

"Deſire

" Desires placed on the Episcopal Throne."

Having thus spoken, the Emperor, as well as all others present, admired his Temper; and he was at length, though not without Difficulty, brought to grant his Petition.

And now having obtained Liberty of Recess from above, nothing remained but taking his Leave, which he did in an Oration before the 150 Fathers of the Council, and as many of the People as the great Church would hold; with some Passages of which I shall entertain the Reader. Having signified the miserable State wherein he had found the Church, and what Reformations he had wrought therein, he appeals to themselves in his own Vindication: " Have I, said he, " defrauded any of this People through Covetous- " ness? Whose Ox or Ass have I taken as the " Price of Souls? The Reward I desire of you " for all my Pains, is only to be now eased of " my Burden; and that, in Consideration of my " Gray Hairs and Weakness, another may be put " in my Room that is more vigorous. I am " tired while my Moderation is made my Fault; " I am weary of contending not only with the " Reproaches of Enemies, but also with the Re- " flections of my Friends, which latter wound me " more sensibly than the former. I therefore ear- " nestly entreat you to dismiss me with your " Prayers, and I could be glad if it might be " with some Symptoms of your good Acceptance " of my Labours; but if not, it will content me " that God knows and approves my sincere En- " deavours."

Having discoursed thus, and more to the same Purpose, he expresses his particular Valediction

after this elegant Manner: "Farewel *Anaſtaſia*, "thou in whom the true Faith has had a Reſur- "rection after its long lying buried in Reproach "and Contempt! Farewel thou Great and Mag- "nificent Temple, whom of a *Jebus* we made a "*Jeruſalem!* and all the reſt of you Churches, "whom by Divine Help we were wont, notwith- "ſtanding our Weakneſſes, to fill in our Viſita- "tions."

Thus having apoſtrophized to his Epiſcopal Chair, to the Hoſpitals, to the City, and alſo taken his ſolemn Leave of the Biſhops, and of his uſual Auditors, he concludes with this peculiar Addreſs to his People: *Little Children, keep that which I have committed to you, and remember my Sufferings:* The Grace of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* be with you all. *Amen.*

No ſooner was this pathetick Oration ended, but all ſorts of Perſons were greatly affected, and could not endure the Thoughts of their Paſtor's being thus raviſhed from them; and even many of the Biſhops of the Council expreſſed their Trouble at the violent Proceedings therein, which had occaſioned this Separation. Thus *Nazianzen* left *Conſtantinople*, after three Years continuance in it; and relinquiſhed his Epiſcopal See, when he had ſcarce ſat a full Year in the ſame, as is generally agreed. He went hence into his own Country, and retired to his paternal Eſtate at *Nazianzum*, where we ſhall leave him for a Time, and ſee what is doing at *Conſtantinople* in his Abſence.

Nazianzen being gone, the next Thing was to chuſe a Succeſſor; and that which may ſeem ſtrange is, that among ſo many of the Clergy there aſſembled, the Election ſhould fall on a Lay man,

Layman, as it did by the following Accident. There was then in the City one *Nectarius*, a Senator of a very graceful Aſpect, and excellent Converſation, which together with his Reverend Age procured him an univerſal Eſteem. This Perſon being now going to *Tarſus* his native City, waited on *Diodorus* the Biſhop thereof, who was then in the Council, and buſily exerciſing his Thoughts about the Election. The Biſhop no ſooner ſaw him but he liked him, and reſolved to put in for his being Biſhop, and in order to it recommended him to the Biſhop of *Antioch*, who conſidering how many worthy Perſons were nominated, could not forbear ſmiling at the Motion.

But at length the Day of Election came, and the Liſt was given in to the Emperor; wherein every Biſhop had ſet down whom he would recommend to his Imperial Approbation. And tho' *Nectarius* had but two Votes, there being but few of the Council that had any Knowledge of him, yet, to the Amazement of all, his Imperial Majeſty fixed upon him. And that which increaſed their Wonder was, that upon Enquiry, he appeared to be not only a Layman, but yet unbaptized; notwithſtanding which, the Emperor ſtill perſiſting in it, he was immediately baptized, and his Ordination conſummated. This being done, and Prayers offered up for the Emperor, the Synod was diſſolved, and the ſeveral Biſhops returned to their own Homes.

Divers of the Biſhops of this Council were again convened the following Year at *Conſtantinople*; and among the reſt *Nazianzen* had a Summons, but he utterly refuſed to comply with it, or indeed to be preſent at any Synod whatſoever. This he ſignified

nified by an Epiſtle written on this Occaſion, wherein he tells them, *He had ſufficient Experience how little Benefit one might expect from Synods, which,* ſays he, *commonly make Breaches wider, than cement them*; adding, *That ſuch Aſſemblies are uſually full of Brawls and Clamours, more like a Flock of Geeſe or Cranes, than a Convention of ſage Prelates.* He declares, *that from theſe Conſiderations he reſolved to continue in Solitude; as indeed he was neceſſitated to do at this Time by a grievous Sickneſs, which made him daily expect his End; and therefore he deſires* Precopius *his Friend, to plead his Excuſe with the Emperor.* When he came to *Nazianzum*, he found that See, being ſtill vacant, much corrupted, eſpecially with the Hereſy of *Apollinaris*; but he utterly refuſed to take on him the Charge of the ſame, though he was greatly importuned ſo to do.

The Breaches ſtill growing wider at *Conſtantinople*, *Theodoſius* the Emperor reſolved to make yet a further Attempt, if poſſible, to heal them; and in order to it ſummoned another Council, adviſing *Nectarius* to draw up the chief Points of Diffeetnce, that they might be accuratelſ debated therein, and the Faith be eſtabliſhed by mutual Conſent. And to oblige all, he indulged the free Exerciſe of Religion to each Party; at which the Catholicks were troubled, and ſent *Amphilochius* Biſhop of *Iconium*, to deſire him that the *Arians* might be ſuppreſſed and excluded the City. His Addreſs being now rejected, the Biſhop came a ſecond Time to Court; and then though he expreſſed due Reverence to the Emperor, he took little Notice of his Son *Arcadius*, whom he had lately made his Colleague in the Government, which

which he did, that he might the more ſenſibly convince the Emperor of his Indifferency. Whereupon *Theodoſius* was greatly offended, and told him, *He looked upon the Diſreſpect ſhewn to his Son, as if it were done to himſelf.* To whom the Biſhop immediately replied to this Purpoſe, *If you, Sir, are ſo much offended at an Affront offered your Son, aſſuredly know that the Great God does much more abhor thoſe that blaſpheme and reproach his only begotten Son, and eſteems them as Perſons horridly ungrateful to their Saviour.* The Emperor apprehended the Rebuke, and was thereby influenced to grant his Requeſt in Behalf of the Catholicks.

The Synod met according to Appointment, in which the ſeveral Parties brought an Account of their Faith in Writing, as the Emperor had requeſted. He having read all, and beg'd of God Direction in his Judgment, approved only of the *Conſubſtantial Confeſſion*, which he therefore confirmed, and tore the reſt in Pieces, and thereupon the Authors of them went away with Shame. And as the Emperor thus confirmed the Catholick Faith, ſo he ſeverely prohibited all contrary Hereſies, particularly thoſe of the *Eunomians* and *Macedonians*, forbidding them, under the ſevereſt Penalties, to aſſemble together either in City or Country.

But though *Nazianzen* would be no more concerned in publick Councils, he endeavoured to promote the Church's Peace and Proſperity by Letters to ſeveral Parts, in which he often ſignifies what Delight he took in his Solitude, which was to him as a ſafe Harbour after a dangerous Tempeſt. He alſo ſpent ſome of the ſpare Hours of his Retire-

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ment in Poetical Compoſures, which were for the moſt Part on Divine Subjects. In ſuch kind of Imployments, together with the ſtricteſt Exerciſes of Devotion, he paſſed the Remainder of his Time till the Approach of his Diſſolution, of which his long Weakneſs and Infirmities had cauſed him to live in the continual Expectation. At the Time of his being Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, he made his Laſt Will, of which there is ſtill a Copy; wherein, beſides Legacies to ſeveral particular Perſons, he gave his Eſtate, which was very conſiderable, to the Church of *Nazianzum* for the Uſe of the Poor: After the making of which Will, he lived about eight Years, and then died at or near ſixty-five Years of Age, in the Year of our Lord 383, in his own Town of *Arianzum*, and probably in the very Houſe where he was born.

As to his outward Character, the Deſcription of this eminent Father is thus given us by *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, a Writer of the Tenth Century: *His Stature was of a middle Size, the Aſpect of his Countenance amiable and delightful, his Beard was ſhort and thick, his Head for the moſt Part bald, and the little Hair he had was Milk-white; his Noſe was ſomewhat flat, his Eyebrows grew upright, and his Right-eye, by reaſon of a Scar, looked a little heavy.*

As his Soul was betimes ſavoured with Religion, and the Seeds of Virtue were ſown early therein by his Mother, ſo they yielded anſwerable Fruit throughout his Life; and he was indeed devoted to God, according as ſhe had vowed concerning him before his Birth. He was willing to do the hardeſt Services, and to indure the greateſt Sufferings for God; and he valued neither Wealth nor Honour,

Honour, Health or Learning, but as by the comparative Contempt of them, he might ſhew his far greater Love to *Chriſt*. He mightily diſliked Flattery and Cringing, and of the two, rather choſe to be eſteemed a Clown than a Courtier; and therefore when ſome expected his great Thanks for their Endeavours to advance him to the See of *Conſtantinople*, he ſo far diſappointed them, that they became afterwards his Enemies.

He was very compaſſionate to the Poor, loved his very Enemies, and was as ready to forgive an Injury, as the worſt of them could be to do one. Nothing grieved him ſo much as the Diſſentions of *Chriſtians*; and when one took notice of the excellent Lives of the *Macedonian* Party, notwithſtanding their Errors, he very affectionately ſaid, *He could wiſh himſelf accurſed from* Chriſt, *ſo they might be brought to embrace the Truth.* He managed his Diſputes for the moſt part with great Mildneſs, without Noiſe and Clamour, and uſed to compare a brangling ſort of Diſputants to the Fiſh *Sepia*, which being like to be caught, vomits out much black Matter, which thick'ning the Water, gives him a better Opportunity for eſcaping: *Thus*, ſays he, *do thoſe, who inſtead of Reaſon and Argument, vomit up nothing but bitter Calumnies and Reproaches.* Yet neither his Love to Peace, nor any other Motives, could ever engage him to betray the Truth, which he had undertaken to defend. In ſhort, it was not without Cauſe that St. *Baſil*, who beſt knew him, ſtiles him *a choſen Veſſel*; and he ſeems well to have deſerved the Character that *Ruffinus* gives him, that he was an *incomparable Perſon.*

His excellent Graces and moral Qualifications were beautified with the natural Endowments of a pregnant Wit, a ready Apprehenſion, a penetrating Judgment, a graceful Elocution, and this embelliſhed with all the Learning, with which *Athens* and *Alexandria* could furniſh him. Such was his Accuracy in the Study of Theology, that his Judgment was by moſt eſteemed as the Standard of Orthodoxy, and he has been through all ſucceeding Ages honoured with the Title of, *The Divine*; an Epithet beſtowed on none beſides him ſince St. *John* the Apoſtle.

In all his Diſcourſes there breathes a great Vein of Seriouſneſs, and it is difficult to determine, whether they ſavour more of Eloquence or Piety. His Writings are very ſententious, containing Abundance of Matter in few Words; and the ſhortneſs of his Periods does not obſcure the Senſe couched in them. In ſhort, *Eraſmus* himſelf tells us, he was afraid to attempt the Tranſlation of *Nazianzen*, he thought it ſo hard to expreſs his Thoughts in another Language, ſuitable to the Majeſty and Eloquence of the Original.

It cannot indeed after all be denied, but that in him there are Symptoms of the Degeneracy of *Chriſtianity* in that Age. He often ſpeaks in Commendation of ſevere Penances, lying on the Ground and Watchings: But alas! theſe hindred not the Eccleſiaſticks of his Time, from being generally very corrupt in their Manners. This Decay of the Life and Power of Religion cauſed them in that Age to talk much of Miracles and Legendary Stories, hoping thereby to maintain the Reputation of it, whereof ſeveral Inſtances appear in his Writings. He ſometimes in his Encomiaſticks

miaſticks addreſſes himſelf to departed Saints, which ſome indeed charitably excuſe, by ſaying, he only did it by an Oratorial Licence, herein imitating his Maſter *Iſocrates*. But there is one Paſſage in his Panegyrick on St. *Cyprian*, which will hardly bear this Excuſe, wherein he repreſents him bringing in *Juſtina, beſeeching the Virgin* Mary *to help a Virgin in Danger*; and then *Nazianzen* concludes with a Prayer, wherein he himſelf *deſires St.* Cyprian's *Aſſiſtance, and Protection in governing his Flock, and in conducting thoſe of whom he had Charge*, though that Martyr had been then long dead. To conclude, what St. *Paul* adviſes with reſpect to himſelf and the other Apoſtles, we have much more need to obſerve in our Eſteem of the ſucceeding Fathers, viz. *to be Followers of them*, only ſo far *as they are Followers of* Chriſt.

The LIFE of St. *AMBROSE*, Biſhop of *Milan*.

FRANCE was the Country, and moſt probably *Arles* the City, wherein St. *Ambroſe* drew his firſt Breath; but though he was born here, yet ſeeing he ſprang from a noble *Roman* Family, he was by his Nativity a Citizen of *Rome*. *Arles* was the Metropolis of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, then the Seat of the Imperial Viceroys, and afterwards of their Kings, being ſtiled by *Aſonius*, upon the Account of its Largeneſs and

Renown, the *Gallick Rome*. In this eminent Place he was born, about the Year 333, when his Father, whoſe Name alſo was *Ambroſe*, was the Emperor's Prefect over *France*, and the other *Weſtern* Parts of his Dominion, an Office of the higheſt Order and Truſt in the *Roman* Empire.

As he was ſleeping one Day in his Cradle, in the Court of the *Prætorium* or Palace, a Swarm of Bees lit on his Face, ſeveral of them going into his Mouth and coming out again, at length flew away without doing him any Harm: Which his Father obſerving, ſaid thereupon to thoſe that were preſent, *If this Boy lives, he'll prove an Illuſtrious Man.* How long his Father ſurvived this, is uncertain, but 'tis moſt likely he died while he was here in his Government, and that upon his Death his Mother and the Family returned to *Rome*. Among the ludicrous Paſſages of his Childhood, this may be thought to deſerve a Mention; that once obſerving his Mother and Siſter kiſſing the Biſhop's Hand, as was uſual to expreſs their Reverence to Prelates, he merrily offered them his Hand, telling them, that *he was ſure he alſo ſhould be a Biſhop*. As his Birth was noble, ſo his Education was anſwerable to it, rendring him, as he grew up, Maſter of all the Learning which *Rome* or *Greece* could ſupply him with. And as to Religion, he was chiefly inſtructed by his elder Siſter *Marcellina*, who had devoted herſelf to a Life of Devotion and Virginity, by whoſe Care he was preſerved from the Corruptions which then abounded at *Rome*.

Being come to the Years of Maturity, and ſo well furniſhed with Learning, he betook himſelf to the Bar, and pleaded Cauſes in the *Prætorian* Court

Court with ſuch Applauſe, that he was ſoon taken notice of by *Anicius Probus*, lately made Prefect of *Italy*. This great Man had ſuch an Eſteem for him, that he choſe him one of his Council, and afterwards made him a Governour under him of a great Part of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, inveſted him with Conſular Dignity; and that he might exerciſe Mildneſs therein, gave him this ſhort Inſtruction, *Go, and govern like a Biſhop, rather than a Judge*, little thinking that of a Judge he would afterwards become a Biſhop. Being thus empowred, he took up his Reſidence at *Milan*, a City of antient and very illuſtrious Note, being not only one of the ſix principal Cities of *Italy*, but eſteemed one of the Ten greateſt in the World, yet for nothing more eminent than for its Relation to him whoſe Life we are now writing.

He continued five Years in this Government, adminiſtring the ſame with great Juſtice and Prudence, when the Death of *Auxentius*, Biſhop of *Milan*, made way for the Accompliſhment of his Prediction, which he had expreſſed only in his childiſh Merriment. *Auxentius* had been a great Supporter of the *Arian* Cauſe, and was therefore more than once depoſed; but yet by his crafty Inſinuations at Court, he continued in that Station till his Death. When this happened, the Biſhops of the Province met to conſult about a Succeſſor, to whom the Emperor ſent, and adviſed them to be ſure to chuſe one who ſhould teach by his Life as well as his Doctrine; adding, that to ſuch a one's Admonitions and Reproofs he himſelf would readily ſubmit. They beſought the Emperor to nominate ſuch a one himſelf, but he modeſtly declining it, told them, That they whoſe Buſineſs

it

it was to be converſant in the Divine Oracles, were much more fit than he to make Choice of one rightly qualified for this great Office.

Being returned to the Cathedral, *Auxentius*'s Party greatly endeavoured to have one choſen of their own Communion; whereupon there aroſe great Factions, and Things tended to an open Tumult. *Ambroſe* underſtanding this Diſorder, went according to the Duty of his Place to preſerve the publick Peace; and going into the Church, he in a grave and pathetical Oration, exhorted them to maintain Unity and Concord. No ſooner was his Speech ended, but a Voice like that of a Child was heard ſaying, *Ambroſe is Biſhop*; whereupon, as if it were ſpoken from Heaven, all Parties unanimouſly agreed he ſhould be the Man. Only *Ambroſe* himſelf utterly refuſed to comply, and to prevent it he immediately after exerciſed great Severities in his Government; yea, he ſuffered lewd Women to be ſeen often going in and out of his Houſe, hoping theſe Things would drive them from any further Thoughts of putting him in that Station. Theſe Artifices failing, he at length endeavoured privately to withdraw himſelf, but was ſeized, and a Guard ſet about him, till the Emperor's Pleaſure ſhould be known concerning him.

The Emperor highly approved of the Choice; and becauſe *Ambroſe* had, notwithſtanding their Care, eſcaped, and hid himſelf at the Country-houſe of one *Laurentius* his Friend, he cauſed Proclamation to be made, that none ſhould conceal him, upon the Peril of his Head. Hereupon his Friend was conſtrained to bring him to *Milan*, where finding it in vain any longer to ſtrive againſt Pro-

Providence, he yielded, but upon this Condition, that he might receive Baptiſm from a Catholick Biſhop, being as yet only a Catechumen. Accordingly he was baptized, and a few Days after conſecrated to take Charge of the See of *Milan*, (*A. D.* 374.) to the great Satisfaction of the People, and of the Emperor himſelf, who concluded the Solemnity with expreſſing *his Thanks to God, that he had now called him to take Care of Mens Souls, whom he himſelf had only appointed to govern their Bodies.* This Ordination, though not ſtrictly canonical, was generally approved by other Biſhops, as judged to have ſomewhat more than ordinary of God's Approbation, ſignified by his Appearances therein; particularly St. *Baſil*, having received a Letter from him, returns him a congratulating Anſwer, *greatly encourages him in his Work, and excites him to a vigorous Contention for the true Faith, in Oppoſition to the* Arian *Hereticks.*

That he might the better attend his Charge, he preſently gave his Treaſures to the Poor, ſettled his Lands ſo that they ſhould come to the Church after the Death of his Siſter *Marcellina*, and committed the Care of his domeſtick Affairs to his Brother *Satyrus.* And becauſe his ſecular Imployments hitherto had not permitted him to be converſant in Theological Studies, he now put himſelf under the Inſtruction of *Simplician* a Presbyter at *Rome*, that was eminent for Learning and Piety. Under his Conduct *Ambroſe* attained a very exact Knowledge in the Myſteries and Controverſies of *Chriſtianity*; in Conſideration of which, he always loved *Simplician* as a Friend, honoured him as a Father, and reverenced him as a Maſter.

And

And that he might improve his Learning, he ſoon after wrote his three Books *de Virginibus*, dedicated to his Siſter, as alſo his Commentary on St. *Luke*, and his three Books *of Offices*, in Imitation of *Cicero*.

Not many Years paſſed before the Approach of ſeveral barbarous Nations, who came out of the *North* and overran *Italy*, made St. *Ambroſe* and others fly into *Illyricum* to eſcape their Fury, where they lived in a kind of miſerable Baniſhment, as he himſelf ſpeaks. 'Tis probably thought he took this Opportunity to viſit *Rome*, which had been the Place of his Execution, whither coming, his Siſter and another Virgin that accompanied and cohabited with her, kiſſed his Hand, as was uſual at firſt Salutation: Whereupon he ſmilingly ſaid, *See now you kiſs a Biſhop's Hand, as I formerly told you*, referring to that Paſſage in his Childhood.

While he continued at *Rome*, 'tis ſaid a Woman wholly deprived of her Limbs by the Palſy, cauſed herſelf to be brought where he was, and intreated his Addreſſes to Heaven for her; and that while he was praying over her, ſhe caught hold of and embraced his Garments, and immediately finding her Strength reſtored, ſhe roſe up and walked. Not long after this the Empire was cleared from its Enemies, and thereupon he had Liberty to return quietly to his Epiſcopal See. After his Return, and upon the Deſire of *Gratian*, the deceaſed Emperor's Son, he wrote his Books *de Fide*, therein defending the Deity of *Chriſt*, and the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, in Oppoſition to the *Arians*; to which he ſoon after added his three Books *de Spiritu Sancto*, to prove the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

And

And now began the Troubles with which this Father was exerciſed throughout the remaining Part of his Life. *Juſtina*, the Widow of the Emperor *Valentinian* I. diſcovered herſelf to be a great Favourer of the *Arians*, which ſhe had diſſembled while her Husband lived, and now endeavoured to inſtil thoſe Principles, and conſequently a Diſlike of *Ambroſe*, into her Son *Valentinian*, whom, though young, ſhe had procured by her Intereſt to be made Colleague in the Empire with *Gratian*. She indeed adviſed him firſt to attempt *Ambroſe* by fair Means; but theſe Attempts were unſucceſsful, for the good Biſhop put him in mind of the Faith of his Father, admoniſhed him to keep the ſame inviolable, and ſhewed him that the Difference between that and the *Arian* Doctrine conſiſted in this, that the former was derived from the Mouth of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, whereas the latter was directly contrary thereto. The young Prince not enduring Contradiction, fell into a Paſſion, and commanded the Guards to ſurround the Church; at which the Biſhop ſmiling, as at a vain Scare-crow, he grew more incenſed, and openly commanded him to come out of the Church; but he refuſed, ſaying, *He was rather willing to die there, than leave his Flock to be devoured by Wolves.*

Soon after this the See of *Sirmium* became vacant, and *Juſtina* uſed her utmoſt Intereſt to have an *Arian* Biſhop promoted to it, but on the contrary *Ambroſe* haſten'd thither to prevent the ſame. Being there ſeated in the Epiſcopal Chair, a certain *Arian* Maid, as 'tis ſaid, confidently offered to lay violent Hands on his Clothes, and pull him out to certain Women of that Faction, that

watch'd an Opportunity to murder him. Whereupon he told her, *She had juſt Reaſon to fear the Judgment of God*, and accordingly ſhe ſuddenly died, and was buried the very next Day; which ſtruck a Terror into the whole Party, and cauſed them for that Time to give over their Attempts. Then without any further Diſturbance he ordained a Biſhop in that City, and ſo returned to *Milan*, where he found *Juſtina* and the *Arians* watching all Opportunities againſt him. Some ſhe corrupted with Bribes, others with Promiſes of Preferment, to ſeize him in the Church, and privately to hurry him away into Baniſhment: But though they ſeveral Times attempted his Ruin, it pleaſed God ſtill to diſappoint them; yea, the *Arian* Cauſe loſt more and more Ground in the *Weſt*, ſtotwithſtanding the ſtrenuous Endeavours of *Juſtina* the Empreſs to promote the ſame.

This being obſerved by *Palladius* and *Secundianus*, two *Arian* Biſhops, they requeſted of *Gratian*, that a General Council might be called from all Parts of the *Roman* Empire, as knowing that the Strength of their Party lay among the *Eaſtern* Prelates; and it ſeems the Emperor conſented that this their Deſire ſhould be granted. But *Ambroſe* underſtanding the ſame, ſignify'd to him, *That it was needleſs, inconvenient and unreaſonable, for the ſake of theſe two Hereticks, to give a general Trouble to the Governors of the Churches throughout the Empire, many of whom, through Diſtance, Age and Poverty, were unable to take ſuch a Journey, beſides the Inconveniency of leaving their Flocks.* It was therefore concluded, that a Synod ſhould be ſummoned to *Aquileia*, conſiſting only of the Biſhops of the neighbouring Provinces; and accordingly

A certain Ruler came and worshiped Christ, *and beseeches him to Recover his Daughter who was then Dead.* MAT. 9. 18.

ingly there met out of *Italy*, *Dalmatia* and *France*, to the Number of 32, together with the *African* Legates.

In this Convention St. *Ambroſe* probably preſided, as being the Metropolitan of the Province; and in ſeveral preliminary Diſcourſes, Endeavours were uſed to reclaim thoſe *Arian* Biſhops, but all proved ineffectual. The Fathers thereupon ſolemnly met in Council, and agreed that their Proceedings ſhould be recorded; and then the Emperor's Letter was read, whereby they were conven'd and impower'd to judge of the Matters before them. They alſo read an Epiſtle of *Arius*, containing his chief Errors; and *Palladius*'s Thoughts were demanded concerning it, who replied, *That the Emperor's Letter ſhewed they had hindred it from being a General Council; and therefore ſeeing the* Eaſtern *Biſhops were abſent, they could not anſwer. Ambroſe* replied, *It was agreeable to antient Cuſtom for the Biſhops of the* Weſt *to meet ſeparate from thoſe of the* Eaſt; *however to prevent all Cavils, the Prefect of* Italy *had ſent to them, ſo that they might have been there if they had pleaſed.* But the others ſtill perſiſted that the Emperor had been deceived by them, and therefore they would make no Reply. *Ambroſe* ſtill demanded a poſitive Anſwer, and *that he ſhould either condemn* Arius, *or elſe defend his Cauſe*; but *Palladius* again ſaid, he came with an Expectation of a General Council, whoſe Judgment he would not anticipate, by anſwering before an incompetent Judicature.

After much Contention the Letter of *Arius* was debated in the ſeveral Branches of it, wherein *Palladius* and *Secundianus* endeavoured to evade the chief Controverſy, profeſſedly allowing *that*

Chriſt is the true Son of God, but yet would not *acknowledge him to be truly God.* So that at length after ſeven Hours Debate to no Purpoſe, *Ambroſe* as Preſident of the Synod paſſed Sentence on them, whereby they were both depoſed from their Epiſcopal Office, and it was agreed, that two Catholick Biſhops ſhould be ordained in their Stead.

The Synod being diſſolved, *Ambroſe* returned to *Milan*, where his Adverſaries were not ſo open in their Attempts as before, but yet ſignify'd their Ill-will by more ſecret Affronts. Particularly two Gentlemen of the *Arian* Faction, and of an eminent Station in *Gratian*'s Family, came to him, and pretendedly deſired him to preach upon the Myſtery of our Lord's Incarnation, promiſing to come and hear him on that Subject the next Day. But they intended it only for Ridicule, and therefore when a full Aſſembly was met with Enpectation of the Iſſue, they took Horſe and rode out of Town. But the Jealous God who will not be mocked, quickly and ſeverely met with them; for when they were not far from the City, their Horſes threw them, and they were both ſuddenly deprived of their Lives. In the mean Time the People who knew nothing of this Accident, waited impatiently For their Coming, inſomuch that *Ambroſe* was neceſſitated to begin, telling them, he came to pay a Debt, but found not his proper Creditors to receive it. However he inſiſted upon his intended Argument, and afterward enlarged his Diſcourſe in that Treatiſe which is ſtill extant, *concerning the Myſtery of the Lord's Incarnation.*

Much about this Time a *Spaniard* of a noble Birth, a large Eſtate, and of no mean Learning [illegible] being ſeduced by one *Mark* an *Egyptian*,

tian, Follower of the *Gnoſticks* and *Manichees*, compoſed a particular Hereſy of his own out of the Dregs of the two former. With the *Gnoſticks* he allowed his Diſciples in the Exerciſe of all kind of promiſcuous Luſts; and with the *Manichees* he aſſerted a twofold Principle of Things, and taught that all Things were governed by the Stars and a fatal Neceſſity: Alſo, the better to conceal his Wickedneſs, he perſuaded his Diſciples that both Lying and Perjury were lawful. As to the Doctrine of the Trinity, he held the ſame Notion with *Sabellius*, together with the Addition of ſome monſtrous Opinions of his own. For theſe and other groſs Errors, related by *Sulpitius Severus*, who wrote his Hiſtory about twenty Years after, he was baniſhed from his Country, and therefore came to *Rome*; but Pope *Damaſus* would not ſo much as ſee him, nor had he better Entertainment from *Ambroſe*, upon his coming thence to *Milan*.

This Hereſiarch being rejected by thoſe two Biſhops, reſolved to try what Fortune he could make at Court in order to his Reſtitution, which at length he procured by Bribery from *Macedonius*, a Man of great Authority, who afterwards bore a particular Grudge againſt St. *Ambroſe*, for his endeavouring to obſtruct him herein. And therefore when this Father was coming one Day to the Palace, to intercede with him in the Behalf of another Perſon, *Macedonius* having ſome Notice of it, cauſed the Gates to be ſhut againſt him. Whereupon *Ambroſe* finding he could not obtain Entrance, departed, but left this Meſſage for him, *That the Time would come when he himſelf ſhould ſeek Refuge in the Church, but would not be able to*

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enter, though the Doors were open. This accordingly in a little Time happen'd to him upon *Gratian's* Death, when he endeavoured to take Sanctuary in the Church, but could not find his Way into it though the Gates were wide open, and ſo he became a Prey to his Enemies.

For ſoon after this a great Change fell out in the Empire by the Means of *Maximus*, who was probably of *Spaniſh* Extract, but born in *Britain*, where he had been Commander together with *Theodoſius*. He alſo claimed ſome Relation to *Conſtantine the Great*; and therefore finding his Companion advanced to the Imperial Dignity and himſelf neglected, and having obtained an Intereſt in the Army, he got himſelf proclaimed Emperor, tranſported his Forces into *Gaul*, and quickly ſecured the *Weſtern* Parts to his Obedience. *Gratian* hearing the News, advanced with an Army to oppoſe him, and met him near *Lyons* in *France*, where the Fight continued for five Days, till *Gratian* ſeeing Part of his Army deſert, retired only with 300 Horſe to attend him. Then *Adragathius*, Maſter of the Uſurper's Horſe, went in a cloſe Chariot, and gave out that it was the Empreſs coming towards her Husband: Whereupon *Gratian* ſuſpecting nothing, went over the *Rhone* to meet her, but the Traitor ſuddenly leapt out and ſtab'd him. And thus this Prince of eminent Virtue and Piety, was unhappily cut off in the Flower of his Days.

And now *Maximus* treated all *Gratian's* Party with great Violence, and haſtned his March towards *Italy*; to prevent which *Valentinian* diſpatched St. *Ambroſe* as his Ambaſſador to him, who, by a Mixture of Gravity, Authority, Humility,

mility and Eloquence, ſo far prevailed, as to keep him at preſent on the other Side of the *Alps*. This was an Undertaking of wonderful Danger and Difficulty, conſidering the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, and therefore his Succeſs therein was the more remarkable.

This Year St. *Ambroſe* was by Death deprived of his dear Brother *Satyrus*, who had lately been in *Africa*, and was adviſed by his Friends not to return home in ſuch a Time of Confuſion. But nothing could prevail on him to continue abſent from his Brother in that calamitous State of Things; yea, for haſte he came over in an old rotten Ship, which yet brought him ſafe to Land, where he was no ſooner arrived, but he went home and died. *Ambroſe* bewailed his Death in an eloquent Oration at his Funeral, but ſupports himſelf under the Sorrow of it, by conſidering *he was taken away from the Evil to come.*

The preſent Diſorder of Affairs in the Empire, through *Gratian*'s ſudden Death, *Maximus*'s ſucceſsful Progreſs, and *Valentinian*'s being young and timorous, cauſed declining Paganiſm to begin to lift up its Head, and its Votaries, to hope for the Reſtoration of their antient Rites. This had been attempted about two Years before, when a Party in the Senate aſſuming the Name of the whole, preſented a Petition in Behalf of their Religion, which the greater Part of the Senate quickly oppoſed with an Anti-Remonſtrance, declaring if it were granted they would never come more among them. But hoping they had now a more propitious Seaſon, this Attempt was renewed, and the chief Management of the Cauſe referred to *Atrelius Symmachus*, a Perſon of Honour, being

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at that Time Prefect of *Rome*, and withal of eminent Note for Learning and Eloquence, and very zealous for *Paganism*. Upon these Considerations he was imploy'd to address the Emperor *Valentinian* in their Favour, and particularly to request that the *Altar of Victory* might be restored, as also that their Priests and vestal Virgins might enjoy the Salaries formerly allow'd them.

St. *Ambrose* hearing of this, immediately sent a Letter to the Emperor to prevent his Compliance, signifying, That as Princes are answerable to God, the supreme Ruler of the World, so they cannot expect his Favour and Protection, unless they maintain his Worship, and zealously oppose Idolatry. He adds, that it seems strange how any could hope to obtain this of a *Christian* Emperor, especially such as had been always forward to shed the Blood of *Christians*, and excluded them from the common Privilege of being Tutors to Children. He excites him to Zeal in opposing it, from the Example of his Brother *Gratian* of Glorious Memory; and withal admonishes him, how unfit it was that *Christians* in the Senate should be obliged to take their Oaths before an idolatrous Altar. He advises him, seeing this Request was made only by a few of the Senate, and disliked by the bigger Part, to consult *Theodosius* the Great, who was now the *Eastern* Emperor, about this important Affair. He then desires his Majesty to let him have a Copy of the Petition, that he might distinctly answer it; and concludes with telling him, that if he should consent to it, they who were Bishops must needs declare against it, and that the Church of God would receive no Offerings from such as re-edify the Temples of *Pagans*.

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The Emperor hereupon ſent him the Petition of *Symmachus*, wherein he largely, and with all the Advantages of Eloquence, inſiſts upon the great Benefit of *Paganiſm*, pretending, that the former Proſperities of the *Roman* Empire were owing thereunto, and particularly that the great Conqueſts and Succeſſes they had heretofore obtained, were to be aſcribed to their Addreſſes at the *Altar of Victory*. He, on the other Hand, attributes all their late Misfortunes of War, Peſtilence or Famine, to the Neglect of their Gods, and repreſents *Rome* itſelf as pleading with them after the following manner. *O ye Princes and Fathers of your Country! let me ſerve Heaven according to my antient Ceremonies, which I have no Reaſon to repent of. 'Twas this Religion that ſubjected the whole World to my Laws and theſe Rites that repelled* Hannibal *from my Walls, and drove the* Gauls *from the Capitol.* He next apologizes for *Paganiſm*, as the antient Religion of the Empire; ſaying, *If Antiquity be of Force to render a Religion venerable, we are obliged to preſerve that which has continued ſo many Ages, and to imitate our Parents, who herein happily trod the Footſteps of their Progenitors.* And then he pleads the Injuſtice of alienating the Lands given to Veſtal Virgins, and of bringing the Profits of them into the Exchequer, and pretends that the Conſequences thereof had been Miſery and Poverty inſtead of Profit to the Empire. Finally, he cloſes his Addreſs in this Manner: *We interceed for no other Religion but that which ſecured the Empire to your Majeſty's Father, and gave him a legitimate Iſſue to ſucceed him; which bleſſed Prince,* ſays he, *looks down from Heaven, and beholds the Violence done to the Miniſters thereof. as an Affront to himſelf.*

This is a Summary of his Petition, to which St. *Ambroſe* anſwered, by firſt intimating *he had no Reaſon to ſuſpect this religious Emperor's Conſtancy*; but yet he intreats him *not to make Judgment of this Addreſs by the Floridneſs of the Expreſſions, but by the Momentuouſneſs of the Arguments.* He then ſhews in many Inſtances, *that his Pretences of the great Advantages that the Empire gained by* Paganiſm, *and the Miſchiefs that had enſued upon the Neglect of it, were altogether groundleſs.* And whereas he ſuggeſted, *that the* Roman *Gods repelled* Hannibal *from their Walls*; he asked, *why they ſuffered him then to inſult ſo long over them, and kept him not at a greater Diſtance?* He then infers, *there could be no Force in this Reaſoning, becauſe* Hannibal *himſelf worſhip'd the ſame mock Deities; and therefore if they gave Succeſs to the one, they were vanquiſhed in the other.* He next tells them, *it was not their Gods, but rather their Geeſe, that ſecured the Capitol from the Inſults of the* Gauls; and demands, *whether it was their adored* Jupiter, *that in the Form of a Gooſe called* Manlius *to the Reſcue of that Building?* As to his Pretence to Antiquity, *he evinces by a Multitude of Inſtances in Nature, that that is not always the moſt Perfect which is Firſt; and that this was the Judgment of the* Romans *themſelves, in reſpect of their Religion, appears by the various Changes which they had made in it, before* Chriſtianity *took Place in the Empire.* And laſtly, whereas they might object the Misfortune of *Gratian,* in being betray'd and murder'd, as a Puniſhment of his Suppreſſion of Idolatry, he puts the Emperor in mind *that a Man's Merits muſt not be eſtimated by his Succeſſes, and that an afflicted State is no certain Argument*

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of a vicious Mind, or criminal Actions; which he illuſtrates by Inſtances of many of the beſt Men that have been moſt calamitous, and of the worſt that have been crowned with Proſperity.

But though *Symmachus* was thus active in writing for *Paganiſm*, he became, though undeſignedly, a great Means of promoting *Chriſtianity*, by being the Occaſion of the Converſion of St. *Auguſtin*, and that by the Miniſtry of this venerable Father. For there being a Want of an able Profeſſor of Rhetorick at *Milan*, Orders were ſent by the Court to *Symmachus* to provide one fit for that Office. Hereupon, he having had Experience of *Auguſtin*, pitched upon him, and ſent him thither. St. *Ambroſe* had ſoon his Eye upon him, knowing how to eſteem ſuch a Man of Learning, anſwerably to his Value, whoſe agreeable Carriage alſo ſoon gained him a great Place in his Affections.

Auguſtin diligently attended St. *Ambroſe*'s Sermons, not from any real Deſires of Piety, but rather from Curioſity, to obſerve whether his Eloquence was ſuitable to the Report he had heard of him. However his Doctrines, like a diſtilling Rain, proved a bleſſed Means of cleanſing him from his former Pollutions; and, as a good Step towards his Converſion, he was here brought to renounce *Manichæiſm*, in the Errors of which he had been long intangled. After ſome Years, by the joint Endeavours of this Biſhop, and of good old *Simplician* that had been his Tutor, being ſucceeded by a moſt eminent Exertion of the Divine Grace, he was throughly converted, and when he had been two Years a Catechumen was baptized by St. *Ambroſe*.

The Empreſs's Favour to the *Arians* having increaſed their Number at *Milan*, they obtained one *Auxentius*, a *Scythian*, to be their Biſhop, who finding the Memory of *Auxentius*, St. *Ambroſe*'s Predeceſſor, ſtill odious among the People, changed his Name into *Mercurinus*. He was a Man of much Boldneſs, and to make his Cauſe the better thought of, he challenged a Diſpute with *Ambroſe* before the Emperor, having procured ſome *Gentiles* to be preſent, who he knew would give it on his Side, and declared that the Deciſion ſhould be left to the Emperor. This *Ambroſe* rejected as an irregular way; whereupon the other triumphed, and prevailed with *Valentinian* to appoint a Time, and force *Ambroſe* to comply with it.

The Biſhop return'd an Anſwer in Writing, humbly remonſtrating, *That his Majeſty's Father would never undertake to judge in ſuch Matters, but left them always to the Determination of the Biſhops as their peculiar Province, and this after he had been many Years baptized, and a publick Profeſſor in the Church.* He therefore told him, *that his Majeſty muſt needs be more unfit to determine in the niceſt Matters of Faith, who was yet unbaptized, and not above the Degree of a Catechumen; and that he would certainly conclude ſo himſelf, when Age and Experience had brought him to a more mature Judgment.* He therefore deſired, *that if it muſt be put upon the Iſſue of a Diſputation, the ſame might be held in the Church, and that the People might judge for themſelves*; ſaying, *if thereupon they liked* Auxentius *better than himſelf, let them freely take him.* Then he concludes, *that no Tortures or Death ſhould make him forſake the* Nicene *Faith; and if* Auxentius *required that the Controverſy be-*

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tween them ſhould be refer'd to a Synod, he would be ready to attend ſuch an Aſſembly, but could not ſo far debaſe his Office, as to leave it to a Lay Judgment.

The Court perceiving this Method availed not, reſolved upon Force, and by *Auxentius*'s Means Officers and Soldiers were ſent to demand the Church, and all the Treaſures belonging thereto, at which the People were greatly ſurprized. To this Demand the Biſhop calmly replied, *Had the Emperor ſent for what was properly my own, it ſhould have been quietly reſigned unto him; but I cannot yield that the Church ſhould be robbed, nor deliver up that which was committed to me to ſecure, and not to betray.* He alſo expreſſed his Deſire to the People to be ſtill and quiet, declaring himſelf fully ſatisfied in the Care of Divine Providence.

It fell out that one of the Leſſons read that Day, was the Story of *Ahab*'s demanding *Naboth*'s Vineyard, and his Anſwer thereto, *God forbid that I ſhould give thee the Inheritance of my Father*; by which the Biſhop was much animated, and improved the ſame in his Anſwer to the Officers. He took a like Occaſion from the ſecond Leſſon, which was the Evangelical Narration of our Saviour's whipping the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple. The Spirits of the People were ſupported under theſe Exigencies, with Hymns and Pſalms, at the End of each of which was a ſolemn Doxology in Praiſe of the Holy Trinity, which way of *Antiphonal* ſinging was then newly brought into the Church at *Milan*, and therein the People were greatly delighted and encouraged.

For ſome Days the City was full of Confuſion, the Great Officers being ſent with frequent Meſſages

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to demand the Church, which was ſtill as reſolutely refuſed; very great Diſorders were committed among the People, which *Ambroſe* endeavoured as much as poſſible to prevent, by reading them Lectures on ſome Part of the Book of *Job*, that he might excite them to Patience. Then he expounded a Paſſage read that Morning out of the Pſalms; *O God, the Heathen are come into thine Inheritance*, which he applied eſpecially to the *Goths* and ſome of the barbarous Nations, who had now ſeized the Church by Violence. The Day was ſpent with much mourning, and the Biſhop was conſtrained to remain all Night in the Church, where they paſſed the Time in ſinging of Pſalms, while the Soldiers guarded the ſame ſo cloſely, that none could go out of it.

The next Day being *Paſſion-Day* or *Good-Friday*, the Prophecy of *Jonah* was read in Courſe; and the Biſhop particularly inſiſted upon that Prophet's Compaſſion towars the Gourd, and declared *that God would much more have Pity on their great City, and that he had accordingly removed the Calamities of it.* Immediately upon which Notice was given that the Guards were commanded off, and all that had been taken from the People was ordered to be reſtored. At theſe Tidings a new Face of Joy and Gladneſs appeared through the whole City, though *Ambroſe* himſelf had reaſon to apprehend that the Storm was not yet over as to him, becauſe of the continued Malignity of his Enemies; but their Deſigns were ſtill fruſtrated by the Favour of Divine Providence.

St. *Ambroſe* was now ſollicited by the People to dedicate a great Church then lately built, to which he conſented, provided ſome Remains of Martyrs could

could be found to bury under the Altar, which was thought neceſſary, in thoſe Times, to Church-Dedications. 'Tis ſaid a Diſcovery of ſuch Relicks was made to him by a Night-Viſion, whereupon he commanded the Officers of the Church to dig near the Tombs of St. *Felix* and St. *Nabor*, where they ſoon found the Bodies of two tall Perſons, which proved thoſe of St. *Protaſius*, and *Gervaſius*, of whom the former had been beheaded, and the latter whip'd to Death with *Plumbatæ*, or Scourges having leaden Bullets at the End of them.

The People mightily crouded to ſee theſe Relicks, and 'tis ſaid great and eminent Miracles were wrought by them; particularly that one who had been blind many Years, was reſtored to perfect Sight, only by touching them with his Handkerchief, and then wiping his Eyes therewith; that ſeveral who were poſſeſſed and tormented by evil Spirits, were by the Contact of theſe Martyrs Bodies delivered from them; and that many, by only touching the Clothes wherein they were wrap'd, were perfectly cured of their Infirmities. Theſe Miracles were indeed at that Time deny'd by the *Arians*, but they are confidently affirmed by St. *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtin*, and *Paulinus*, as Things obſerved by themſelves, and generally known in the whole City.

By this Time *Maximus* was making all Preparations to invade *Italy*, the News of which coming to *Milan* mightily ſurprized the Emperor, and the whole Court; and however *Ambroſe* had been treated as an Enemy, they now apply themſelves to him for Shelter, and deſired he would venture on a ſecond Embaſſy to the Uſurper, having been ſuc-

ſucceſsful in a former. The good Man being forgetful of Injuries, was brought without much Difficulty, to undertake this Journey; and arriving at *Triers* where *Maximus* then was, he demanded private Audience, but was only admitted to ſpeak with him in the publick Conſiſtory, where his chief Officers were about him. *Ambroſe* excepted againſt this as not ſuitable to his Epiſcopal Character, but yet reſolved not to be wanting in his Endeavours to put a Stop to the Enemies Advances.

Maximus being ſat in Council, roſe up on *Ambroſe*'s coming in to give him the Kiſs, as was uſual at the Reception of Biſhops, which he refuſed to accept of telling him, *He wondered why he ſhould offer it, ſeeing he did not own him for a Biſhop, as appeared by the manner of his Audience.* Upon this *Maximus* being diſguſted, upbraided him with having deceived him in his former Embaſſy: However the Tyrant fairly diſmiſs'd him, with a Promiſe that he would enter with him into a Treaty of Peace. But when afterward *Ambroſe* refuſed Communion with him, and the Biſhops of his Party, he was ſo incenſed that he charged him preſently to leave his Court; and *Ambroſe*'s Friends thereupon adviſed him to look well to himſelf, ſince the Uſurper was ſo provok'd that he would ſcarce fail of ſeeking Revenge. Notwithſtanding which, before his Departure, he interceded for *Hyginus* an aged Biſhop, juſt then ordered to be baniſhed, that at leaſt he might have better Treatment in his Exile than was by his Sentence allotted him; but this Addreſs was rejected, and he himſelf expelled from the Preſence of *Maximus*. Thereupon he went back to *Milan*, and cautioned *Valentinian* to take heed how he treated with the Uſurper,

Uſurper, who pretended Peace but intended War, the Truth of which ſoon appeared.

For *Valentinian* being diſpleaſed with *Ambroſe*'s Management, diſpatched *Dominus* one of his great Favourites upon the ſame Meſſage, who was received with all ſeeming Reſpect; and as a Token of Friendſhip to his Maſter, *Maximus* ſent a great Part of his Army to aſſiſt him againſt ſome other Enemies then breaking in on *Pannonia*. But theſe Forces being come to the *Alps*, according to the private Orders that had been given them, ſecured all the difficult Paſſages; and *Maximus* thereupon with his whole Army entred *Italy* without Oppoſition, taking up his head Quarters at *Aquileia*. Upon this ſurprizing News *Valentinian* and his Mother fled to *Theſſalonica*, and ſent thence to *Theodoſius* the *Eaſtern* Emperor, intreating his ſpeedy Aſſiſtance. *Maximus* in the mean Time went on with great Rage and Fury; and though we don't find that *Milan* ſuffered in particular, yet *Ambroſe* was very ſollicitous to relieve thoſe that were diſtreſſed in other Places: And when he had no other way left to perform it, he broke the Church Plate in pieces, and diſtributed it for the Ranſom of Captives; with which the *Arians* afterwards reproached him, but he vindicated himſelf, from the neceſſitating Circumſtances which occaſioned it.

Theodoſius, upon their earneſt Application, came to *Theſſalonica*; yet he moved but ſlowly, till falling in Love with *Galla*, *Juſtina*'s Daughter, a Princeſs of extraordinary Beauty, the only Terms of obtaining her was a ſpeedy Proſecution of the War againſt the Tyrant. Upon this the Expedition went on vigorouſly, and while *Maximus* ſuſ-

pected he would come upon him by Sea, and made his chief Preparations to oppose him that Way, *Theodosius* marched with his Army by Land thro' the Straits of the *Appenine* Hills, and so surprized *Aquileia*. Here *Maximus* was suddenly seized by the Van of the Army, pulled off from his Throne, strip'd of his Imperial Robes, and brought bound to *Theodosius*, who after some severe Reproaches commanded him to be beheaded; to which speedy Execution he was the more excited by the Clamours of the Soldiers against the Usurper. Thus there was a happy Turn in the Affairs of the Empire, *Valentinian* being restored to his Government, and the Tranquillity of *Italy* re-established.

Theodosius being now returned into the *East*, *Valentinian* went into *France* to oppose some barbarous People, who there invaded the Empire. In this Expedition Count *Arbogastes*, General of the Forces, being rich, had by Bribes much engaged the Soldiery to him, and thereupon made very bold with the Emperor on several Occasions. *Valentinian* observing it, grew jealous of his Honour, and thereupon gave him a Warrant to discharge him from his Command; but he bluntly replied, *He received not his Commission from him, nor should he take it away*; and a few Days after the Emperor was found strangled in the Palace. Not long before *Valentinian* had earnestly desired to be baptized, and sent for St. *Ambrose* in order to it; but the Bishop being on his Journey, was met by the doleful News of his Murder. The Body was convey'd to *Milan*, and magnificently buried, *Ambrose* preaching the Funeral Sermon, wherein he much bewails the untimely Death of this Prince, and withal proves, that his want of Bap-

Baptiſm, which he had ſo much deſired, ſhould not prejudice his eternal Happineſs, God graciouſly in ſuch Caſes accepting the Will for the Performance.

And now the Imperial Throne being empty, was uſurped by *Eugenius*, who was a Perſon of mean Birth but of great Subtilty, and had ſo inſinuated himſelf into *Argobaſtes*, that being in a Stait what to do, he advanced him to the Empire. *Philoſtorgius* ſays he was a downright *Pagan*; and they that ſpeak moſt favourably affirm, he was but an hyocritical *Chriſtian*, ſo that the *Gentiles* had mighty Hopes from him; yea, under him they ſoon got the *Altar of Victory* reſtored at the publick Charge, which they could never obtain before. He was now advanced into *Italy*, but before his Arrival at *Milan*, *Ambroſe* was gone thence upon ſome publick Buſineſs; however being at *Florence*, he wrote to him. and complained of the Favour he had ſhewn to the *Pagans*, as that which would never be granted by any former Emperors, and which he had himſelf been inſtrumental to prevent, and therefore could not but ſtill be zealous againſt it.

St. *Ambroſe* continued at *Florence*, till *Eugenius* had left *Milan*, being gone thence to encounter *Theodoſius*, who was coming with an Army againſt him He and his Accomplices went from that City with Confidence of their Succeſs, that *Arbogaſtes*, and *Flavianus*, who was Prefect of *Rome* and a *Gentile*, threatned, *that at their coming back to* Milan, *they would turn the Church into a Stable, and make the Clergy ſerve in the Wars*; but God mercifully prevented them herein For *Theodoſius* coming on them ſooner than they imagined, ob-

tain'd, after a bloody Battle, a compleat Victory, and ſent a Party of Soldiers to apprehend *Eugenius*, who ſat on a Hill, waiting the Iſſue of the Fight. When he ſaw the Soldiers come panting towards him, he took them for Meſſengers of Victory, and asked, *Whether, according to his Order, they had brought* Theodoſius? They reply'd, *No, they had not brought* Theodoſius *to him, but were come to fetch him to* Theodoſius. Thereupon they bound him and carried him to the Emperor, who cauſed him to be preſently put to Death. *Arbogaſtes* being frighted by the purſuing Enemies, and tormented with the Conſciouſneſs of his Villainy, became his own Executioner.

Theodoſius the Emperor continued ſome Time after this at *Milan*, where, the very next Year, he fell ſick, amidſt the publick Joys and Triumphs. In the Time of his Sickneſs he often ſent for *Ambroſe*, and expreſſed to him a greater Care of the Church than of the Affairs of the Empire. To eaſe the People, he forgave the Taxes that were due at that Time, and paſſed a general Act of Indemnity. And then having ſettled the Imperial Dignity between his two Sons, *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*, and made Count *Stilicho* their Guardian, he died on *January* the 17th, in the Year 395, to the unexpreſſible Loſs of the Empire, but eſpecially of the Catholick Church, to which he was always a tender Father. His Corps was carried to *Conſtantinople*, but his Funeral was ſolemnized at *Milan*, where *Ambroſe* made a long Oration in Commendation of him.

Soon after this a Servant of *Stilicho* being too much indulged by his Maſter, was for his Wickedneſs *delivered* over by *Ambroſe to Satan for the* De-

Deſtruction of the Fleſh; whereupon an evil Spirit preſently ſeized him, and tormented him, to the Amazement and Terror of the Beholders. The Report of this and other remarkable Things done by him, being ſpread abroad, made his Name famous in foreign Nations; and among others *Fritigil*, Queen of the *Marcomanni*, hearing thereof, ſent him a Letter, intreating him to inſtruct her in the *Chriſtian* Faith. He thereupon returned her an Epiſtle in a Catechiſtical Form, wherein he adviſed her to maintain Peace and Unity with the *Roman* Empire, and ſhe thereupon came to *Milan*, but too late, to converſe with this her Inſtructor.

For now the Life of St. *Ambroſe* began to draw toward a Period, who foretold his own Death a little before his Sickneſs, but yet ſaid he ſhould continue till *Eaſter*. *Paulinus*, his *Amanuenſis*, who wrote his Life, tells us, *that as the Biſhop was dictating to him an Expoſition on the* Twenty-third Pſalm, *a little before his Exit, he ſuddenly looked up, and to his great Surprize obſerved a Globe of Fire, like a Shield, ſurrounding* Ambroſe's *Head, which entred by Degrees into his Mouth; upon which his Countenance was white as Snow, but in a little Time it return'd to its former Complexion.* He adds, *this was the laſt Time the Biſhop dictated any Thing to him, whence that Expoſition was left imperfect by him.*

Count *Stilicho* was greatly troubled at his Sickneſs, and openly ſaid, *The Day upon which that Great Man dies, Ruin hangs over* Italy; and therefore ſent to entreat his importunate Prayers to God for the Preſervation of his own Life, in Conſideration of the unſpeakable Loſs the Church would receive

receive by his Death. The only Anſwer he returned to the Meſſengers, was, *I have not ſo carried myſelf as to be aſhamed to live, and I ſerve ſo good a Maſter, that I am not afraid to die.*

The Day on which he died, he lay ſeveral Hours with his Arms ſtretched out in the Form of a Croſs, and with his Lips continually moving, though none could hear his Words. *Honaratus* Biſhop of *Vercelæ*, being laid down to take a little reſt in an upper Chamber, ſuddenly heard a Voice, which ſaid three Times, *Make haſte, for he is about to depart*; who thereupon came down, and gave him the holy Euchariſt, and then he immediately expired, on *April* the 4th, in the Year 397. His Funeral was attended by Perſons of all Ranks, not only *Chriſtians*, but *Jews* and *Gentiles*; and many endeavoured to touch his Body with their Handkerchiefs, imagining they ſhould thereby be ſecured from the Attempts of evil Spirits. *Simplician*, who had been his Tutor, now ſucceeded him in his Office, and ſeems to have been deſigned by him for that Station before he died. For when four of his Deacons, in the Time of his Sickneſs, were ſpeaking about a Succeſſor, though they were at a great Diſtance, and whiſpered ſo low, that they could ſcarce hear one another, yet upon the Mention of *Simplician*, *Ambroſe*, to their great Surprize, cried out three Times together, *He is indeed antient, but he is a good Man.*

This good Biſhop was even in his more private Life, a publick Example of Piety and Virtue. He was conſtant and fervent in his Devotion, wherein he ſpent moſt Part of the Day, and ſometimes the Night: He was alſo much mortified in his

his Appetites, temperate in Eating and Drinking, and very compaſſionate and charitable to the Poor, ready to forgive Injuries, and to do Good for Evil. Though he was of an honourable Birth, of a large Eſtate, and eminent Dignity, yet he was very humble in his own Thoughts, and in his Demeanour to others. He often confeſſed his Unfitneſs for his Office, and frequently ſaid, with the Apoſtle, *'Tis by the Grace of God I am what I am.* He was very diligent and laborious in his Work, uſually adminiſtring the Lord's Supper daily, and preaching every Lord's Day; and withal he ſpent much Time in preparing the Catechumens for Baptiſm. He was moſt courageous in defending the Catholick Faith, ſtrenuous in maintaining Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and impartial in reproving Perſons of all Orders.

As to his intellectual Qualifications, as he well underſtood the Language, ſo he had no mean Acquaintance with the Learning of the *Greeks*, and had in his younger Years attained ſome Knowledge in the Philoſophy of *Plato*. When he was firſt ordained Biſhop, he had indeed but little Skill in Theological Studies, but afterwards advanced therein with ſuch Speed, that he ſeemed to be in ſome Sort to be inſpired from Heaven. He improved in his Learning, while he taught others, as he himſelf acknowledges; and though his Stock of Erudition was not large, he made a very wiſe and profitable Improvement of it. He ſupplied what Defects he found in his own Studies, by extracting the Marrow out of the *Greek* Fathers, with which he was well acquainted; but he eſpecially converſed with, and imitated *Origen* in his Writ-

Writings, for which he was indeed reflected on by St. *Jerom*, but without any juſt Cauſe.

He wrote moſt of his Works with his own Hand, which are of ſeveral Sorts. As to his Treatiſes on particular Subjects, they are ſaid to be little more than Tranſlations from the *Greek* Fathers, particularly *Jerom* gives this Account of his Book *De Spiritu Sancto*. His Sermons are uſually ſhort, and delivered in a popular way, few of which, conſidering the Frequency of his Preaching, are now extant. There are ſtill eight Books of his Epiſtles, which contain either Hiſtorical Tranſactions of his Time, or Elucidations of ſuch particular Texts, as had been propounded to him for his Reſolution. Finally, his Commentaries on the Scripture run much in an allegorical Strain, after the Manner of *Origen*, whom he chiefly followed therein. To conclude all, Antiquity has given him the firſt Place among the four Great Doctors of the *Latin* Church; and he was greatly eſteemed in his Life-time, not only among the more Learned, but even in barbarous Nations.

The END of St. AMBROSE's *Life.*

The Life of St. *EPIPHANIUS*, Biſhop of *Salmis* in *Cyprus*.

Beſanduce, a Village in *Paleſtine*, though otherwiſe of little Note, yet became remarkable among Eccleſiaſtical Writers, by being the Birthplace of St. *Epiphanius*. It lay near *Eleutheropolis*, a City often mentioned by *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*, and by them intimated to be near the *Weſtern* Border of the Tribe of *Judah*, whence ſome have miſtakenly accounted it the ſame with *Hebron*.

The only Account we have of his Minority, is given by one *John*, that called himſelf *Epiphanius*'s Diſciple, and wrote his Life, wherein he tells us, that his Parents were *Jews* of mean Quality; his Father being an Husbandman, and his Mother a Maker of Linnen Cloath, who had only two Children, *viz.* *Epiphanius*, and his Siſter *Callitrotes*. He further informs us, that his Father dying when he was but ten Years of Age, and leaving his Family very poor, this, his Son, was adopted by one *Tryphon* a rich *Jewiſh* Lawyer, who beſtow'd on him a liberal Education, according to the *Jewiſh* Mode, deſigning to give him his only Daughter in Marriage, but ſhe was quickly after taken away by Death; and her Father ſoon following, left *Epiphanius* the ſole Heir and Poſſeſſor of his plentiful Eſtate.

This Writer further tells us, that his Mother being dead, he took home his Sister, and that they lived together in great Wealth, and with a mutual Contentment; and that as he was going to the Place of his Nativity, where Part of his Estate lay, he met one *Lucian* a Monk, whom he observed to be of eminent Charity and Devotion, and therefore fell into Acquaintance with him. He adds, that this Monk made him a Proselyte to *Christianity*, (about *A. D.* 332.) and having instructed him in the Doctrines thereof, at length baptized him; and that he thereupon sold his Estate, bestow'd it on the Poor, and though but sixteen Years of Age, betook himself to a Life of Solitude. But it must be confessed that the Relations of this Author are look'd upon by Learned Men to be at best of very doubtful Credit, and therefore I will not impose them as any other upon the Reader's Belief.

But whatever be thought of the foregoing Narrative, we have a more undoubted Account, that in his younger Years he went into *Egypt*, and, as is probable, resided mostly at *Alexandria*, a City of great Eminency in that Age for Learning and Philosophy. Here, as he himself tells us, he was almost drawn away by the *Gnosticks*, in whom centered the worst Principles and Practices of the vilest among the antient Hereticks. The Women of that Party being taught by their Religion (if one may so call it) to put off Shame, took Advantage of his Youth to allure him amongst them, by their wanton and filthy Stratagems. By Means of these, he so far satisfy'd his Curiosity, as to read their senseless Books, and acquainted himself with the detestable Mysteries of their Heresy, which

which they ſcrupled not to reveal to him. But he ſoon found them ſo directly contrary to his Reaſon, and offering ſuch Violence to his natural Conſcience, that he aſſures us he ſoon grew very apprehenſive of his Danger; and was thereby excited earneſty to beg the Divine Aids, which intirely preſerved him from their Sollicitations, as *Joſeph* was ſecured from thoſe of his wanton Miſtreſs.

Theſe lewd Women being perplexed at his eſcaping their Snares, deridingly ſaid one to another; *That ſeeing they could not ſave him, they had abandon'd him to be ruin'd by the Hands of their Prince*, meaning one of thoſe Powers, which according to their wild Imaginations, preſided over their lewd, tho' by them called religious Practices. It was uſual with them to employ the moſt beautiful of their Number to enſnare Men into their Party, which they profanely called *ſaving them*; and therefore they eſteemed it their Reproach, when they were unſucceſsful in their Attempts. This made ſuch of them who gained a Proſelyte by thoſe wicked Methods, to triumph over others after the following Manner: *I am a choſen Veſſel, and have been capable of ſaving ſuch as you could not.* A deplorable Inſtance, how far human Nature may degenerate to glory in their Shame, and gloſs over their execrable Practices with religious Pretences!

Epiphanius, being deliver'd, thought himſelf obliged in Conſcience to detect this curſed Crew, of whom there were no leſs than fourſcore in that Place, which he did ſo effectually, that he procured them to be totally rooted out of that City. Then he applied himſelf to a ſtrict Obſervation of

of the Manners of thoſe devout and pious *Aſceticks*, for which *Egypt* was at that Time famous in the *Chriſtian* World. He aſpir'd after an accurate Imitation of them in their Lives, in which Courſe he continued till about twenty Years of Age, and then returned into his own Country, and became a Diſciple of *Hilarion*, the Founder of a monaſtick Life in thoſe Parts.

This *Hilarion* was born in *Tabatha* near *Gaza*, in the *South* of *Paleſtine*, and was for ſome Time under the Diſcipline of St. *Antony*, the noted *Egyptian* Hermit, by whoſe Example he began the ſame kind of Life in this his own Country. He was forced under *Julian*'s Reign to quit his native Soil, and fly into *Egypt*, whence he ſailed into *Sicily*, reſiding there ſome Time, and got his Living by cutting of Wood, which he uſed to carry on his Back, and ſold it in a neighbouring City. He went thence into *Dalmatia*, and in the latter Part of his Life fixed in *Cyprus*, where he died in the Year 372. and *Epiphanius* wrote his Life in a ſhort Letter, which *Jerom* afterwards deſcrib'd more largely.

Epiphanius after this built a Monaſtery near the Place of his Birth, which he governed many Years, nor did he ever wholly quit the Care of it. About the third Year of *Valens* he was advanced to the Biſhoprick of *Salamis* in *Cyprus*, upon the following Occaſion, as the above-mentioned Writer of his Life tells us. *Epiphanius* came about that Time to viſit *Hilarion*, then reſiding in that Iſland, by whom he was well entertained, and after two Days Stay adviſed to go to *Salmais* the chief City thereof, telling him he ſhould there meet with a Settlement. Coming to *Salmais*, he found

found the Biſhops of the Iſland met together, to chooſe one to preſide in that Province, who at length left the chief Care thereof to *Pappas*, an antient Confeſſor, who had been fifty Years Biſhop of *Cytria*. He, on the Sight of *Epiphanius*, ſeized him, being, as he ſaid, directed thereunto by Divine Revelation; whereupon he brought him into the Church, and ordained him firſt a Deacon, then a Presbyter, and afterwards Biſhop of that City, which was very famous for St. *Barnabas*'s having preached there, and confirm'd the Goſpel by his Blood, upon which Conſideration it became the Metropolis of the Iſland.

This his Seat being a Port, and therefore a Place of great Traffick, he ſoon became noted amonſt Strangers for his Wiſdom and Piety in managing his Office, as well as highly eſteemed by his own People; and thereupon frequent Addreſſes were made to him from other Parts, for his Judgment in religious Controverſies. Particularly, Letters were ſent him about the eighth Year of his Eiſcopacy, from the Presbyters of *Suedra*, a City in *Pamphylia*, where the *Macedonian* Hereſy ſtill infected the Minds of ſeveral, though many had been reclaimed therefrom by the Letters which *Athanaſius* and others had ſent thither. Hereupon they wrote to *Epiphanius*, to entreat an Account from him of the Catholick Doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity, and eſpecially concerning *the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt*, which was oppoſed by that Hereſy.

In Compliance with their Deſire, he wrote a large Anſwer, wherein *he diſtinctly explains the Doctrine of the Catholick Church concerning the ſeveral Perſons of the Bleſſed Trinity, confirms it by Scripture,*

Scripture, and replies to the Cavils uſually made againſt the ſame by Hereticks. He alſo therein proves the Reſurrection of the Dead, and vindicates the Truth of *Chriſtianity* againſt *Pagans* and *Manichees*, as well as *Arians* and *Sabellians*. He intitles this Treatiſe *Ancorat*, becauſe of its being uſeful as an *Anchor* to fix and eſtabliſh the Minds of *Chriſtians*, that like *Children they* might not be *toſſed to and fro, and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine.*

In his *Ancorat*, he occaſionally inſerted a Catalogue of ſeveral Hereſies, which had troubled the Churches in all Ages, and awakened the Curioſity of many; and particularly *Acacius* and *Paulus*, who had the Government of two Monaſteries, wrote to him the following Year, and deſired from him a more particular Account thereof. Upon this he compiled his larger Work *againſt Hereſies*; wherein *he gives an hiſtorical Naration of the ſeveral Hereſies down to his own Time, of which he mentions no leſs than Eighty, with a particular Confutation of each.* To this Tract he gives the Name *Panarion*, or *Storehouſe*, deſigning it to be, as he tells us, a Repoſitory of Antidotes againſt the Poiſon and Venom of all Errors. But this Work being large and ſomewhat intricate, and therefore leſs uſeful to ordinary *Chriſtians*, he afterward made an Epitome thereof, and therefore ſtiled it *Anacephalæoſis*, both which Treatiſes are ſtill extant.

As he was thus employing himſelf at home, the Affairs of the Church required his Aſſiſtance abroad, *Gratian* and *Theodoſius* the Emperors having ſummoned a Synod at *Rome*, concerning the See of *Antioch*, which was now poſſeſſed by *Paulinus*,

linus, but claim'd by *Flavian*, whoſe Cauſe was favoured by a Council then ſitting at *Conſtantinople*. In the Council at *Rome*, beſides the Biſhops of the *Weſt*, there were ſome of the *Eaſt*, among whom our *Epiphanius* was of ſpecial Note, and therein Judgment was given contrary to that of the *Eaſt*, in Behalf of *Paulinus* the ſitting Biſhop; after which, the Synod being ended, *Epiphanius* returned into his own Province.

Some Time after, he was unhappily involved in troubleſome Converſies with *John*, who about the Year 386 ſucceeded *Cyril* in the See of *Jeruſalem*; and though he had hitherto governed the Churches in *Cyprus* many Years peaceably, yet the following Part of his Life was diſturbed by theſe Contentions, which began after the following Manner. *Epiphanius* ſtill kept his Relation to the Monaſtery he had built in *Paleſtine*, called *Old Ad*, and therefore went ſometimes thither, and upon that Occaſion had frequent Converſe with this Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who was a proud and angry Man, and of wavering Principles in Religion, having ſeem'd too great a Friend to the *Arian* and *Macedonian* Party, but eſpecially to the Notions of *Origen*, to which *Epiphanius* was a profeſs'd Enemy.

After this *Epiphanius* preach'd in the Cathedral of *Jeruſalem* againſt *Origen*'s Doctrine, at which the Biſhop was uneaſy, as thinking himſelf reflected on; and at length ſent up his Arch-deacon, and commanded him to forbear inſiſting further on this Subject. And what yet more provok'd him, was his obſerving the Crouds of People, who ſhewed great Reverence to *Epiphanius*, whom he thereupon charged with deſignedly contriving

Matters

Matters ſo as to get their Applauſe. At another Time, when *Epiphanius* was expected to preach, *John* himſelf went into the Pulpit, and thundred out ſharp Invectives againſt the *Anthropomorphites*, looking ſtedfaſtly all the while on *Epiphanius*, ſeeming thereby to inſinuate as if he was guilty of thoſe impious Errors. But Sermon being ended, the Old Biſhop ſtood up, and ſignify'd his Approbation of what his Brother had ſpoken againſt thoſe Hereticks, but withal told them, it was but juſt he ſhould alſo condemn the erroneous Doctrines of *Origen*; which Speech the Congregation applauding, gave farther Provocation to their Biſhop.

It was not long e'er *John* had a more ſpecious Opportunity, of publickly venting his Indignation againſt *Epiphanius*, on the Occaſion of his ordaining *Paulinianus*, St. *Jerom*'s younger Brother, a Presbyter, in the Pariſh Church adjoining to his Monaſtery. The Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* hearing thereof, was glad of the Opportunity, and filled all Places with Exclamations againſt *Epiphanius*, "that he had violated the Canons of the Church, "by ordaining him out of his own Dioceſs, that "the Perſon ordained was little more than a Boy, "that if any of his Clergy ſhould own this Ordi-"nation, he ſhould be depoſed from his Office." He alſo threatned to make *Epiphanius* know himſelf, and that he would inform the whole *Chriſtian* World of his uncanonical Proceedings.

To this mighty Clamour *Epiphanius* returned a mild Letter; wherein he calmly reproves his violent and unchriſtian Demeanour, and gives him a true Account of what had paſſed, and that he had done nothing in this Matter but what had been

uſual

uſual in his Country, where other Biſhops commonly ordained Presbyters within his Province; which he had not only approved, but ſometimes deſired it of them. Beſides, he told him, he had no Reaſon to complain, ſeeing that this Ordination was not in his Province, but in that of *Eleutheropolis*; and therefore, as *Jerom* alſo notes, if any were offended, it ſhould be the Biſhop of *Ceſarea*, who was Metropolitan thereof. As to the Age of the Perſon, *Jerom* avers he was little leſs than Thirty, and that *John* himſelf was not much more when ordained Biſhop; and had made others Presbyters that exceeded not the Age of *Paulinianus*. But, as *Epiphanius* adds, it was not ſo much this that provok'd him, as becauſe he had ſometime charged *Origen* with being the Father of *Arianiſm* and other groſs Errors, and *John* himſelf with Fondneſs to the *Origenian* Opinions.

John ſtill proceed to accuſe *Epiphanius* with Violence, and in Effect with robbing one of the Churches in his Province; the Ground of which Accuſation was no more than this: As *Epiphanius* was going towards *Bethel*, he went into a Church in a Village called *Anablatha*, where he ſpied a Curtain with the Image of *Chriſt*, or ſome Saint upon it; and abhorring ſuch Innovations, as directly contrary to the holy Scriptures, as he himſelf tells us, he tore it down, bidding the Officers of the Church rather make uſe of it, to wrap the Dead in for their Funeral. But afterward he ſent another Curtain inſtead of the former, and admoniſhed the Biſhop, *for the future to prevent ſuch painted ones from being hung up in the Church, as a Thing contrary to our Religion.*

This Paſſage ſo clearly ſhews the Doctrine and Practice of the Church at that Time concerning Images, that the Patrons thereof among the *Romaniſts* are at a great Loſs how to evade it. Some of them pretend one Thing, and ſome another; but ſeveral of thoſe Writers ſeeing the Weakneſs of all other Shifts, decry *Epiphanius* as an *Iconoclaſt*, or Enemy to the Worſhip of Images, and therefore not to be regarded. And well might they ſo eſteem him, conſidering what is cited from him in the Acts of the ſecond *Nicene* Council, wherein Image-worſhip was patronized. *Take heed*, ſays Epiphanius, *and keep this continually in your Minds, never to bring Images into Churches, but always retain God in your Remembrance*; and 'tis there added, that he likewiſe publiſhed other Diſcourſes againſt Images.

Upon this *John* of *Jeruſalem* encreaſed in his Rage againſt him, and the Monks of *Paleſtine*, but eſpecially againſt *Jerom*, who took part with him, and ſo provok'd the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* with his ſharp Reflections, that he ſuſpended him from his Miniſtry, excluded him from his Communion, and endeavoured to thruſt him out of the Country, though in that he failed of his Deſign. Several good Men earneſtly deſired to compoſe theſe Diſſentions, and among others Count *Archelaus* procured that a Meeting ſhould be appointed in order thereunto, to which Multitudes came with Expectation of the Iſſue; but *John* excuſed himſelf from Attendance, on Pretence he was detain'd by a certain Matron who was ſick, and therefore he could not leave her: And this Excuſe he continued to plead, tho' the Court ſent him Word, they would, to ſuit his Convenience, appoint

appoint another Meeting ſome Days after. Hereupon impartial Perſons concluded him afraid of his Cauſe; and *Epiphanius* took this Advantage, and charged the Monks not to communicate with him till he had given Satisfaction, in reference to the Hereſies he was charged with. But inſtead of doing this, he endeavoured to make the World ring with Complaints againſt *Epiphanius*, as he had threatned he would; and 'tis probable, among others he wrote to *Theophilus*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, againſt him, who about this Time ſent *Iſidore* his Presbyter, with Letters to *Paleſtine*, if poſſible, to compoſe the Differences; but this Meſſenger being partial towards *John*, his Legation was without any Effect.

Epiphanius had waited three Years for Satisfaction, but finding his Adverſary incurable, he at length wrote Letters to the Biſhops of *Paleſtine*, *Alexandria*, and of the other moſt conſiderable Churches, but eſpecially to Pope *Siricius*, *John*'s Complaints having made moſt Noiſe at *Rome*. St. *Jerom* alſo, upon the Deſire of *Pammachius*, a learned Gentleman of the laſt mentioned City, wrote a large and learned Letter thither, to give a full Account of this Controverſy; wherein he plainly repreſents Matters of Fact, vindicates himſelf and *Epiphanius*, and deſcribes *John* in his proper Colours.

And ſoon after he wrote another Epiſtle to *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, to give a true Underſtanding of thoſe Things wherein *John* and *Iſidore* might have miſinformed him, aſſuring him, that whatever was ſuggeſted, they were heartily for Peace, provided *John* would give the World Satisfaction in reſpect of his Faith.

Upon this *John*, perceiving it to be in vain to ſtrive longer, drop'd his Cauſe, and ſo *Epiphanius* gain'd ſome preſent Quiet; but it laſted not long, for the *Origenian* Controverſies, being ſoon revived upon another Occaſion, created him new Troubles, which continued the Remainder of his Life.

For not long after, a Queſtion was ſtarted among the Monks in *Egypt*, *Whether God was a pure Incorporeal Being, or had the Parts and Figure of a Man?* Several of them defended the Orthodox Notion, but the weaker Sort taking thoſe Scriptures in a literal Senſe, which aſcribe *Eyes*, *Face*, *Hands*, &c. to God, vehemently contended for the latter part of the Queſtion; and becauſe *Origen*'s Works were much uſed to confute theſe abſurd Opinions, they wholly rejected the ſame Writings, and condemned all that owned them.

Theophilus, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, had, in his paſchal Letters declared himſelf for the Incorporeal Opinion, and ſeverely inveighed againſt thoſe of the contrary Sentiments; whereupon the Monks flock'd in Crouds to *Alexandria*, threatning that for his Impiety, as they called it, he ſhould loſe his Head. But he being a ſubtile Man, and aware of their Approach, went out to meet them, and ſaluted them in the Words of *Jacob* to *Eſau*, *I have ſeen you as though I ſeen the Face of God.* The wiſe Monks were wonderfully pleaſed at this Expreſſion, imagining that he meant by it that God had a Face like theirs; and therefore only deſired, that to prove his Reality, he would condemn *Origen*'s Books, which he profeſs'd to do, and thereupon they went away, conceiting gain'd their Point.

Thus

Thus might this Controverſy have ended, had not *Theophilus* begun it again, to ſatisfy their malicious and revengeful Deſigns. There were four Perſons, for their extraordinary Tallneſs, called [*Longi*] *the Long Monks*, who preſided over the *Egyptian* Hermites, and were greatly eſteemed by them for their Learning and Piety. They were alſo for ſome Time in no leſs Favour with this Biſhop, till he came to be incenſed againſt them, becauſe they would not, in compliance with his Humour, leave their Life of Retirement, and live with him in his Palace. Upon this, well knowing they were ſtrenuous Maintainers of God's Spirituality, and that they defended themſelves therein from the Works of *Origen*, he took Occaſion to inſtigate the other Monks, that maintained the *Anthropomorphite* Errors againſt them.

Hereupon great Heats aroſe, and the ignorant Monks that held the corporeal Opinion, branded the other with the Name of *Origeniſts*; and on the other Hand, theſe reproached them with the Name *Anthropomorphites*. And to aggravate Things the more againſt them, he got a Synod of his Party at *Alexandria*, where, to render *Origen*'s Works odious, ſeveral obnoxious Paſſages were cited out of them, which ſome of his Friends pleaded had been inſerted by Hereticks, and that they were none of his Notions, and that therefore it was unreaſonable that all his uſeful Books ſhould be rejected becauſe of theſe Expreſſions. But it was replied, there were other Books enough, and therefore ſuch ſhould not be uſed as were dangerous to unwary Readers, for the Sake of ſome Benefit that might be reaped from them by the Wiſe and Learned; and thereupon it was decreed,

that

that no Man ſhould read, or keep by him, the Works of Origen.

Theophilus having thus procured *Origeniſm* to be condemned in the Synod, he wrote a circular Letter to the Churches abroad, and eſpecially endeavoured to gain *Epiphanius* to his Party, as a Perſon much eſteemed for his Age and Authority. He therefore wrote to him in a more particular Manner; ſignifying, "That with the Sword of "the Goſpel he had cut in Pieces the *Origenian* "Serpents, and that therefore it concerned him, "being an old Soldier in thoſe Conflicts, to lend "his Aſſiſtance, by calling together all the Bi-"ſhops of his Iſland, and engaging them to ſend "their Synodical Letters to *Conſtantinople* and "elſewhere, that *Origen* and his Hereſy might "be every-where condemned.

Epiphanius being very zealous againſt *Origeniſm*, was eaſily drawn into this Engagement, and preſently ſent a Letter to *Jerom*, ſignifying, *that as* Amalek *was overcome by* Moſes's *lifting up his Hand, ſo now, by the Endeavour of* Theophilus, *a Banner was ſet up at* Alexandria *againſt* Origen *and his Errors.* Then he called a Synod of all the Biſhops of *Cyprus*, wherein *Origen*'s Works were condemned, and the reading of them prohibited; an Account of which he wrote to *Chryſoſtom* at *Conſtantinople*, deſiring him in like Manner to forbear reading them himſelf, and to procure a Council to deter others therefrom.

But *Chryſoſtom* penetrating deeper into Things, utterly refuſed to be engaged in this Matter; and therefore *Epiphanius* reſolved to go himſelf to *Conſtantinople*, and promote the Cauſe there by his perſonal Preſence. Then taking a Copy of the

the Synodal Sentence, they ſet Sail, and at length landed at a Place call'd *Hebdomon*, within ſeven Miles of that City, where he went into a Church and perform'd the Divine Offices, and ordained them a Deacon, there wanting one at that Time among them. Having done this, he approached neer *Conſtantinople*, whence *Chryſoſtom* and his Clergy came forth to receive him, with the Reſpects uſually ſhewn to a Biſhop, and invited him to reſide in the Epiſcopal Palace.

But *Epiphanius* refuſing to accept of this Invitation, took up his Lodging in a private Houſe, and thereby diſcovered the Prejudices he brought along with him. He ſent for the Biſhops then in Town, and ſhewed them the Decrees of *Cyprus* and *Alexandria* againſt *Origen*'s Works, to which ſome ſubſcribed through his Perſuaſions, and from the Reverence they bore to him; but the greater Number refuſed to comply, and among others *Theotimus*, a *Scythian* Biſhop, who plainly told him, "For my Part, *Epiphanius*, I ſhall not preſume to reproach one ſo long ſince dead, and "who left behind him ſo good a Reputation for "Learning and Piety; nor will I condemn what "our Forefathers never rejected, eſpecially ſince "I know no Hurt in *Origen*'s Works." And then he produced a Book of *Origen*'s, ſhewing that it contain'd Expoſitions agreeable to the Senſe of the Church, and that therefore it might be of dangerous Conſequence to condemn his Writings.

The Long Monks, as they were called, having been perſecuted out of *Egypt*, were now come to *Conſtantinople*; and therefore *Epiphanius* utterly refuſed either to pray or converſe with *Chryſoſtom*, unleſs he would baniſh them out of the City, and ſubſcribe

ſubſcribe the Condemnation of *Origen*'s Writings. To which he replied, *It would be unreaſonable ſo to do, before the Matter had been publickly heard and examined.*

St. *Chryſoſtom* wanted not his Enemies that endeavoured to blow up the Coals; and, among other raſh Attempts, it was agreed that *Epiphanius* ſhould the next Day, in a great Aſſembly, ſtand up and publickly condemn *Origen*'s Works, then excommunicate the forementioned Monks, and reflect on *Chryſoſtom* as taking Part with them, not doubting but that hereby they would expoſe him to the Hatred of of the People.

Chryſoſtom underſtanding this Deſign, ſent his Deacon the next Morning to tell *Epiphanius*, that *he had ſtrangely violated the Canons of the Church, in taking upon him to ordain a Deacon in his Dioceſs, and in celebrating the Divine Service in his Churches, without any Leave obtained from him.* He therefore cautioned him to *take heed, leſt by going on to raiſe a Tumult amongſt the People, the Miſchief ſhould at laſt fall on himſelf*; which Caution ſo ſtartled the old Man, that he quickly retired from the City.

Epiphanius met with no better Succeſs at Court; for *Eudoxia* the Empreſs having ſent for him to pray for her Son's Recovery, who lay dangerouſly ſick, his Prayers being generally eſteemed of great Efficacy, he replied, *The young Prince might be reſtor'd, provided ſhe would abandon the Favourers of* Origen. But the Empreſs diſliking this Propoſal, replied, *If God ſee met to remove my Son, his Will be done; for as the Lord gave him me, ſo 'tis he only that can take him away from me.* However ſhe adviſed *Ammonius*, a principal Leader among the

the *Egyptian* Monks, to go and treat with him, who therefore asked him, *whether he had read any of their Books, or converſed with any of their Diſciples?* He could not but own he had not; on which the other replied, *Why then do you condemn them as Hereticks, to whoſe Opinions you are a Stranger?* *Epiphanius* could only plead they had heard ſuch Things of them; but the other anſwered, *They had dealt otherways with him, and had often vindicated him when accuſed by others.* The old Biſhop could not but be ſomewhat aſham'd upon this Rebuke, and therefore treated them afterwards with more Gentleneſs.

Socrates tells us, it was reported that when he went from *Conſtantinople;* he ſaid to *Chryſoſtom, I hope you will not die a Biſhop*; and that *Chryſoſtom* replied, *I hope you will never ſafely arrive in your own Country.* If theſe Reports were true, there is juſt Reaſon to believe that God was much diſpleaſed with their paſſionate Expreſſions; for accordingly *Chryſoſtom* died in Exile, and *Epiphanius* never returned home, but died on Shipboard during the Voyage.

Polybius, one who pretends to have accompanied him in his Voyage, tells us, that being in the Ship, and holding the *New Teſtament* in his Hand, as was his uſual Manner, he diſcourſed thoſe that were about him to the following Purpoſe. He put them in Mind, what great Afflictions and Temptations he had endured, and how eminently God had delivered him therein, and then gave them the following Counſels: "Avoid "Covetouſneſs, and you ſhall have a Sufficiency: "Hate no Man, and God will love you: Re- "proach not your Brethren, and the Devil ſhall

" not have Power over you: Deteſt all Hereſies " as the Poiſon of wild Beaſts, whereof I have " given you an Account in my *Panarion*: Shun " worldly Pleaſures." *&c.*

Then he cauſed all the Seamen to be called, and told them, *they would be in great Danger by a Storm; but if they implored God's Mercy, he would preſerve them.* At Night the Tempeſt aroſe, which continued two Days, and two Nights: The next Day he pray'd and embraced his Diſciples, commited them to God, and told them, *Epiphanius ſhould ſee them no more in this World*; upon which Words he expired, (*A. D.* 403.) and the Storm preſently ceaſed. He died at a great Age, being probably thought by ſome to live near 100 Years. His Corps were carried aſhore, and buried with great Lamentations, in his own Church at *Salamis*.

His Soul was filled with Zeal for God, and the Intereſt of his Church; and as he had much acquainted himſelf with antient and modern Hereſies, ſo he was a vigorous Oppoſer of them. He ſpent moſt of his Life in Solitude, though very different from the Monachiſm of latter Ages; yea, the ſame kind of Life was ſtrictly obſerved by him after he arrived to the Station of a Biſhop. Among other Virtues he was eſpecially eminent for his Charity, his Houſe being always open to the Neceſſitous; and after he had ſpent his own Eſtate in relieving them, he as freely expended the Profits of the Church in the ſame Way. And as he was thus liberal, or, as ſome thought, over profuſe in his Charity, God was pleaſed ſometimes to give him a very extraordinary Supply by unexpected Methods of Providence.

His

His Learning, either in profane or ſacred Authors, was not contemptible, and he had ſome competent Skill in all the moſt uſeful Languages, particularly in the *Hebrew*, *Syriack*, *Egyptian*, *Greek*, and *Latin* Tongues. To ſpeak the Truth, his Reading ſeems to have exceeded his Judgment, his Diſcourſes being, for the moſt Part, weak and flat. Indeed, his chief Fault was being too credulous, and ſuffering himſelf to be impoſed on by the Relations that Parties gave in Behalf of themſelves, and againſt their Adverſaries, without due Examination, which often betray'd him into great Miſtakes and Confuſions in his Writings. The Stile of his Compoſures is mean and inſipid, and far from the Borders of Eloquence. The moſt noted of his Writings we have already mentioned, the chief whereof is his *Panarion*, in which are found ſeveral valuable Fragments of Antiquity, in compiling which Work he derived no ſmall Aſſiſtance from *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irænæus*, and ſome others of the Antients.

The Life of S. *CHRYSOSTOM*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*.

SAINT *John*, for the Sweetneſs of his Stile, and great Eloquence, was ſtiled *Chryſoſtom*, or, *Golden-mouth'd*, was born, in the Year 354. in *Antioch* the Metropolis of *Syria*, which *Joſephus* ſcrupled not to reckon the third City in the

World for Note, as being next in Grandeur to *Rome* and *Alexandria*. His Father *Secundus* was of great Eminency and Dignity, being chief Commander of the Armies in *Syria*, but he died ſoon after *Chryſoſtom* was born. His Mother's Name was *Anthuſa*, deſcended of an honourable Family in the City; ſhe was a Woman much noted for her Prudence, Gravity, Chaſtity, and Piety. She was left a Widow at twenty Years of Age, and ſo continued to the Time of her Death; which was eſteemed, even by the *Gentiles*, an Honour to her her Religion. They had, beſides *Chryſoſtom*, one only Daughter, who was born before him, and proved a very good Woman, but not very happy in her Marriage.

As he grew up, his natural Parts appeared to be very conſiderable, which his Mother took Care ſhould be cultivated with an advantageous Education, committing him to the beſt Maſters in all Arts and Faculties. He learned Oratory, for which he was moſt peculiarly fram'd, under *Libanius*, the moſt famous Rhetorician at *Antioch*, and ſtudied Philoſophy under *Adragathius*. *Libanius* ſo delighted in him for his extraordinary Promptitude in Eloquence, that when his Friends asked him on his Death-bed, who ſhould ſucceed him in his School, he replied, *None would be ſo fit as* John, *had not the* Chriſtians *ſtolen him from us.*

George, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who wrote this Father's Life, about the Year 620, tells us, he went after this to *Athens*, and made extraordinary Proficiencies in that Univerſity, when he was about eighteen Years of Age. He alſo ſignifies, that much about the ſame Time, he was converted

verted to *Chriſtianity*, and baptized by *Meletius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*.

But others tell us, that he continued under the Conduct of *Libanius*, till, being prepared for it, he entred upon the Practice of Oratory, and then for ſome Time applied himſelf to the Practice of the Law, and pleaded Cauſes at the Bar. But he ſoon grew weary of that Imployment, and turn'd his Mind wholly to ſearch the Scriptures, and to the Study of Theology; being much excited thereto by the Example of *Euagrius* his School-fellow. In this Study he gave himſelf up to the Conduct of *Carterius* and *Diodorus*, who govern'd the famous Monaſteries near *Antioch*. This *Diodorus*, afterwards Biſhop of *Tarſus*, was a Man of great Parts and Learning, and wrote divers Commentaries on the Scripture, therein generally keeping himſelf to the literal Senſe; and from him, doubtleſs, *Chryſoſtom* learned that excellent Way of expounding the Sacred Writings, wherein he excelled the Generality of the antient Fathers.

He prevailed, by his Perſuaſions, on many others of his his fellow Pupils under *Libanius*, to apply themſelves to the ſame Studies, and eſpecially on *Maximus*, afterward Biſhop of *Seleucia*, and *Theodorus*, a Man of very eminent Learning and Eloquence. But, among all *Chryſoſtom*'s Acquaintance, none was ſo familiar and dear to him as *Baſil*, by ſome, very improbably, thought to be the great St. *Baſil* of *Cæſarea*; but, without all Doubt, it muſt be ſome other Perſon of the ſame Name. Theſe two being link'd in a moſt intire Friendſhip, and having paſs'd through the whole Circle of Sciences, at length both inclin'd to betake themſelves to a Monaſtick Courſe of Life.

Baſil

Baſil had but little in the World, and therefore but ſmall Difficulties to conquer, but *Chryſoſtom* had an Eſtate, and external Affairs to take care of; which therefore render'd his Diſengagement therefrom a Work of far greater Difficulty. He continued for ſome Time wavering in his Thoughts, till at length, the Arguments of *Baſil* were ſo prevalent, that they came to a joint Reſolution to quit their preſent Stations, and retire into a State of Solitude. But they were not ſo private in their Conſultations, but that *Chryſoſtom*'s Mother came to underſtand it; who being very unwilling to be deprived of ſuch a Son, took him one Day by the Hand, and led him into her Chamber; and that her Diſcourſe might be the more affecting, ſet him on the Bed where ſhe had brought him forth, and with moſt paſſionate Expreſſions addreſs'd her ſelf to him in the following Manner:

"Son, ſaid ſhe, God was pleaſed to ſuffer me "but a little While to enjoy the Converſation of "your virtuous Father, whoſe Death ſoon fol- "lowed the Pangs which I here endur'd in bring- "ing you forth. And as this Stroke made you "an Orphan and me a Widow at the ſame Time, "ſo 'tis hard ſufficiently to ſet forth the Sorrows "of one left in a State of Widowhood, eſpecially "ſo young, and at an Age ſo unexperienced in "the Affairs of the World. Yet none of theſe "Difficulties have prevailed with me to bring a "ſecond Husband into your Father's Houſe; but "I have counted it a ſufficient Satisfaction, that I "could daily, in your Face, behold the lively "Image and Character of him. Nor have I waſted "your paternal Eſtate, but kept it intire for you, "though I have been at great Charges in your

"Edu-

" Education, all which I have defray'd out of my " own proper Portion. Think not I ſay this to " upbraid you; no, the only Recompence I de- " ſire is, that you expoſe me not to a ſecond " Widowhood, but continue with me till you " have laid my Bones in the Duſt, which, per- " haps, will quickly be done. Don't ſo far pro- " voke God, as to leave and afflict a Mother that " has not deſerved ſuch Treatment, ſince you can't " ſay I have involved you in ſecular Affairs, but " on the contrary, have ſo managed every Thing " that you might enjoy all poſſible Quiet and " Tranquillity."

Chryſoſtom told his Friend of theſe and other Arguments of the like kind, which his Mother laid before him; who, nothing moved therewith, ſtill preſſed him to adhere to his former Reſolutions. While he was yet heſitating, there ſuddenly aroſe a Rumour that they were both to be made Biſhops; at which *Chryſoſtom* was mightily ſurprized, partly with Admiration how ſuch a Thing could be thought of, conſidering his Years and Unfitneſs for it, and partly through Fear there ſhould be ſome Truth in it, and that ſo great a Burden ſhould be forced upon him. *Baſil* ſuppoſing his Friend ignorant of theſe Diſcourſes, comes and informs him of the whole Matter, aſſuring him he would take the ſame Courſe that he did, whether in accepting or refuſing the Propoſal. *Chryſoſtom* ſecretly reſolved to decline it, but was unwilling the Church ſhould be without his Friend's uſeful Service, and therefore concealed his Thoughts, and ſeem'd to intimate he would follow the ſame Conduct with him.

In

In ſhort, the Day of Ordination being come, *Baſil* was conſecrated to the Office; but *Chryſoſtom*, whom he expected to have been his Companion therein, kept out of the Way, for which he afterward expoſtulated with him, not without ſome Anger. But at length they took this Occaſion to fall into a ſerious Diſcourſe of *the Nature and Neceſſity, the Difficulties and Rewards of the Paſtoral Office*; which *Chryſoſtom* afterwards drew out into thoſe ſix excellent Books *of the Prieſthood*, which are ſtill extant amongſt his Works. In this Treatiſe, which *Suidas* commends above all his other Writings, beſides many other excellent Obſervations this is one, *That a Biſhop ought not to be lifted up by Commendations, nor dejected by Reproaches; and that the great Aim of all his Diſcourſes ſhould be to pleaſe God.*

Not long after this *Chryſoſtom* being, as is probable, at Liberty, through the Death of his affectionate Mother, went to the neighbouring Mountains, and there converſed chiefly with an aged Hermite; and after his Example, conſtantly uſed himſelf to Study and Hardſhip. In this State he continued about four Years, till his Health being much impaired, he was neceſſitated to return to *Antioch*, where *Zeno* ordained him Reader of the Church, being, perhaps, deputed thereto by *Meletius*, Biſhop of that City. The Biſhop afterwards ordained him Deacon, a little before his going to the Council at *Conſtantinople*; whoſe Death happening ſoon after, created new Troubles at *Antioch*, by the oppoſite Pretentions of *Flavianus* and *Paulinus* to that See.

Chryſoſtom prudently avoided being ingaged with either of the contending Parties, but cloſely fol-

low'd

low'd his Studies, and compoſed at this Time ſeveral profitable and excellent Treatiſes, as his Book *againſt the* Jews, that *againſt the* Gentiles, and the five Books *againſt the* Anomœan *Hereticks*. He alſo now wrote his *Diſcourſes of Providence* in three Books, and dedicated the ſame to his Friend *Stagirius* a Monk, who was under deep Melancholy, and much hurried by the Temptations of the Devil. In theſe Tracts that great Queſtion is clear'd, *Why the Righteous are afflicted and perſecuted if there be a Providence?* He ſhews, that this Queſtion has no Difficulty, if Men believe there is a Heaven and a Hell in another Life: *For*, ſays he, *ſince every one is compleatly puniſhed or rewarded in another World, why ſhould we be concern'd at what happens in this?*

When he had ſerved five Years in the Office of a Deacon, and given great Proof his Abilities and excellent Life, *Flavianus* advanced him, though much againſt his Will, to the Station of a Preſbyter. This occaſioned his firſt Sermon, the Biſhop being preſent, wherein *he elegantly declaims againſt the Unfitneſs of the Choice, and wonders that in ſo renowned a City the Burden ſhould be impoſed on ſo young and weak a Perſon.* However, ſeeing it was ſo, *he intreats the Aſſiſtance of their Prayers that God would carry him through his Work, and that he might be able to give a good Account of his Truſt, at the great Day of Judgment.* The People were extremely taken with his excellent Diſcourſes, and therefore the Biſhop committed the greateſt Part of the Work of Preaching to him, which he diſcharged with indefatigable Diligence, and to the general Satisfaction of the Hearers.

Not long after this diſmal Calamities befel *Antioch*, upon the Occaſion of an extraordinar Tax levied by the Emperor *Theodoſius*, to raiſe Money for celebrating his *Decennalia*, and other Occaſions. The Aſſeſſment was large, and the Execution of it carried on with great Rigour; which put the People, being naturally inclin'd to an unquiet Temper, into an open Tumult, in which they caſt off all Reſpect to Law or Government. They violently pull'd down the brazen Statues of the Emperor, and of his Lady, who died ſome Time before, together with thoſe of his two Sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, dragging them in Contempt about the Streets with bitter Sarcaſms and Reflections.

Theodoſius hearing the News of it, vow'd Revenge; not only threatning to diſfranchize the City, and give the Metropolitan Honour to *Laodicea*, but alſo that he would fire the ſame, and reduce it to the State of a mean Village, and ſo make them for ever dread the like Attempts.

In purſuance of this Reſolution, the Emperor ſent his Commiſſioners to enquire into the Matter, who alſo brought great Forces with them, to put their Orders in Execution. And now a diſmal Face of Things appear'd in the City; for when the Fury of the People was over, nothing but Fear and Amazement was diſcover'd amongſt them.

Whilſt Things were in this deplorable State, *Chryſoſtom* behaved himſelf with a true *Chriſtian* Generoſity and Preſence of Mind; he ſummoned the People to Church, who had generally hid themſelves in Holes and Corners: He preached to them every Day, and perſuaded them to a more than ordinary Repentance; and withal endeavour'd to

to ſupport their Minds under that diſmal Storm that threatned them. Now it was he preached thoſe one and twenty famous Homilies, *concerning the Statues*, to the People of *Antioch*; and ſo improved their preſent Fears under theſe miſerable Calamities, that People were generally thereby made more ſerious and religious, and a ſtop was put to that Torrent of Vice which before prevail'd amongſt them.

And as the Generality were impurtunate in their Prayers to Heaven, ſo it was alſo thought neceſſary to make their Addreſſes to the Emperor, and thereby, if poſſible, to appeaſe his Anger; and none was thought ſo fit for this Embaſſy, and to mediate a Peace, as their Biſhop *Flavianus*. The good Man had many Arguments to plead for his Excuſe, but his Deſire of the publick Good overſway'd all private Conſiderations, and therefore without Delay he undertook the Journey, and was got half Way when he met the Judges who were ſent from the Emperor, by whom he was aſſured of his great Wrath, and the ſevere Charge he had given againſt the City. Theſe mournful Tidings melted him into many Tears, being the more grieved that ſuch Miſeries would befal his People in his Abſence; which afflictive Conſideration excited him to ſpend whole Nights in earneſt Prayers that God would mollify the Emperor's Spirit, and give him a happy Succeſs in his Mediation with him.

Libanius, the *Heathen* Orator, went to *Conſtantinople* at the ſame Time, in Behalf of the *Pagan* Part of the City; but *Chryſoſtom* ſays, the Generality of the *Heathen* Philoſophers fled and hid themſelves in this Diſtreſs; which he improves

againſt them as a great Blemiſh to their Cauſe. And, on the other Hand, he mentions it as an Evidence of the excellent Spirit of *Chriſtianity*, that even the ſolitary Monks now generally flock'd into the City to interpoſe for the People; *intreating the Judges to exerciſe their Authority with Gentleneſs and Lenity, and at leaſt to ſuſpend Execution till they might addreſs themſelves to the Emperor, to whom they would take a Journey on purpoſe to interceed in Behalf of the Offenders.* Yea, they offered themſelves to become a Ranſom for the Guilty, and declared, *if they could not obtain the Emperor's Mercy towards them, they were ready to die with their Brethren.*

Particularly, one *Macedonius*, a Man of no Learning, but very much reverenced for the Holineſs and Piety of his Life, catch'd one of the Commiſſioners by the Cloke as they rode through the Street; who ſeeing him to be a little old Man with coarſe ragged Clothes, at firſt look'd on him with Contempt: But being inform'd of his eminent Virtue and Fame, they alighted from their Horſes, and demanded what he would have of them. *Friends*, ſaid he, *diſpatch this Meſſage to the Emperor: Sir, remember that as you are an Emperor, ſo you are a Man, and govern ſuch as are of the ſame Nature with your ſelf, and are fram'd after the Image of God. Take heed therefore you provoke not the Majeſty of Heaven, by cruelly deſtroying his Image, while you are tranſported to the Heighth of Paſſion, only for the Sake of a brazen Statue. Think what a vaſt Difference there is between ſenſleſs Images, for one of which we can ſoon make a thouſand, and thoſe living and rational Images of God, ſo much as the Hair of whoſe Heads*

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'tis beyond the Power of the whole Empire to create. The Gravity and Weight of this plain Diſcourſe not only made them hearken to it, but alſo prevail'd on them to tranſmit the ſame to the Emperor.

Nevertheleſs the Commiſſioners went on with their Executions, the City Charters were aboliſh'd, their Commerce totally ſtopt, all ſorts of Perſons, and eſpecially thoſe of the higher Rank, were brought before the Tribunals, and, in ſhort, the whole City appeared but as one Scene of Sorrow and Miſery. *Chryſoſtom* made what Obſervations he could of theſe Things, and looking into the Court, he ſaw it full of Soldiers, uſing their Swords and Spears to keep out poor Women and Children that endeavoured to preſs in with the moſt doleful Lamentations and Tears, to ſolicite for their Huſbands or Parents that were condemned, ſcourged, and ſeverely puniſhed. But all the Intreaties of theſe miſerable People were in vain, for ſtill the mercileſs Soldiers drove them back wiih Violence and Cruelty. This melancholy Sight made *Chryſoſtom* ſigh, and as he was returning home he revolved, as he tells us, theſe Reflections in his Mind; *If human Tribunals be ſo inexorable, that none can prevail for the Pardon of their neareſt Relatives, how dreadful will be the Severity of the Great Day! And who will be able to plead at that Bar, or to deliver ſuch as are haled away to everlaſting Puniſhment?*

Theſe diſmal Calamities made all ſorts of People earneſt and frequent in their ſolemn Prayers to Heaven for a Relaxation thereof. And at length the ardent Importunities of the pious Monks and Clergy prevail'd with the Magiſtrates to forbear further

further Executions till all Things ſhould be ſpread before the Emperor. No ſooner was this heard, but the whole City was fill'd with a general Joy, as appears by *Chryſoſtom*'s Sermons on that Occaſion.

In the mean Time *Flavianus* arrived at *Conſtantinople*, and came into the Emperor's Preſence; but inſtead of a near Approach, he ſtood at a Diſtance, with a dejected Countenance, and Tears in his Eyes, as if he was aſham'd to be ſeen by him. *Theodoſius* obſerving him in this Poſture, came towards him, and without any Tranſports of Paſſion, gently expoſtulated with him the Ingratitude of *Antioch*, upon which he always beſtow'd his peculiar Favours, of which he enumerated ſeveral particular Inſtances, and concluded each with this Reflection; *Muſt I be thus treated for all my Kindneſs?* The Emperor then added, *What Injury have I done them, that they have not only revenged themſelves on me, but on the Deceaſed? Suppoſing I had done them Wrong, why ſhould they caſt ſuch Contempt upon her, whom they could not pretend to have done them any? Have I not valued that City above others, yea, above my own native Country; having conſtantly deſired and endeavoured to make a perſonal Viſit thereunto.*

The good Biſhop wept abundantly, but when the Emperor had ended his Diſcourſe, he recollected his Spirits, and thus reply'd: *We readily own, Sir, your Majeſty's extraordinary Kindneſs towards our City; and 'tis this that moſt grievouſly afflicts us, that by the Inſtigation of Satan we have acted ſo ungratefully againſt our noble Benefactor, and provok'd a Prince that has expreſs'd ſo great Affection to us. Whatever Miſeries you ſhould in-*

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flict on us, nothing can be ſo bitter as the Reproach we have brought on our ſelves by this our monſtrous Ingratitude. This is a far greater Evil than if the Barbarians *had prevail'd over us; becauſe then your Kindneſs might have relieved us and repaired our Breaches; but having loſt the Favour and Protection of ſo benign a Lord, and ſo indulgent a Father, whither can we look for Help? The Wickedneſs they have perpetrated is intolerable, but their Puniſhment is ſuitable, in that they are aſhamed to look any in the Face, or lift up their Eyes to behold the Sun. But yet, Sir, if you pleaſe, theſe great Wounds may be cured, and a Remedy applied by your great Clemency.*

Then he goes on to ſhew what noble and generous Charity had been often exerciſed upon the Occaſion of ſuch great Crimes. He ſignifies, that the broken Statues might, if he pleaſed, be repaired; but withal adds, that his pardoning ſo great Offences would erect a far more noble and durable Repreſentation of himſelf in the Minds of all Men. He preſs'd on him the Example of the Great *Conſtantine*, who, when ſome inſtigated him to revenge himſelf on thoſe that had defaced his Statue, by telling him they had miſerably batter'd his Face, that noble Emperor felt with his Hand, and ſmilingly reply'd, *I dont't find my Face at all hurt, but that it is ſtill ſound and whole*; an Anſwer, ſays the Biſhop, that render'd him famous to Poſterity, beyond all the Trophies of his Greatneſs and the Triumphs of his Victories. He put him farther in Mind of ſeveral remarkable Inſtances of his own Clemency, formerly exerciſed towards Offenders, as alſo how much the Honour of Religion was now concerned, ſeeing the Eyes

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of *Jews* and *Gentiles* were watching the Iſſue of this Mediation. He told him, it would be the more for his Honour if he would pardon thoſe Crimes for God's Sake, and at the Intreaty of a poor aged Biſhop, who came with a Warant from his Great Maſter, to tell him, *If ye forgive Men their Treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father will alſo forgive you.* Remember, ſaid the Biſhop, that Day when all muſt give an Account of their Actions, and that by ſhewing Mercy to others you inſure the Forgiveneſs of your own Offences againſt God. Then he concludes, with intreating him to imitate his ſupreme Sovereign, who, though daily affronted, continues to heap his Benefits on his Subjects.

When this Diſcourſe was ended, 'tis difficult to ſay, whether the Biſhop that ſpake, or the Emperor that heard it, was moſt affected; though, at preſent, he ſomewhat conceal'd the Commotions of his Mind. His Reply was to this Purpoſe: *What great Thing will it be, if we that are Men ſhould forgive thoſe that are like our ſelves when they have affronted us, ſeeing the Great Lord of the World came from Heaven, and for our Sakes took on him the Form of a Servant? Since, when he was crucified by thoſe he had moſt highly obliged, he pray'd for their Pardon, ſaying,* Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do; *what wonderful Thing will it be, if we pardon our Fellow-Servants?*

Then the Emperor haſtned the Biſhop to return home, though willing to have ſtaid ſome Time with him; *I know,* ſays he, *the Minds of the Citizens muſt needs be in Pain, make Speed therefore, to carry them the comfortable News of a Pardon:* Aſſuring him, *he would come himſelf and viſit them*

as ſoon as his Affairs would permit. Yea, when the Biſhop had taken his Leave, the Emperor diſpatched Meſſengers after him to quicken his Departure. And ſo deſirous was *Flavian* himſelf that the joyful Tidings ſhould be heard in the City, that he ſent Meſſengers, before his Arrival, with the Emperor's Letters, to diſſipate their Fears. After theſe he haſtned with all poſſible Diſpatch, and coming to *Antioch*, was received with much Triumph, and great Illuminations and Rejoicings were made at his Entrance into the City, where *Chryſoſtom* entertain'd him with a congratulatory Oration upon the happy Succeſs of his Expedition.

Much about the Period of theſe Troubles at *Antioch* died *Paulinus*, who had been ordain'd Biſhop of that City by *Lucifer Caralitanus*, and ſome of the Catholicks adher'd to him, as others did to *Flavian*, which had occaſioned a long Schiſm in the Church. Pope *Damaſus*, and his Succeſſor *Siricius*, and the *Weſtern* Biſhops, eſpouſed the Cauſe of the former; and thoſe of the *Eaſt* generally ſtood by the latter, who had been confirm'd in his See by the great Council of *Conſtantinople*. It was hoped, on the Death of *Paulinus*, that the Schiſm would have expired, but ſtill his Party refuſed to communicate with *Flavian*, and ordain'd *Euagrius*, a Presbyter of that Place, for their Biſhop. The Emperor being wearied with Complaints, ſent for *Flavian*, and commanded him to have his Cauſe heard in a Synod at *Rome*. *If Sir*, reply'd he, *any Body can accuſe me of Hereſy in Point of Faith, or that my Life is unſuitable to the Epiſcopal State, let my Accuſers be my Judges, and I'll willingly ſtand by their Sentence. But if the Strife be only*

about Honour, I'll not contend for it, but am ready to part with the ſame; beſtow it, Sir, upon whom you pleaſe. Upon this Reply the Emperor admir'd his Wiſdom and excellent Temper, and ſent him quietly home; and, *Socrates* ſays, *Euagrius* died ſoon after, and ſo a total End was put to the Schiſm.

In the third Year of *Arcadius*'s Reign died *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, which occaſion'd great Struggles about one to ſucceed him in that Dignity; and the People were importunate with the Emperor that they might have a worthy Perſon ſet over them. Hereupon *Eutropius*, who was a great Favourite at Court, and one, who by being concern'd in the *Eaſt* about the publick Affairs, had Knowledge of *Chryſoſtom*, recommended him as one every way fit for that great Station; but withal ſignify'd, it muſt be manag'd with much Privacy, ſeeing it would be a difficult Matter to get him from *Antioch*. Then Letters were ſent to *Aſterius*, Governor of the *Eaſt*, to manage this Affair; who knowing the Turbulency of the People of *Antioch*, and how impoſſible it was to make them willing to part with their admired Preacher, kept the Letters to himſelf, and ſignifying he had private Buſineſs with *Chryſoſtom*, deſired he would accompany him a little Way out of the Town. Then he took him in his Chariot and carry'd him to *Pagræ*, and there delivered him to the Officers that were ſent by the Emperor to receive him; who diſpatch'd him to *Conſtantinople*, where were ſummon'd a great Convention of Biſhops, to render his Conſecration the more venerable. *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* much oppoſed his Ordination, but finding all his Attempts

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to hinder it fruitleſs, he was forced pretendedly to yield, but always bore a Grudge againſt him to his dying Day.

Chryſoſtom found a great Declenſion of Piety in that Province, occaſion'd by the over-great Eaſineſs of his Predeceſſor; but he ſoon diſcover'd his Zeal, his Impartiality, and his Reſolution to reduce them to the Strictneſs of antient Diſcipline. He began with inſpecting the Manners of the Clergy, among whom a Cuſtom then prevailed of keeping in their Houſes Maids and Matrons, not under the Notion of Marriage, or gratifying any carnal Appetite, but on the Pretence of ſpiritual Affection, and alſo for managing the Concerns of the Family. This *Chryſoſtom* much diſlik'd, and inveigh'd againſt as an Occaſion of Temptation, or to be ſure, that which would afford Matter of Scandal; and therefore he never left declaiming againſt it in his Diſcourſes, till it was reform'd. Next he fell upon their Covetouſneſs, and their ill Arts of filling their Coffers; and ſmartly reproved them for deſpiſing their own mean Proviſions, and frequenting the Tables of Great Men, as that which was of ill Conſequence in ſeveral Reſpects. He diligently inſpected the Stewards of the Church, and cauſed all unneceſſary Expences to be omitted, and ordered the Overplus to be ſpent on charitable Uſes. He took Account of the Widows maintain'd out of the publick Treaſures; and ſuch as were given to worldly Modes and Pleaſures, he admoniſh'd to ſubdue their Inclinations by Faſting and Prayer, that ſo Religion might not be expoſed by them. In a Word, he preſs'd all Sorts to a greater Devotion and Piety, but eſpecially the Clergy; and ſuch of them as

were prevail'd on he commended, but others he ſuſpended from their Offices without any Reſpect of Perſons.

But, alas! *Chryſoſtom*'s Zeal put him on too quick and violent Methods of Reformation, conſidering the ill State and Condition to which Things were reduced. The Clergy being ſo ſuddenly check'd, wer inraged, combin'd againſt him, and on every Occaſion traduced him to the People, who were indeed generally ſo delighted with his Preaching, that as yet they gave little heed to their Calumnies. Yea, the Eloquence of his Sermons, together with the Unblamableneſs of his Life, cauſed him to be thronged with Auditors; and even thoſe that diſſented from the Church, came in great Numbers to hear him, and were many of them brought over by his Preaching.

Thus while *Chryſoſtom*'s Reproofs reach'd the Clergy only, the People were not much concern'd at them; but he ſtop'd not there, bu let fly at the moſt honourable Perſons, reproving their Pride, Luxury, and Tyranny, with the ſame Freedom that he rebuked the Vices of the meaneſt Artificers. This raiſed him many Enemies amongſt them, and ſo excited their Rage againſt him, that he was thereby moleſted to the Day of his Death.

Amongſt others, *Chryſoſtom* ſpared not *Eutropius*, though he had been the Means of his Advancement, and was in ſuch Favour, that, though a Eunuch, the Conſular Dignity was given him, and the Title of *Patricius*, or, *Father to the Emperor*, confer'd on him, which was an Honour next to that of the Imperial Dignity. But being ſtagger'd with the over-great Weight of his Power, he

he abuſed the ſame, by employing it in Cruelty and Oppreſſion, and Men of all Ranks fell under the Burden of his Tyranny. When Perſons, to avoid the Fury of this great Oppreſſor, fled, as was uſual, to take Sanctuary in the Church, he ſcrupled not to violate the Immunities thereof, but fetch'd Men out thence by Force. And that he might do this with ſome Colour of Juſtice, he prevail'd on *Arcadius* by his Edicts to abrogate the Church's Aſylums, which had been fully confirm'd by the Laws of all preceding Emperors. For theſe Things *Chryſoſtom* ſeverely rebuk'd him, but his Intereſt was too great for him to grapple with, ſo as to prevent theſe Irregularities.

But, in a little Time after, this great Court-Favourite was charg'd with inſolently affronting the Empreſs, which together with the Petitions of ſome Great Men againſt him, cauſed the Emperor at once to ſtrip him of all his Honours and Offices. Upon this, being afraid of ſuch as he had provok'd, he fled for Shelter to take Sanctuary in the Church which he had ſo lately ſpoil'd of its Privileges. But ſo hateful were his Villanies to all, and the Anger of the Prince ſo conſpir'd with the Odium of the People, that the Officers had certainly fetch'd him out of the Church, according to his own Law, had not *Chryſoſtom* interpoſed and prevented it. The Biſhop finding him proſtrate at the Altar, and the People ready to preſs in upon him, went preſently into the Pulpit, and in an elegant Oration repreſented the Vanity and Uncertainty of all worldly Greatneſs, putting him in Mind how faithfully he had warn'd him in his Proſperity, who was then deaf to all ſober Advices;

vices; but now, to his Coſt, felt the Evils he might then have avoided. He alſo admoniſh'd him how ſeverly his Folly was rebuk'd by his own Practice, in being neceſſitated to lay hold of thoſe Privileges of the Church which he had endeavour'd to deſtroy. *Chryſoſtom*, to convince him that he ſaid not this to inſult over him, but to warn others by his Example, preſſed all to compaſſionate his Caſe, and ſue to the Emperor for Mercy: Nor would he admit him to be taken out of the Church, till Proviſion was made for ſecuring his Life. The Iſſue was, that *Eutropius* was at preſent only baniſh'd into *Cyprus*, but was afterwards, upon a freſh Indictment, convicted of High Treaſon, and beheaded for the ſame.

No ſooner was *Chryſoſtom* freed from this mighty Oppoſer, but he was engaged with another more potent than the former, *viz.* *Gainas* a *Goth*, who had fled over to the *Romans*, and from a common Soldier was become General of the Army, and aim'd at the Empire itſelf. He had got ſo many of his Countrymen into the Army, and likewiſe many of his Kindred into the chief Command therein, that the Court ſtood in great Awe of him, and had, by mean Conceſſions, ſtill endeavour'd to oblige him. At length the Emperor and he had an Interview, wherein he demanded, among other Terms of Accommodation, that one of the Churches at *Conſtantinople* ſhould be given to him and his Party, *viz.* the *Arians*, for ſuch were all the *Goths* who profeſs'd *Chriſtianity*.

The Emperor promiſed to do what in him lay, to gratify him in this Requeſt; but *Chryſoſtom* being ſent for, importun'd the Emperor, *not to command that Holy Things ſhould be given to Dogs.*

And

And added, *I will never yield that those that preach and magnify the Son of God ſhould be caſt out, and ſuch as reproach and blaſpheme him, brought into the Church in their Stead.* *Gainas* being hereby diſappointed, broke forth into open Rebellion, and did much Miſchief in the Empire; but at length his Forces were vanquiſh'd, and he himſelf ſlain in Battle.

Ammonius and the reſt of the *Egyptian* Monks, who are mentioned before in the Life of *Epiphanius*, having not only been driven out of their own Country by *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, but being alſo ſtill greatly moleſted by his Means at *Scythopolis* in *Paleſtine*, where they had afterward fixed their Reſidence, thereupon reſolved to bring their Complaints to the Emperor, in order to which they came about this Time to *Conſtantinople*. At their Arrival they firſt apply'd themſelves to *Chryſoſtom*, ſignifying, that if he ſhould refuſe to mediate for them, againſt the Fury and Malice of *Theophilus*, they muſt be forced to addreſs the Emperor, and to lay open the vile Practices of that Prelate to the Scandal of the Church: They therefore deſired him, as he regarded the Church's Reputation, to perſuade their Biſhop to let them return and live quietly, ſeeing they had given him no juſt Cauſe of Offence, nor acted unſuitable to their Religion.

Chryſoſtom willingly undertook this Mediation, and in the mean Time aſſigned them Lodgings near the Church, where they were maintained, partly by their own Labour, and partly by the Charity of others, particularly the Empreſs ſhew'd them very great Kindneſs: But though the Biſhop treated them with ſuch Reſpect and Courteſy, he

he would not admit them to Communion, till the Matter in Controverſy between them and their Biſhop ſhould be examin'd; and the rather, becauſe the Meſſengers were now arriv'd, whom *Theophilus* ſent to manage his Cauſe, who could not but own that the Monks had been hardly treated, but yet deſired, that in Reſpect to their Biſhop, they might be excluded the Fellowſhip of the Church. However *Chryſoſtom*, by Letter, endeavoured to perſuade *Theophilus* to be reconciled to them, and to reſtore them to their former State, which he utterly refuſed; and thereupon the Monks brought in a Charge of tyrannical Proceedings, and other Articles againſt him. *Chryſoſtom* endeavoured to diſſuade them from this Way of Procedure, and ſent Notice of it to *Alexandria*, deſiring that Biſhop to give Advice what he ſhould do in this Matter, becauſe he could not prevail on the Monks to deſiſt from proſecuting their Accuſations againſt him.

Theophilus being perplex'd, return'd a ſmart Anſwer to the following Purpoſe: *You are not, I ſuppoſe, unacquainted with the Canons of the* Nicene *Council, which provide,* That no Biſhop ſhall judge Cauſes out of his own Juriſdiction. *If you are ignorant of this, pray inform your ſelf, and forbear receiving Accuſations againſt me; for if I muſt come under Trial, 'tis much fitter to be before the Biſhops of* Egypt, *than before ſuch as live at ſo remote a Diſtance from us.* *Chryſoſtom* laid this Letter by, and ſtill perſuaded each to an Accommodation; but his Moderation made both Parties diſlike his Proceedings, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes.

About the Time of *Gainas*'s Inſurrection laſt Year, an Accident fell out which proved a Source of

of farther Trouble to *Chryſoſtom*, *viz.* Several *Aſian* Biſhops came to *Conſtantinople*, among whom was *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Valentinople*, who charged *Antoninus* Biſhop of *Epheſus* in ſeveral Articles, with Sacrilege and Simony. *Chryſoſtom* deſiring to keep this Matter from becoming publick, told *Euſebius*, that ſuch haſty Charges were often defective in Proof, and therefore intreated him to deſiſt, withal promiſing, that what Grievances there really were, ſhould be removed. But he ſtill reſolved to purſue his Charge, and therefore afterwards preſented a new Libel publickly before the whole Congregation, and urged the Proſecution of it with ſuch Vehemency, that the People thought he had been importuning the Biſhop to interceed with the Emperor for his Life.

Then they proceeded to hear the Matter, but *Antoninus* ſtiffly denied the Charge, and the moſt material Witneſſes againſt him were abſent; whereupon *Chryſoſtom* reſolved on a Journey to *Epheſus*, that he might make a more ſtrict Examination about it: But *Antoninus* fearing the Conſequence of his Preſence there, ſo improved his Intereſt with a great Man at Court, that he got *Chryſoſtom*'s Journey ſtop'd, and engaged that the Witneſſes ſhould be brought to Town. Thereupon a Meſſage came from above to ſignify, *that his Preſence could not be ſpared at this Juncture, while he took ſo great a Journey.* The gaining of which Point mightily pleaſed *Antoninus*, as knowing how much Advantage a little Delay might be to him. But before his Cauſe was brought to a fair Trial, a total Stop was put to it by the Death of *Antoninus*, the accuſed Perſon, by which Means the Church of *Epheſus* was reduced to a worſe State than before.

Hereupon the Clergy thereof wrote to *Chryſoſtom*, and earneſtly deſired him to come over to their Aſſiſtance, telling him they were in a deplorable Condition, by reaſon of the *Arians* infeſting them on one Side, and of the Covetouſneſs and Ambition of ſome among themſelves, which no leſs diſturbed them on the other.

Though this Letter found *Chryſoſtom* in no good State of Health, and it was withal the Winter Seaſon, yet ſuch was his Zeal for the publick Good, that he went immediately on Ship-board, and after a dangerous Voyage landed at *Appania*, whence, with his Companions, he went on Foot to *Epheſus*. (*A. D.* 400.) Being arrived, he ſent for ſeveral Biſhops, and many more came of their own Accord, to ſee and enjoy the Society of this great Man, inſomuch that there met to the Number of Seventy, with whom he conſulted about the State of thoſe Churches. And, upon Examination, ſeveral Biſhops were depoſed from their Offices, being found guilty of having given Money for their Ordinations, upon the Atteſtation of many Witneſſes, that were produced by the abovementioned *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Valentinople*.

When *Chryſoſtom* return'd to *Conſtantinople*, he found the *Arians* had got to a great Height of Inſolence; for though they kept their Meetings out of the Town, yet they were wont, on the Days of their publick Aſſemblies, to ſing, as they went along the City, Hymns compos'd by themſelves, in Defence of their own Opinions, wherein one Part made Reſponſes to the other. Nor were they content with this, but added ſeveral Clauſes, which rudely reflected on the Maintainers of the catholick Doctrine. Thus they did good Part of the Night,

Night, and then early in the Morning went thro' the Streets, ſinging their antiphonal Songs, as they were going to their own Meetings. But the Biſhop being now return'd to his Province, greatly commended his People for their Stedfaſtneſs in the Faith; and to fortify them againſt the Attempts of theſe Hereticks, he reſolved to countermine them, and oppoſe them with their own Weapons. Accordingly he compoſed certain Hymns, containing the catholick Doctrine, which he gave to the People to be ſung after the ſame Manner. And in a little Time theſe antiphonal Hymns were eſtabliſh'd, and thoſe of the *Arians* totally forbidden by the Imperial Authority.

This Father contented not himſelf with ſecuring the *Chriſtians* from the Attempts of the *Arians* here, but alſo endeavoured to recover the *Goths* from the ſame Hereſy, with which they were generally overrun; and in order to it, he often went and preached among them by Means of an Interpreter, and engaged others of the moſt elegant Preachers to do the like. And underſtanding that the *Scythians*, who dwelt beyond the *Iſter*, though *Pagans*, were much diſpoſed to receive the Goſpel, he procured Miniſters to preach to them, and wrote to the Biſhops near thoſe Pars to deſire their Aſſiſtance therein. He alſo engaged a Company of zealous Monks to go into *Phœnicia*, where *Heatheniſm* was ſtill the prevailing Religion; and to encourage them he procur'd an Imperial Edict, by which they were authorized to demoliſh all the *Pagan* Temples. But though they were at firſt very ſucceſsful in this Work, it was not long e'er the *Gentiles* made Head, and ſlew many of theſe Monks, and wounded more of them.

The Troubles of *Chryſoſtom* began now much to increaſe, through the Means of *Antiochus* and *Severian*, two *Syrian* Biſhops, who reſided ſome Time at *Conſtantinople*. The former had a very voluble Tongue, and preached with great Aplauſe in the City; and though the other came ſhort of him in Elocution, yet that Defect was made up by the Gravity of his Sentences, and his profound Expoſitions. *Chryſoſtom* on theſe Accounts had a mighty Eſteem for him, and he had gain'd a great Reputation by his Preaching with moſt of the chief Men in the City, and was much valued by the Emperor himſelf. Yea *Chryſoſtom* had entruſted him with the chief Care of his Church in his Abſence, upon his Expedition to *Epheſus*, which Opportunity the other improved to his Advantage; of which, *Serapion*, *Chryſoſtom*'s Arch-deacon, fail'd not to give him Notice, though, at the ſame Time, being of a proud Temper, inſtead of quenching, he did but increaſe the Fire.

Soon after *Chryſoſtom*'s Return, *Serapion* refus'd to ſhew *Severian* the Reſpects uſually given to a Biſhop as he paſt by; which Affront the latter ſo reſented, that he paſſionately, and with a loud Voice ſaid, *If* Serapian *die a Chriſtian, then Chriſt never became Man.* Of this *Serapion* preſently complain'd, and thereupon *Chryſoſtom* aſſembled a Convention of the Biſhops and Clergy, where the Matter was examin'd. As to the Irreverence, of which *Severian* complain'd, *Serapion* proteſted he ſaw him not, and brought ſome Witneſſes to render the ſame probable, whereupon he was acquitted. Beſides *Socrates* tells us, that *Serapion*, in his Complaint againſt *Severian*, conceal'd the former Part of his Words, and charged him with affirming,

ing, *That Chriſt never became Man*, and produced ſome of his own Faction, who atteſted that they were ſo ſpoken. But however that was, *Chryſoſtom* obſerved, that the Words taken together were of a very ill Sound, for whether *Serapion* ſhould die a *Chriſtian* or not, it nothing affected the Reality of *Chriſt*'s Incarnation. The Biſhops adviſed *Severian* to be reconciled to the other, but he ſtifly refuſed it, and would not be ſatisfy'd, unleſs he were not only depoſed, but excluded Communion; upon which the Aſſembly broke up, with Reflections on his Obſtinacy.

Soon after, *Chryſoſtom* adviſed *Severian* to return home, ſignifying to him, *That it was very unfit for him ſo long to neglect his Charge, and ſuffer his Church to be deſtitute of the Preſence and Care of its Biſhop, and that he ſhould immediately go and improve his Talents within his own Sphere*; Yea, *Socrates* ſays, *Chryſoſtom* expell'd him out of the City. However that was, he immediately left *Conſtantinople*, which the Empreſs *Eudoxia* hearing of, was offended, and ſent for him back again from *Chalcedon*, whither he was retir'd. But *Chryſoſtom* would not entertain any Converſe with him, till the Empreſs brought her young Son *Theodoſius*, to whom he was Godfather, and laying him down at his Feet, deſired him for his Sake to be in Friendſhip with *Severian*, to which he at laſt conſented.

The Reconciliation of *Severian* was but pretended, for *Palladius* aſſures us, he ſoon after combin'd with *Antiochus*, and both of them conſpir'd with *Iſaac*, a turbulent Monk, againſt *Chryſoſtom*. With them joined alſo *Acacius* Biſhop of *Beræa*, becauſe he thought *Chryſoſtom* had ſlighted him, in

in not giving him Entertainment when he came to *Conſtantinople*, and wanted a convenient Lodging.

Theſe conſpiring together, ſent ſome to *Antioch* to ſearch out the Failures of his Youth, where finding nothing material, they thought of *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who they knew had no Kindneſs for him, and had a Head fit to manage a Deſign againſt him. No ſooner did their Letters come to him, but he gladly embraced this Opportunity of venting his Malice, which was lately encreaſed by the Kindneſs *Chryſoſtom* had ſhewn to the *Egyptian* Monks, it being reported that he had admitted them to Communion, tho' excommunicated and baniſh'd by himſelf.

As things were thus carrying on, *Chryſoſtom* began to be diſeſteem'd at Court, eſpecially by *Eudoxia* the Empreſs, who was a haughty and revengeful Woman, and in a Manner wholly govern'd *Arcadius*, naturally of a quite different Temper. Some ſay her firſt Offence againſt him, was upon the Account of his too freely reproving her unjuſt diſpoſſeſſing a Widow of her Vineyard. Others, that it was an Invective *Oration* he had made *againſt Women*, which ſhe interpreted as a Reflection upon herſelf, and therefore complain'd of the publick Affront offer'd her. Beſides, the Diſcourſe being general, all the great Ladies look'd on themſelves concern'd, who had, before this, a Pique againſt him, for his great Freedom in reproving them upon all Occaſions. Nor were *Severian* and his Party wanting to ſtir up the Fire, not doubting but theſe Ladies would inſtigate their Husbands againſt him.

Orders

Orders had been formerly ſent by the Emperor to *Alexandria*, to fetch up *Theophilus*, to make good his Charge againſt the Monks of *Egypt*, or elſe ſuffer the Penalties due to falſe Accuſers; but Things were now ſo managed, that Way was made for his coming rather as a Judge than a Criminal. The Emperor had at firſt order'd him to come alone, but being now on his Journey, it ſeems he had ſignify'd his Will, that he ſhould bring ſeveral Biſhops along with him. He accordingly ſolicited all he could to accompany him, deſigning from the firſt, if poſſible, to obtain a Synod and depoſe *Chryſoſtom*. When he arrived, he went not as uſual into the Church, to expreſs his Devotions to God, nor to wait on the Biſhop; and tho' he was once and again invited by him to lodge in his Palace, he refuſed it, and took up his Reſidence in one of the Emperor's Houſes, which, as is probable, was deſign'd for that Purpoſe.

Theophilus was three Weeks in the City, without ſhewing one Act of Civility to the Biſhop, but ſpent his whole Time in framing his Deſign, and endeavouring to encreaſe his Party by Bribery, by Feaſting, by Flatteries, and by Promiſes of Preferments. By theſe Methods they drew ſeveral of *Chryſoſtom*'s own Clergy to exhibit Libels againſt him, eſpecially ſuch as he had turn'd out for the moſt flagitious Crimes, and particularly two whom he had depoſed for Murder and Adultery. Theſe *Theophilus* promiſed to reſtore to their Miniſtry, and inſtructed them how, in order to it, they ſhould bring in their Accuſations againſt their Dioceſan. *Chryſoſtom* was all this Time at a Loſs what Courſe to take, ſeeing, on one Hand, *Theophilus*'s Accuſers preſs'd him to proceed judicially

cially againſt him; yea, the Emperor himſelf required him to examine the Matters that had been alledged againſt that Biſhop: And, on the other, he was cautious of acting againſt the Canons of the Church, which require, that Caſes againſt Biſhops ſhould be judged within their own Provinces.

But *Theophilus* had now got with him forty-five Biſhops, whereof twenty-nine accompanied him out of *Egypt*, and among the others were thoſe *Aſian* Biſhops whom *Chryſoſtom* had formerly depoſed. They therefore reſolved to meet in a Synodical Form, the Place of which Convention was appointed to be in a Country-houſe belonging to *Ruffinus* a Nobleman, which was at *Chalcedon*, on the other Side of the Water; adjoining whereto was a remarkable Oak, which occaſion'd it to be call'd the Synod *ad Quercum*. This Synod, which conſiſted generally of *Chryſoſtom*'s profeſſed Enemies, being ſat, the Charge was exhibited againſt him by *John*, who had been his Deacon, and conſiſted of no leſs than twenty-nine Articles, whereof they inſiſted only on four, in which he was accuſed *of ſome violent Proceedings againſt certain of his Officers*. Beſides which, there was another Libel brought in of ſeventeen Articles, whereof they inſiſted only on two, *viz.* the firſt, which declar'd, *That* Epiphanius *had refuſed Communion with him, becauſe he had favoured the* Origenian *Monks*; and the fourth, which accuſed him of encouraging Men to Sin by ſuch kind of Expreſſions as theſe, *If you ſin again, repent again, and as often as you ſin, come to me and I will heal you*; which probably he might ſay, in Oppoſition to the *Novatians*, who denied Pardon to penitent Delinquents.

Chry-

Chyroſoſtom perceiving how Things went, got all the Biſhops of his Party that were in Town together, being about forty, and *earneſtly deſired their Prayers, and preſs'd them to continue in their Charge, whatever ſhould befal him; declaring himſelf* ready to be offer'd, *and ſignifying that he muſt undergo many Difficulties, Satan being greatly tormented at his daily Preaching.* The whole Company being much grieved at his Diſcourſe, he added, *Brethren, ceaſe to weep, leſt you add more Affliction,* for to me to live is *Chriſt,* and therefore even to die is Gain. This laſt Expreſſion he uſed upon its being reported, that he was threatned to loſe his Head for his Obſtinacy. And when one with Paſſion lamented the deſolate State of the Church if he ſhould leave them, the good Biſhop ſtriking often on the Palm of his Left-hand with the Tip of his right Fore-finger, as he was wont when in a ſerious Dsſcourſe, made the following Reply, *As the Doctrine of Chriſt began not with me, ſo it ſhall not end with me. Did* Moſes *die?* Joſhua *ſucceeded him. Did* Samuel *die?* David *was anointed in his Stead. Did* Jeremy *leave this Life? He left* Baruch *behind him. Was* Elias *taken up into Heaven? The prophetick Spirit reſted on* Eliſha. Paul *was beheaded, but* Timothy, Titus, Apollos, *and many more ſurvived him.*

While they were thus diſcourſing, Meſſengers came from *Theophilus* and the Synod, to ſummon him forthwith to appear, and reply to the many Accuſations that were alledged againſt him; but the Biſhops ſaid, they would ſend an Anſwer by Meſſengers of their own, which they did, in Writing, to the following Effect: *Preſume not to diſturb the Church's Affairs, nor confound Order, by*

taking upon you to hear Cauſes out of your own Juriſdiction; for we have your own Letter, wherein you charge John *our Colleague, not to meddle in judging a Biſhop out of his own Province; ſubmit therefore to the Canons of the Church,* &c.

Chryſoſtom alſo return'd a particular Anſwer of his own, the Subſtance of which was, *That he declin'd not a Trial, being ready to give an Account of himſelf before a Hundred, or, if Need were, a Thouſand Biſhops, but he would not yield to be judged by his declared Enemies, ſuch as* Theophilus, *who had boaſted in ſeveral Places,* That he was going to *Conſtantinople* to depoſe *Chryſoſtom; and others among them, who had given great Teſtimonies of their Enmity againſt him: Let ſuch therefore be excluded the Synod, and I ſhall appear, otherwiſe if you ſend a thouſand Summons, I'll give no other Anſwer.*

Upon the Non-appearance of *Chryſoſtom* at their repeated Summons, they firſt heard what Evidence was given in to the ſeveral Articles inſiſted on, and then came to a Determination, *That he ſhould be depoſed from his See.* Having proceeded thus far, they wrote an Account of it to the Clergy of *Conſtantinople*, and alſo gave the Emperor the following Relation: *Since* John *has been accuſed of ſeveral Crimes, and by his not appearing diſcovers his Conſciouſneſs of Guilt, therefore the Laws depoſe him, which is the Sentence now paſs'd upon him. As for his Sedition and High Treaſon, we leave that to your Majeſty's Judgment, thoſe Things not lying within our Cognizance*; meaning his Affront to the Empreſs, whom, as it was reported, he had called *Jezebel.* By this Means a Warrant was procur'd from the Emperor for his Baniſhment,

niſhment, which was ſent to, and read in the Synod.

When the People heard of the Depoſition of their Biſhop, they being exceedingly troubled, guarded the Church Night and Day, leſt he ſhould be taken from them, and cried out, *His Cauſe ought to be debated before a greater and more impartial Aſſembly.* But to avoid a popular Tumult, he without their Knowledge ſurrendred himſelf, on the third Day, to the Officers; who in the Evening carried him on Shipboard, and preſently ſailed to *Hieron*, a Port of the *Euxine* Sea. Here he landed and was carried thence into *Bithynia*, where we leave him a while, and ſee how the People were affected with his Departure at *Conſtantinople.*

His being gone was no ſooner known, but the City was in Confuſion, and grievous Complaints were made againſt the Emperor, againſt the Synod, and eſpecially againſt *Theophilus*; yea, ſome that had been his Enemies, now cried his Baniſhment proceeded from Malice and Injuſtice. The Monks, who were his conſtant Friends, eſpecially appeared for him, they ſhut up the Churches, and would not ſuffer the People to frequent publick Prayers. Whereupon, as *Zoſimus* ſays, many of them were killed, yea, any that appeared in Black, which was the Colour of their Habit, ſuffer'd by the common Fury. *Severian* hoping to pacify the Minds of the People, and to juſtify the Proceedings againſt *Chryſoſtom*, went up and preach'd, *That if there were nothing elſe to charge him with, his Pride was enough to deſerve the Puniſhment inflicted, ſeeing* God reſiſts the Proud. But this only increaſed the Tumult, and that which much added

to the Conſternation, was, that a terrible Earthquake happen'd the ſame Night, which was look'd on as a Token of God's Diſpleaſure againſt their Proceedings.

The Court was great greatly ſurprized at theſe Things, and the Empreſs *Eudoxia* being conſcious how much ſhe had contributed thereto, earneſtly beſought the Emperor to ſend for him back; whereupon he diſpatch'd his Secretary the next Morning for that Purpoſe. The Empreſs withal ſent *Briſon* her Eunuch with Letters, *wherein ſhe proteſted her Innocency in what had been done, and that it was wholly owing to the Contrivance of corrupt and wicked Men, calling God to witneſs, that ſhe venerated him as a Biſhop, and particularly as the Perſon who had with his own Hands regenerated or baptized her Child.* After this, other Meſſengers were ſent to haſten his Return, and the People going forth in Crowds to meet him, covered the Entrance of the *Propontis* with their Boats, and attended him with Triumphs and Rejoicings.

When *Chryſoſtom* landed, he reſolved not to return to the City, till he was clear'd by a greater Synod than that which condemn'd him; but the People being impatient, cauſed the Meſſgers to be urgent with him to haſten his coming home without any Delay. No ſooner had he yielded, but the Empreſs ſent to compliment him upon his Return, ſaying, *Now her Petitions were heard, and that ſhe eſteem'd it above the Crown ſhe wore, that ſhe recovered her Biſhop, and reſtor'd the Head to the Body, the Pilot to the Ship, and the Paſtor to his Flock.* She added, *That now his Enemies were aſham'd, but that ſhe herſelf was ſo well pleaſed with*

with his Reſtoration, that ſhe eſteem'd it indifferent whether ſhe lived or died.

Crowds of People attended him into the City with ſinging of Hymns compoſed for that Solemnity, and with carrying lighted Torches before him; and in this ſplendid Manner they brought him to the Cathedral, intreating him to take his Seat and give them his Bleſſing. He excuſed himſelf from it, by his being render'd incapable, telling them his Sentence muſt be firſt reverſed, and he be regularly reſtored to his See; but finding his Delays render'd their Deſires more vehement, he went up and pronounced *the Peace*, after the accuſtom'd Manner.

And finding they ſtill expected more, he made an *Extempore* Oration to them, grounded on the Story of *Pharaoh*'s forcible ſeizure of *Abraham*'s Wife for his own Bed, ſhewing in the Parallel, *That* Theophilus *the* Egyptian *had offer'd the ſame Violence to his Church*; and in a long Harangue he draws forth theſe two Caſes into a very elegant Compariſon. He alſo takes Occaſion ſo to ſet forth the Kindneſſes and Reſpects both of Prince and People in his Reſtoration, that the Affections of his Auditors being inflam'd, they brake forth into ſuch loud Acclamations to the Honour of the Emperor and his Lady, that he was thereby forced to end his Diſcourſe ſomewhat abruptly.

Upon this *Theophilus* and his Party had a great Mind to charge *Chryſoſtom* with violating the Canons, by preaching after he was depoſed: But they fear'd to offend the Emperor, and to raiſe new Commotions, and therefore reſolved at preſent only to proceed againſt *Heraclides*, whom *Chryſoſtom* had ordained Biſhop of *Epheſus*. Thereupon

upon they drew up ſeveral Accuſations againſt him, in whoſe Behalf his Friends pleaded, that it was not lawful to proſecute a Man when he was abſent, and could therefore make no Defence for himſelf. But notwithſtanding this, they reſolved to go on with their Proceedings, and the other were no leſs reſolved to obſtruct them therein: Whereupon a great Tumult was raiſed between the contending Parties, ſo that ſeveral were wounded, and ſome ſlain in the Quarrel.

Hereupon *Severian* and the reſt of that Party fled, and *Theophilus* fearing the Iſſue, and underſtanding that a Synod was to be ſpeedily convened, to give theſe Matters a new Hearing, went on Shipboard at Midnight, and ſet ſail for *Alexandria*. Indeed it was high Time for him to make his Eſcape; for the People were ſo incenſed at his Proceedings, that they ſearched for him, with a Reſolution of throwing him into the Sea. *Chryſoſtom* in the mean time earneſtly preſs'd the Emperor, that a Synod might be called to clear his Innocency, and reverſe the unjuſt Sentence that had been paſs'd againſt him. *Arcadius* the Emperor therefore ſent to *Theophilus*, charging him to return again, and give an Account of his Proceedings, that Matters might be fairly heard and examin'd; but he excuſed himſelf, and evaded his ſo doing. However a Synod was convened at *Conſtantinople*, of more than ſixty Biſhops, who examined the Tranſactions of the former, diſannulled the Acts thereof, and reſtored *Chryſoſtom* intirely to his See.

But this Serenity laſted not long, for freſh Clouds aroſe, and new Troubles began, upon the following Occaſion. At the ſetting up a ſilver Statue of the

the Empreſs *Eudoxia*, near the Church of St. *Sophia*, there were great Shoutings, Dancings, and other Exorbitances, to the great Diſturbance of the People in their religious Aſſemblies. This *Chryſoſtom* could not bear, but ſeverely inveigh'd againſt it in his Sermons, as alſo againſt thoſe that encouraged the ſame. And underſtanding that the Empreſs took theſe Reflections as made upon herſelf, and that ſhe purpoſed again to proſecute him, he took Occaſion from the Story of *John the Baptiſt*'s reproving *Herod* and *Herodias*, to diſcourſe in an Oration after the following Manner: *Now* Herodias *is again in a Rage, and ſeeks to have* John Baptiſt's *Head in a Charger; and now* Jezebel *is contriving to get* Naboth's *Vineyard, and to drive the Prophet* Elias *into the Deſart.* It muſt indeed be confeſs'd, that *Photius* queſtions the Genuineſs of this Paſſage, tho' found in the Works of this Father. Next he proceeds to lay down the Deſcription of a bad Woman, telling us, *That no Lion, Dragon, or any other Beaſt of Prey is ſo bad as an ill Woman, giving Inſtances of the baſe Acts of ſuch from the Holy Scriptures.* The Empreſs hereupon highly reſented, that ſhe was, as ſhe concluded, thus traduced in his publick Sermons; and his Enemies gladly took hold of this Opportunity againſt him, therefore ſent to *Theophilus*, either to come himſelf and head them, or at leaſt ſend them Directions how to proceed. He was not willing to venture himſelf again, but ſent three Biſhops with ſome Canons made formerly againſt *Athanaſius*, which he concluded might be now improved againſt *Chryſoſtom*.

Before this Year was fully expir'd, divers Biſhops out of *Syria* and other Parts, were convened

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at *Conſtantinople*, the Chief of whom were *Leontius* of *Ancyra*, and *Ammonius* of *Laodicea* in *Piſidia*. At their firſt coming to Town they rejected not Communion with *Chryſoſtom*, but carried it fairly towards him till they founded the Inclinations of the Court, where they ſoon found his Intereſt daily declining. For now the Emperor, being influenced by *Eudoxia* and others, refuſed to come to Church as he uſed to do, and ſignify'd to *Chryſoſtom* by Meſſengers, *That he could have no Communion with him, till he had vindicated himſelf from the Crimes laid to his Charge.* *Chryſoſtom* hereupon ſignify'd his great Readineſs to come to a fair Hearing, and publickly challenged his Adverſaries to prove the Matters objected againſt him; but they durſt not venture to put it to that Iſſue, and therefore concluded to drop their former Charges, and only inſiſt on his returning to his See without ſufficient Authority, after he had been ſynodically depoſed. In Anſwer to this *Chryſoſtom* pleaded, he had the Suffrage of ſixty-five Biſhops to warrant him therein; but they pretended that more had conſented to his being depoſed, and therefore his Return was irregular.

Then they alledged againſt him the Canons ſent by *Theophilus*, which were the fourth of the Council of *Antioch*, *That if any Biſhop or Presbyter being depoſed, ſhould return to the Execution of his Office without the Authority of a Synod, he ſhould never be again reſtored:* As alſo the 12th, *That if ſuch a one ſhould appeal to the Emperor, inſtead of a greater Synod than that by which he was depoſed, he ſhould be incapable of Abſolution.* *Chryſoſtom* replied, *That theſe Canons were framed by the* Arian *Party againſt* Athanaſius; and alſo continued

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to plead his being reſtored by a Synod of ſixty-five Biſhops.

His Oppoſers found it availed little to debate the Matter with him, and therefore deſired the Emperor that ten of *Chryſoſtom*'s Party might be ſummon'd, and prevail'd on to give their Suffrage in Favour of theſe Canons. But *Elpidius*, the aged Biſhop of *Laodicea*, intreated the Emperor, that *Chryſoſtom* might not be ejected without ſufficient Cauſe, affirming he had not been regularly depoſed before; and alſo put him in mind, that he returned not without his Majeſty's ſpecial Command, and aſſerted that thoſe Canons alledged againſt him, were fram'd by Hereticks. The other Party were very clamorous againſt him; but at length *Elpidius* mildly ſaid to the Emperor, *Sir, we will no longer be troubleſome to you, but put it upon this Iſſue; let our Oppoſers ſubſcribe the Faith of thoſe Catholicks, by whom they pretend theſe Canons were fram'd, and we will be ſatisfy'd.* The Emperor ſignify'd he thought this a fair Propoſal, and therefore, after much Evaſion, they at laſt pretended they would ſubſcribe, which yet they never did, as indeed they never intended it.

It being now the Time of *Lent*, his Enemies entreated the Emperor, that *Eaſter* drawing on, he would give Order for his Expulſion, who being eaſily impoſed on by them, ſent a Command to *Chryſoſtom* to leave his Church. The Biſhop anſwer'd, *I receiv'd my Church from God my Saviour, and am by him intruſted with the Care of my Peoples Souls, and therefore can't deſert my Charge; but if you forcibly throw me out, I ſhall have that to plead for my Excuſe, in not performing my Office.* This Anſwer ſomewhat mitigated the intended

Rigour, and though he received Orders from *Arcadius* to forſake the Church, and confine himſelf to his own Houſe, he ſtill frequented the religious Aſſemblies.

Thus Things continued to the *Paſſion-Week*, when on *Good-Friday* he had freſh Orders to relinquiſh the Church, which he ſtill refuſed to obey. Hereupon the Emperor, bearing a Reverence to the Holineſs of the Time, and alſo fearing a Tumult among the People, adviſed with *Acacius* and *Antiochus*, two of his chief Enemies, and caution'd them to beware of taking wrong Meaſures. They anſwer'd, *Sir, fear not, let the ejectsng of* Chryſoſtom *be upon us, we are ready to vindicate the ſame, though it were at the Peril of our Lives.* When this was known, forty Biſhops who kept their Lent with *Chryſoſtom*, apply'd themſelves to the Emperor and Empreſs, and beſought 'em with Tears, *That the Church might not be deprived of its Biſhop, eſpecially at* Eaſter, *when the Catechumens were to receive their Baptiſm.* But their Requeſt was deny'd, whereupon *Paul* Biſhop of *Croatia* turn'd to the Empreſs, and ſaid, *Eudoxia, fear God, and pity your own Children, and by Violence profane not Chriſt's holy Feſtival*; and ſo they went away with weeping Eyes and mournful Hearts.

In the mean Time *Chryſoſtom*'s Presbyters, and ſome Biſhops of his Party, were aſſembled with the People in *Conſtantine*'s Baptiſtery, ſpending their Time in reading the Scriptures, and preparing the Catechumens for Baptiſm. His Enemies ſollicited that this Aſſembly might be diſpers'd; but the chief Officer of the Palace fearing the Conſequence, refus'd to be engag'd in it, telling them,

them, *That it being Night, and the Congregation numerous, they must take heed of any rash Proceedings.* However, to gratify their Importunity, he at length sent *Lucius* Captain of the *Scutarii*, to go quietly, and see how Things were, who return'd with an Account, *That nothing was like to be done, such were the Numbers, and so great the Zeal of the People.*

But being yet restless in their Addresses, they prevail'd with him to make another Attempt, and that he might not want fit Guides, they sent some of their Clergy with him, who conducted him to the Place of Meeting. They enter'd, and immediately all Corners were fill'd with Horror and Confusion, the Clergy were seiz'd, beaten, wounded, and treated with all kinds of Violence, the Catechumens were scatter'd, and the Women who had stripp'd themselves for Baptism, were driven away naked, and several of 'em wounded, and the very Waters of the *Baptisterium* were colour'd with Blood. None can express the Villanies then committed, all Places in the City being fill'd with Sighs and Groans, miserable Lamentations and Cries; and Edicts were publish'd one upon another, full of severe Threatnings against all who renounc'd not Communion with *Chrysostom.*

When it was Day, most of the Inhabitants of the City fled into the Fields and Woods to find, if possible, Shelter for themselves, where they might celebrate the Festival. It happen'd that the Emperor going out of the City that Day to divert himself, spy'd a Field cover'd over with white, which was occasion'd by its being fill'd with about three thousand Catechumens, who had

been baptiz'd the Night before, having then on them their white Garments, as was the Cuſtom of the primitive Times. But the Adverſaries, to exaſperate the Emperor the more, told him they were a Conventicle of Hereticks; whereupon a Party of Soldiers were order'd preſently to diſperſe them, which they did, taking ſome of the People, but more of the Clergy into Cuſtody. Several noble Matrons were here ſeiz'd, and ſtripp'd of their Pendants, their Ear-Rings, and other Ornaments, and Multitudes were committed to Priſon, where they ſung Hymns, and receiv'd the Holy Euchariſt; ſo that the Priſons were turn'd into Churches, as the Churches were turn'd into *Bridewels*, by the Cruelties therein exercis'd.

While Things were in this deplorable State at home, *Chryſoſtom* reſolved to ſeek Help from abroad, and in Order to it, ſends a Diſpatch to *Rome*, and refers the Judgment of his Caſe to Pope *Innocent*, and the *Weſtern* Biſhops. But *Theophilus* was before-hand with him, having ſent his Reader with Letters to inform them, that he had depoſed *Chryſoſtom*; but without any Account why, or with what Aſſiſtance he had done it: which caus'd *Innocent* to ſuſpect ſome foul Dealing in the Matter. Likewiſe *Euſebius*, Deacon of *Conſtantinople*, being then Agent at *Rome* from his own Church, deſired the Pope to ſuſpend his Judgment, aſſuring him, that in a little Time all Things ſhould be laid before him in a clear View.

Accordingly, within three Days after, there arriv'd four Biſhops from *Conſtantinople*, with two Deacons to attend them, who brought three Letters, one from *Chryſoſtom*, another from the forty Bi-

Biſhops of his Communion, and a third from the Clergy of his Church. *Chryſoſtom* in his gave an Account of the whole Matter, eſpecially the Violence exerciſed in the *Paſſion*-Week, intreating Pope *Innocent*'s Aſſiſtance in ſuppreſſing ſo violent a Faction, and aſſured him of his Readineſs to refer his Affairs to the Hearing of any impartial Judicature, and that he would vindicate his Innocency againſt all the Crimes laid to his Charge.

The Pope being not yet ſatisfy'd in the State of Things, ſignify'd *his holding Communion equally with* Chryſoſtom *and* Theophilus; tho' he withal declar'd *his Diſlike of the Proceedings of the latter againſt the former, and that a more indifferent Synod, both of the* Eaſtern *and* Weſtern *Biſhops, ought to be held, wherein Matters ſhould be judg'd neither from Favour, nor Ill-Will, but with an impartial Judgment.* Soon after, new Meſſengers came from *Theophilus* with other Letters, by which *Innocent* more fully perceiv'd upon what ſlight Grounds he had proceeded againſt *Chryſoſtom*; which he notify'd to him in a Letter to the following Purpoſe:

Brother, we ſtill hold Communion both with Yourſelf, and our Brother Chryſoſtom, *and ſhall continue in this Reſolution till there be a more equal Determination of thoſe Things that have been ſo childiſhly and ridiculouſly managed againſt him; if therefore your Cauſe will bear it, let it be heard before a Synod aſſembled according to the Law of* Chriſt, *and proſecuted according to the Canons of the* Nicene *Council, which Proceeding alone we ſhall approve of.*

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In the mean Time *Chryſoſtom* was not only confin'd to his Houſe, but was there in great danger of his Life, ſeveral making Attempts againſt him; and particularly one, that was hir'd with fifty pieces of Gold to diſpatch him, being ſtopp'd and examin'd as he was haſtily running into the Biſhop's Palace, return'd no Anſwer to him that accoſted him but by giving him a mortal Wound. And when Endeavours were us'd to take him, he wounded no leſs than ſeven more, inſomuch that four of 'em dy'd, and the other three were not recover'd without much Difficulty. And when at laſt he was taken and carry'd to the Palace, and the People cry'd out for Juſtice, tho' the Provoſt pretended he ſhould be brought to his Trial, yet in a little Time he ſet him at Liberty; by which Proceedings the People ſaw what Danger their Biſhop was in, and therefore watch'd by Turns Night and Day at his Houſe.

Thus Things continu'd till a Week after *Whitſuntide*, when the Clergy that were his principal Enemies, with the moſt flattering Inſinuations addreſs'd the Emperor for his Baniſhment. They told him, *That as he was immediately conſtituted by Heaven, and was accountable to none upon Earth, he might make his Will the Law and Meaſure of his Actions.* They added, *That they hop'd he would not be more mild than Prieſts, or ſeem more holy than Biſhops; that they had often ſaid they would be anſwerable for* Chryſoſtom's *Depoſition, and therefore deſired he would not ſpare one to the Ruin of them all.* At length, being weary'd with their Importunities, he ſign'd the Warrant, and *commanded him, as ſoon as he had diſpoſed of his Affairs, immediately to leave the City.*

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Chryſoſtom having now receiv'd a poſitive Order, reſolv'd to comply with it, and thereupon ſaid to the Biſhops, and Others with him, *Come, let us go to Praycrs, and join our Forces with thoſe of the Guardian Angel of this Church.* As he was going, a Courtier who was his Friend, inform'd him, that military Forces waited to ſeize him, and therefore deſir'd him to withdraw privately, leſt there ſhould be another Tumult rais'd in the City. Thereupon he kiſs'd the Biſhops, and took his Leave of 'em, and then withdrew himſelf at a private Door, and ſurrender'd himſelf to the Officers, who carry'd him to *Nice*, and from thence to *Cucuſus* in *Armenia*, the place appointed for his Exile, of which we ſhall hear more hereafter. When he was leaving his Church, he comforted himſelf, as he tells us in an Epiſtle, with the following Thoughts: *Will the Empreſs baniſh me? Let her do ſo, ſeeing* the Earth is the Lord's, and the Fulneſs thereof. *Will ſhe order me to be cut in pieces? If I be ſawn aſunder, I ſhall be treated but as the Prophet* Iſaiah. *Should I be thrown into the Sea, this was the Fate of* Jonah; *or ſhould I be caſt into a fiery Furnace, my Sufferings will be but like thoſe of the three Children. Should ſhe command me to be ſtoned, ſo was St.* Stephen. *Will ſhe have my Head? The Holy Baptiſt loſt his: Or will ſhe have my Eſtate?* Naked came I out of my Mother's Womb, and naked ſhall I return thither.

The People yet knew not he was gone, but were very jealous of it; and therefore being impatient, abundance of 'em preſs'd into the Church to ſeek for him; and when they were in, the Doors were ſhut upon 'em to prevent their purſuit of their Biſhop,

ſhop, and their Attempts to reſcue him. Thoſe who were without were in a diſtracted Condition, and thoſe within ſo crouded towards the Door, that it render'd the opening the ſame impoſſible; till yielding a little, they at length with much difficulty got it open. In this great Confuſion a Fire broke out under the Pulpit, which flaming up reach'd the Roof, and in a few Hours conſum'd that whole ſtately Fabrick, except only the Veſtry, where the Communion-plate was preſerv'd. Nor did the Fire ſtop here, but the conquering Flames, waving thro' the Air, got hold on the Senate-houſe, a noble and magnificent piece of Architecture which ſtood at a good diſtance; and which is moſt ſtrange, it began at the end that was fartheſt off from the Church. The Flames of both theſe Buildings met as an Arch, ſo that People paſs'd ſafely underneath it; and which is remarkable, there was no Life either of Man or Beaſt loſt in this terrible Conflagration. With this Structure were deſtroy'd many noble and excellent pieces of Antiquity, particularly the Statues of the nine Muſes made at *Helicon*, and brought hither by *Conſtantine* the Great. Only the Images of *Jupiter* and *Minerva* were preſerv'd, which *Zoſimus*, being an Heathen Hiſtorian, magnifies as a Miracle, and a good Omen of the City's future Proſperity.

Very different were the Sentiments of Men concerning this Fire; *Chryſoſtom*'s Enemies ſcrupled not to charge it on his Party, as an effect of their Malice and Revenge; they on the other hand, proteſted their own Innocency, and laid it on their Adverſaries, as deſigning to burn them and the Church together. Again, others conſidering the

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ſtrange Beginning and Progreſs of the Flames, judg'd it ſent from Heaven to puniſh the Vices then reigning, and particularly the unjuſt Baniſhment of ſo excellent a Paſtor. But whatever was the Original of this Conflagration, the Conſequences were terrible, abundance of People being ſeiz'd, thrown into Goal, and expos'd to great Severities, eſpecially the following Year, when *Optatus* became Provoſt of the City; who being a Heathen, took this Opportunity of expreſſing his Hatred to the *Chriſtians*, and therefore treated *Chryſoſtom*'s Friends with all imaginable Cruelty.

Within a Week after *Chryſoſtom*'s Departure they plac'd one in his Seat, and thought none fitter for it than *Arſacius* Brother to *Nectarius*, who had preceded him; whom therefore they thought might not be unacceptable to the People. This new Biſhop was fourſcore Years of Age, naturally of a peaceable Temper, and little inclin'd to Action, which made him be the more eaſily impos'd on by ſubtil Men, who prompted him to very irregular Courſes, and juſtify'd the worſt Actions by his Authority. *Chryſoſtom*'s Friends could not bear to ſee this Uſurper on his Throne, and therefore would have no Communion with him, but aſſembled by themſelves without the City, and for adhering to *John* their Biſhop, were ſtiled *Joannites*.

Arſacius being greatly vex'd at the Slights put upon him, complain'd to the Emperor, who thereupon publiſh'd ſeveral ſevere Edicts to ſuppreſs the Conventicles of theſe *Joannites*, and to force 'em to hold Communion with their new Biſhop. Particularly it was decreed, *That whatever Biſhop*

ſhould refuſe Communion with him and Theophilus *ſhould be depos'd, and loſe all his Eſtate; and that if any one concealed ſuch as adhered to* Chryſoſtom, *his Houſe ſhould be forfeited, and taken from him.* Theſe, and other ſevere Laws were made, and as ſeverely executed, Soldiers being ſent to break up their Meetings, who beat 'em, ſton'd 'em, hal'd 'em to Priſon, and us'd ſuch Cruelties, that many durſt not ſtir out of their Houſes; yea, a great Number fled into a voluntary Baniſhment. *Optatus* under pretence of ſearching for the Authors of the late Fire, exercis'd all manner of Barbarities. *Eutropius* the Reader, in particular, was cruelly ſcourg'd, his Fleſh rak'd from his Bones, burning Torches put to ſeveral parts of his Body; and at laſt he was thrown into Priſon, where he ſoon dy'd.

Among thoſe of the weaker Sex who had a large ſhare in the common Calamities, *Olympias* was moſt remarkable, who was a Woman highly valu'd by *Chryſoſtom* for her eminent Piety, and to whom he wrote no leſs than ſeventeen Letters during his Exile. She was of noble Birth, a large Fortune, and withal of extraordinary Beauty, and had been Wife to *Nebridius*, ſome Time Governor, who was put to death by the Emperor within two Years after their Marriage, under pretence of ſome Male-Adminiſtration. A Lady of ſuch Accompliſhments, and withal young, wanted not Sollicitations to a ſecond Marriage; yea *Theodoſius*, who was then Emperor, deſir'd her for his own Kinſman *Elpidius*, who importunately made Suit to her: But the Lady utterly refus'd to comply, ſaying, *If the Emperor had thought me fit for a Husband, he would not have depriv'd me of him*

that I had, by which he has impoſed on me the eaſy Yoke of a ſingle State.

The Emperor, much offended with this ſmart Anſwer, order'd the Provoſt of the City to ſeize her Eſtate till ſhe ſhould come to thirty Years of Age; who thereupon us'd her unkindly, and reſtrain'd her from going to Church, or converſing with any Biſhop; being ſecretly urg'd to this Severity by *Elpidius*, who hop'd thereby to force her Conſent. But ſhe thank'd God for theſe Sufferings, and ſent this Meſſage to the Emperor: *Sir, you have not only done like a Prince, but exercis'd the Care of a Biſhop towards me, in caſing me of a heavy Burden; for I have long fear'd leſt through the Incumbrance of thoſe Riches I ſhould neglect the more excellent Treaſures of the Soul; tho' you would yet do much better, if you would be pleaſed to diſpoſe of them to the Poor, and to ſupply the Neceſſities of the Church.*

Theodoſius could not but admire her virtuous and heroick Mind, and therefore order'd all her Eſtate to be reſtor'd; and that ſhe might not be troubled with any more ſuch unwelcome Addreſſes, ſhe prevail'd on *Nectarius* then Biſhop to make her a Deaconeſs of the Church, whence ſhe ſeldom departed Day or Night, ſpending her Time and Eſtate in the Service thereof. She had a very peculiar Reſpect for *Chryſoſtom*, upon whom ſhe almoſt conſtantly attended, taking care of his Family Affairs, and that his Food might be ſuitable to his languiſhing Appetite.

Becauſe of this her Affection to *Chryſoſtom*, and her Frequency in the Church, ſhe was charg'd with having a hand in the late Fire; but the Provoſt finding no way to faſten this upon her,

he accuſed her for refuſing Communion with the preſent Biſhop; and perceiving her reſolv'd to perſiſt therein, he at length fin'd her in a large Sum of Gold, ſuppoſing that might prevail on her. But her Soul was too much elevated above the Earth, to be wrought on by ſuch Arguments, and therefore it was determin'd ſhe ſhould be baniſh'd, to which ſhe readily ſubmitted, and thereupon was ſent into Exile to *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, whence ſhe ſupply'd *Chryſoſtom* with Neceſſaries, and there ſoon peaceably ended her Days.

The *Joannites* being ſo ſeverely proſecuted at *Conſtantinople*, were forced to ſeek Refuge in the *Weſt*; and a Letter ſubſcrib'd by twenty-five Biſhops was ſent to Pope *Innocent* at *Rome*, to give an Account of the whole Matter. But at preſent he could give them little Relief, only he ſent the Meſſenger back with communicatory Letters both to *Chryſoſtom* and thoſe Biſhops that held with him. However, after this, a great many Biſhops, and others of eminent Note, coming thither with Complaints of thoſe violent and unrighteous Proceedings, he was ſo far awaken'd, that he engaged *Honorius*, Emperor in the *Weſt*, to concern himſelf in their Cauſe.

Hereupon that Emperor wrote to his Brother *Arcadius*, and in his Epiſtle takes notice, that the firſt Offence was given by the Empreſs's Statue, and the miſchievous Conſequences of it; intreating him, that thoſe Irregularities might be amended, and that by reforming what was amiſs, the Divine Diſpleaſure might be averted. He tells him, he could not longer be ſilent, and that this was a Matter which ought to be conſidered by a Council

Council of Biſhops impartially ſummon'd; and that in order to this, both Parties had now ſent their Legates to *Rome*, promiſing to acquieſce in their Determination. He adds, till this equal Deciſion was made, Things ſhould not have been run to that Height of Confiſcation and Baniſhment, eſpecially ſeeing thoſe that were appeal'd to granted *Chryſoſtom*, as well as his Oppoſers, the Peace of the Church.

Pope *Innocent* alſo wrote a conſolatory Letter to *Chryſoſtom*, in which he ſignifies, That he who was ſo eminent a Paſtor could not but know, that in all Ages the beſt of Men had been expoſed to great Sufferings for the Trial of their Patience. He farther minds him, that a firm Confidence in God, and the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, is the beſt Support under the heavieſt Burden; and that though a good Man may be tried, he cannot be vanquiſh'd, having the holy Scriptures at Hand as a Bulwark to defend and protect him. "For "(ſays he) the Leſſons which we ſo often read "and expound, afford us a Multitude of Exam- "ples, that almoſt all Saints have been proved "by great Calamities, before they have received "the Crown of Glory." Then he concludes, "Let the Conſcience of your Innocence ſupport "and ſtay your Mind, in Conſideration that the "Eye of our Great Maſter is upon us, who will "at length give Reſt to his ſincere Servants."

He alſo ſent a Letter to the Clergy and People of *Conſtantinople*, ſignifying with what a ſad Heart he had received the Account of their Sufferings, exhorting them to Patience, in Hope God would ſhortly put an End to their Calamities. He affirms, that the Proceedings againſt *Chryſoſtom* had been

been contrary to all Law and Rule, to all Juſtice and Equity, and that ſcarce any Inſtance could be found of the like among their Predeceſſors. He farther tells them, that they at *Rome* were now conſidering how a general Council might be beſt convened, to bring all Things to a happy Iſſue, encouraging them in the mean Time, to a patient Hope, that by the Divine Help Matters would be reduced to their right State.

But now let us look after *Chryſoſtom*, whom we left juſt as he went out of the great Church, and ſurrender'd himſelf to the Officers, who preſently got him on Shipboard, and carry'd him, accompanied with ſome of his Clergy, to a Place in *Bithynia*. Here the Buſineſs of the Fire was inquir'd into, and the Attendants of *Chryſoſtom* clear'd; but they would by no Means admit him to a Trial, though he earneſtly requeſted the ſame, that he might fully clear himſelf from the Reflections that were caſt on him as the Author or Abettor of it. This being denied, they proceeded on their Journey towards the Place of his Exile, which was firſt appointed to be *Sebaſtea*; but that, it ſeems, was thought too good a Place, and therefore they concluded on *Cucuſus* in the Leſſer *Armenia*, a Town that had little to recommend it but Cold and Barrenneſs, and beſides, it was continually expoſed to the Inſults of cruel Robbers. 'Tis not improbable his Adverſaries pitch'd on this Place, becauſe it was the Town whither his Predeceſſor *Paul* had been baniſhed in the Time of *Conſtantius*, and was there at length ſtrangled, which they might probably think would afford him but a melancholly Proſpect in his Exile.

As

As he went on his Journey, beſides the habitual Weakneſs of his Stomach, he laboured continually under Fevers, occaſion'd by the Heat, the continual Fatigue of Travelling, the want of his Reſt at Night, and of thoſe Accommodations to which he had been formerly accuſtom'd. 'Tis true, it was no ſmall Relief to him under theſe Difficulties, that *Theodorus*, the chief Officer to whom he was commited, treated him with great Humanity and Courteſy, ſeeming to make it his chief Buſineſs to take care of him. And beſides this, when he came to *Nice*, he found the Air more agreeable to him, and ſo was reduced to a better State of Health; but eſpecially when he arrived at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, where he had a Lodging in a retired Place, wanted no Conveniencies of Food or Phyſick, and had the Advice and ready Attendance of able Phyſicians; and, in a Word, here all ſorts of Perſons ſhew'd the higheſt Reſpects to him.

But the Kindneſs and Generoſity he met with from theſe, inſtigated the Envy of others againſt him, from whom he might reaſonably have expected better Treatment; particularly *Pharetrius* then Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, was far from giving him a kind and honourable Entertainment, as ſome intimated he would, that, partly becauſe of the Diſfavour he was in at Court, and partly becauſe of the great Honours others did him, he contrived all poſſible Methods to get rid of his Company. Yea, when a ſudden Stop was put to his Journey by the Invaſion of the *Iſauri*, who ravag'd thoſe Parts whither they were going; and when *Cæſarea* itſelf fear'd being beſieged by them, yet then he engaged a Troop of Monks againſt him, who

came

came betimes in the Morning in the midſt of thoſe Confuſions, and threatned to fire the Houſe where *Chryſoſtom* lodged, unleſs he immediately left the City.

The Magiſtrates compaſſionating his Weakneſs, and knowing the inevitable Danger he muſt be expoſed to, if he ſhould depart at this Time, interpoſed their Authority in his Behalf; but theſe brave Monks, inſtead of yielding to their Orders, threatned to cudgel them, and boaſted it was not the firſt Time they had ſo done. Yea, though the Governor of the City, hearing of the Riot, preſently came to his Reſcue, they regarded neither his Commands nor Entreaties; and when he ſent to *Pharetrius*, and deſired him to take off the Monks, and give *Chryſoſtom* ſome further Time in Conſideration of his Sickneſs, and his Danger from the *Iſaurian* Army, it avail'd nothing, inſomuch that the Magiſtrates adviſed him rather to venture into the Enemy's Hands, than continue within the Reach of thoſe wild Beaſts: And his Friends told him, he might certainly be ſafer any where than among them.

Among thoſe that pitied his Caſe was a noble Lady, call'd *Seleucia*, who deſired him to continue ſome Time at her Country-houſe, about five Miles from the City, whither ſhe ſent ſome of her Servants along with him, and charged her Steward, that if the Monks ſhould come thither to aſſault him, he ſhould call Help from the neighbouring Villages, and repel them by Force. *Pharetrius* hearing of it, ſent her threatning Meſſages, which ſhe at firſt generouſly ſlighted, but was at length ſo wearied out by him, that ſhe was forced, with great Unwillingneſs, to part with her welcome Gueſt.

And

And now a Report being given out, that the *Iſaurian* Forces were at hand, he was conſtrain'd to ſet out in a dark and tempeſtuous Night, and all the Way met with extraordinary Difficulties, under which he had certainly ſunk, had not the Conſciouſneſs of his Innocency, and the Goodneſs of his Cauſe ſupported him. Afterwards he met with more courteous Reception, for at the Frontiers of *Cappadocia* ſeveral Biſhops and others met him; and lamenting with Tears that the Church ſhould be deprived of ſo excellent a Paſtor, they ſaid one to another, *'Twere better the Sun ſhould ceaſe to ſhine in the Firmament, than that* Chryſoſtom *ſhould be ſilenced*; whoſe extraordinary Affection was ſome Alleviation to his Grief.

Having wreſtled with great Difficulties in his Journey for more than two Months, he at laſt arrived at *Cucuſus*, where he found, through the good Providence of God, far better entertainment than he expected. The Inhabitants were ſo very obliging and officious in attending on him, that he felt no Want of the many Servants he had heretofore kept, but was now deprived of. Notwithſtanding the Sterility of the Place, he had a plentiful Supply of all Conveniencies, thoſe counting themſelves moſt happy who could beſt entertain him: Particularly *Dioſcorus*, a Gentleman of Quality here, built a Houſe on Purpoſe for him, and ſo ordered it, as it might beſt preſerve him from the Inconveniencies of the approaching Winter. Alſo the Biſhop of the Place ſhew'd him extraordinary Kindneſſes, and the Air at preſent well agreed with him, ſo that he ſoon arrived to a good State of Health. Beſides all this, he here enjoy'd ſeveral of his old Friends; particularly the

Lady *Sabiniana*, a Deaconeſs of *Conſtantinople*, met him at *Cucuſus* the very Day of his coming, who notwithſtanding her Age, and the Difficulty of the Journey, broke through all to ſerve him in his Affliction. Thither likewiſe came *Conſtantius*, one of his moſt beloved Presbyters, beſides ſeveral Biſhops and Prieſts that went thither to ſalute him. In ſhort, he was ſo well pleaſed with the Conveniency of his Station, that he feared leſt through the Endeavours of his Friends, he ſhould be removed thence into ſome other which they thought better, but might probably prove worſe.

His active Soul would not ſuffer him to be idle in his Baniſhment, but here he preached frequently, and the People with much Greedineſs entertain'd his Inſtructions. And as he fed all with his Doctrine, ſo he ſupplied the Neceſſities of the Poor with his Charity, being enabled thereunto by the Liberality of his Friends, eſpecially the extraordinary Kindneſs of *Olympias*. Here alſo he improved his utmoſt Intereſt for the Propagation of the Goſpel among the *Heathen* Nations, particularly to root out *Paganiſm* from *Phœnicia*, and from among the *Goths*, which he had formerly begun, and now uſed all Endeavours to proſecute farther.

All his leiſure Hours from publick Buſineſs he here ſpent in writing Books, and particularly his laſt Tract, which he dedicated to *Olympias*, upon this Subject, *That no Man is hurt but by himſelf*; wherein he proves from many Examples in Scripture, *That Perſecutions are ſo far from doing any real Harm to the Virtuous, that they render them the more glorious and happy, and that nothing but Sin can make Men truly miſerable.* This he adviſes her

her daily to purſue in her Troubles. Here alſo he wrote moſt of thoſe excellent Epiſtles which are ſtill extant in his Works, and eſpecially he took care to write to thoſe Biſhops and others that ſuffer'd for his Sake, commending them for their Stedfaſtneſs under Sufferings, and intreating them ſtill to maintain a Greatneſs of Mind ſuitable to their State, conſidering that how great ſoever their Afflictions were for ſo good a Cauſe, their Reward would be tranſcendently more than proportionable thereto.

Hitherto *Chryſoſtom* had not only tolerable, but in a great Meaſure pleaſant Entertainment at *Cucuſus*; but Winter coming on, notwithſtanding all Proviſions againſt it, the Extremity of the Cold cauſed many Diſtempers to invade him, and reduced him to ſo languiſhing a Condition, that for two Months he look'd on himſelf as a dying Perſon. Indeed when Spring came on his Sickneſs abated; but, alas! though the Approach of the invigorating Rays of the Sun began to drive away his Diſtempers, yet it brought another Miſchief little ſhort of a mortal Diſeaſe: For now the *Iſauri* made a general Inroad and dreadful Havock thro' the whole Country, and they daily expected to be beſieged by them at *Cucuſus*, where they had like one Night to have ſeized *Chryſoſtom*, which cauſed him afterwards to be removed to a Place of more Security.

Arſatius having held the uſurp'd See of *Conſtantinople* ſomewhat above ſixteen Months, is now taken from it by Death; and after four Months ſtrong Competitions between ſeveral Perſons, at length *Atticus*, a Presbyter of that Church, was choſen to ſucceed him, (*A. D.* 405.) He was a

profeſs'd Enemy to *Chryſoſtom*, and had been one of his chief Accuſers; yea, *Palladius* ſays he was the Perſon that form'd the whole Plot and Deſign againſt him, which probably was the chief Qualification that recommended him to this Station, wherein he was no ſooner placed, but he attempted the Reduction of the *Joannites* to a Submiſſion to him.

But finding not only the Biſhops but the People againſt him, he ſo improved his Intereſt as to procure the Exertion of the Secular Power in his Cauſe; and Edicts were made, by the Severity of which ſome were prevail'd on; but the Generality ſtill choſe rather to retire into Woods and Mountains, and be expoſed to all Difficulties, than comply with their unrighteous Proceedings. And thus, as *Palladius* tells us, *Chryſoſtom*'s Friends were uſed, in divers Parts of the *Eaſt* as well as at *Conſtantinople*, many eminent Biſhops being ſent into Exile, and treated with great Cruelty by the Soldiers that conducted them thither. The Biſhops of the oppoſite Party were at the ſame Time ſo far from ſhewing any Humanity towards them in their Diſtreſs, that they ſpur'd on thoſe Barbarities, and when the Laity would have been kind to them they deter'd them therefrom.

In the mean Time Pope *Innocent* was not unmindful of their Condition, but drew up a Breviate of the Account he had received concerning the Sufferings of *Chryſoſtom* and his Friends; and having call'd the other Biſhops of *Italy* together, they jointly preſented an Addreſs to *Honorius*, who thereupon ſent a Letter to his Brother *Arcadius*, wherein he deſires of him that a Synod might be appointed to meet at *Theſſalonica*, whither he tells

tells him Perſons of undoubted Integrity ſhould come from the *Weſt*, and that if *John* ſhould appear to be juſtly depoſed, he alſo would renounce Communion with him; but if on the other Hand, it ſhould be manifeſted that his Adverſaries had knowingly wrong'd him, he deſires his Imperial Brother then to do the ſame towards them. It was alſo determin'd by thoſe of the *Weſt*, to convince all of the Equity of their Proceedings, that *Chryſoſtom* ſhould not be admitted to ſit in Council till his Cauſe was clear'd; but notwithſtanding all this, the Meſſengers that carried the Emperor's Letter, with ſeveral Epiſtles from the Biſhops, were impriſon'd, nor did they obtain their Liberty to return without much Difficulty.

Chryſoſtom was now removed from *Cucuſus* to *Arabiſſus*, a City alſo of the Leſſer *Armenia*, but in a little Time that Place was no leſs infeſted with the *Iſaurian* Inroads than the former. What Condition he was in here, we may learn from a Letter ſent by him to *Innocent* Biſhop of *Rome*, wherein, after Thanks elegantly and largely return'd for his unwearied Care of him, and the *Eaſtern* Churches, he thus ſpeaks: *The Churches are waſted and depopulated, the People ſcattered, the Clergy trodden down, the Biſhops baniſh'd, and the Eccleſiaſtick Canons trampled under Foot. I am now in the third Year of my Baniſhment, expoſed to Famine, Peſtilence, War, continual Sieges, to a miſerable Solitude and Deſolation. I am daily expoſed to Danger of Death, and to the Points of the* Iſaurian *Swords, in all which Evils 'tis no little Comfort and Support that we have a Share in your conſtant Affections*, &c.

Chry-

Chryſoſtom intimated in the Cloſe of his Letter to Pope *Innocent*, his Apprehenſion of being removed to a worſe Place, and the Event quickly verified his Conjecture herein: For his Adverſaries envying that ſo many eminent Men went to viſit him in his Exile, wiſh'd earneſtly for his Removal out of the World, and therefore procured an Order from the Emperor, that he ſhould without Delay be removed to *Pityus*, a moſt barren Place upon the very Shore of the *Pontick* Sea. In this Journey the Soldiers uſed him with more Rudeneſs than ever, pleading they had Orders for it; and ſome openly declared, if they could tire him out of his Life, they doubted not but they ſhould have a Reward for ſo doing.

At length after Abundance of Difficulties and barbarous Treatment, he came to *Comana*, a City of *Cappadocia*, where they would not ſuffer him to lodge, but carried him five or ſix Miles off to the Oratory of *Baſiliſcus*, who had been Biſhop of *Comana*, and ſuffer'd Martyrdom under *Maximian*. 'Tis ſaid the Martyr there appeared to him in the Night, and ſaid, *Brother, be of good Cheer, for to Morrow we ſhall be together*. Having this Warning, he deſir'd of the Guard that he might continue there the next Day, which they churliſhly deny'd; but before they had carried him four Miles they found him extremely ill, and therefore brought him back thither again. When they came into the Oratory he put on white Clothes, and then received the holy Euchariſt, made his laſt Prayer, and concluded with his uſual Doxology, *Glory be to God for all Things that happen*. Amen. And after that, ſtretching himſelf out, he peaceably reſign'd his Soul into the Hands of his Saviour.

He

He died *September* the 14th, *A. D.* 407. in the fifty-third Year of his Age, and was buried in the ſame Grave with the above-mentioned Martyr *Baſiliſcus*.

If we may believe the *Greek* Menologies, *Chryſoſtom* was as to his Body of a low Stature, had a large Head, and was bald (in which *Palladius* remarks he was like *Eliſha*) he had a broad Forehead and full of Wrinkles, his Eyes ſunk deep inward, but were withal quick and amiable, his Cheeks were lank and hollow, his Beard ſhort and thin. Theſe his Features truly repreſented him as he was, *viz.* a Man greatly mortified to the World, who by the extraordinary Strictneſs of his Life had brought the Fleſh under the Empire of the Spirit, and ſubjected the ſenſual Appetites to the Laws of Reaſon.

His natural Temper was Cholerick, in which he the more abounded by reaſon of his great Abſtinence; but this being rightly govern'd, made him the more active, bold and reſolute in his Duty, and in promoting the Intereſt of Religion. His Zeal for God carried him often beyond the Bounds of worldly Prudence, while he defended the Cauſe of Religion againſt *Heathens* and *Hereticks*, and in Oppoſition to the vicious Lives of thoſe that profeſs'd *Chriſtianity*. None ſtood fairer to be the Darling both of the Court and City, and a little Compliance might have render'd him ſo; but he would not take one Step out of the Way of his Duty to gain the greateſt Honour, or to ſecure his greateſt worldly Intereſt.

He was unweariedly diligent in his Epiſcopal Office; he was conſtant at publick Prayers, and often, but eſpecially in the Time of Lent, preach'd daily;

daily; and when he was at any Time detain'd therefrom by Sickneſs, he counted his Abſence from his People worſe than the Diſeaſe; and as ſoon as he had recovered any Degree of Strength, he uſed to return to his Pulpit with a kind of Triumph and Rejoicing, being wont to be as much delighted with his Reſtoration to his Work, as a weary Traveller with a ſafe Return to his own Home.

His Charity came not behind, yea rather exceeded his other Virtues; he expended his own Eſtate, which was very conſiderable, on the Poor, and to ſupply the Neceſſities of the Church at *Antioch*: And when he came to the See of *Conſtantinople*, he ſpent all that could be ſpared out of the Revenues thereof the ſame way. He was often exciting the Rich to Mercy and Compaſſion towards the Miſerable, and that with ſuch powerful Arguments, that he ſoften'd the Hearts of many, and cauſed them to empty their Purſes into the Laps of the Needy. He was indeed ſo prevalent a Pleader for the Poor, that he was uſually ſtiled *John the Almoner*.

He was excellently furniſh'd with natural Abilities, a clear Apprehenſion, a ready Wit, acute Reaſoning, a pregnant Invention, and theſe accompany'd with a fluent Utterance and an Elocution well ſuited to his Notions, all which appear with great Evidence in his extempory Orations. He was alſo furniſh'd with a great Stock of Learning and Philoſophy, though he chiefly applied himſelf to the Study of the Scriptures, and attained an Excellency in explaining them according to their native and literal Senſe above the Generality of the Antients. Among other great Proofs

Proofs of his eminent Learning, the many famous and renowned Perſons that were bred up under his Inſtructions, are none of the leaſt.

His Eloquence render'd him the Delight of his own, and Admiration of future Ages; his Stile being clear, pure, eaſy and elegant. His Thoughts uſually flow'd forth in the moſt familiar and intelligent Expreſſions, though when his Argument required, and his Leiſure permitted it, he clothed his Apprehenſions with a more exquiſite Floridneſs; witneſs his elaborate Compoſitions while he was at *Antioch*, and had more Leiſure and Quiet than he enjoy'd afterwards. 'Twas this admirable Faculty that entail'd the Title of *Chryſoſtom*, or *Golden-mouth'd* Father upon him, though it appears not that he was call'd by that Name till an Age or two after his Death.

His Humility eminently appeared among all his great Accompliſhments, and the Honours and Dignities that were confer'd upon him. He hated every Thing that look'd like Flattery or Applauſe; and when the People, as was then cuſtomary, entertain'd his eloquent Diſcourſes with Shouts, Acclamations, and other Tokens of Satisfaction, he would ſtop and check them therein, and complain that they thereby turn'd the Church into a Theatre, and admoniſhed them, that the beſt way of commending his Sermons was to practiſe and not to applaud them.

His Books and Diſcourſes being either penn'd by himſelf, or taken from him by Notaries, are as numerous as they are excellent, there being ſtill extant more of his Works than of any two of the other *Greek* Fathers, beſides Abundance that are loſt. To give a diſtinct and particular Account

of his Writings, would be an Undertaking much beyond our deſigned Limits; thoſe that pleaſe may view a Catalogue of them in Dr. *Cave*'s *Hiſtoria Literaria*, and a ſhort Abridgment of them in *Dupin*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*.

When the Account of *Chryſoſtom*'s Death came to *Rome*, 'twas not only received with inexpreſſible Grief, but Pope *Innocent* immediately excommunicated the Emperor *Arcadius*, the Empreſs *Eudoxia*, and *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who had been the principal Cauſes of his Baniſhment. The Empreſs, about three Months after this Father's Death, fell in Labour of a dead Child, which was putrefy'd in her Womb, and after diſmal Torments ended her miſerable Life. Within a few Months after *Chryſoſtom*, *Arcadius* alſo died in the Prime of his Age, being but about thirty-one Years old; and in ſhort, all his chief Perſecutors were remarkably puniſh'd by the viſible Hand of Divine Providence, as *Palladius* and other Writers of thoſe Times aſſure us.

And as the Names of his principal Adverſaries were ſoon render'd odious in the Church, ſo his own Memory was bleſſed, and his Cauſe began to revive ſoon after his Deceaſe, eſpecially upon the Death of *Theophilus*, who was cut off within five Years after *Chryſoſtom*'s Exit. At *Antioch* his Name was quickly put into the Diptychs of the Church, or *Eccleſiaſtical Tables*, conſiſting of two Folds, in one of which were the Names of the living, and in the other the Names of the dead Biſhops, *&c.* who were mentioned in the publick Prayers, to ſhew the Reſpect they had for them, and the Communion they held with them.

The

The *Joannites* ſtill kept their ſeparate Aſſemblies, till about thirty-five Years after his being depoſed, when *Proclus*, then Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, inſerted *Chryſoſtom*'s Name into the Diptychs of that Church, as it had been in all others; and his Corps were fetch'd thither by the Emperor's Order, and there ſolemnly buried, *A. D.* 438. by which Means thoſe who were his Followers became reconciled to the Church.

The LIFE of St. *JEROM.*

SAINT *Jerom* was born in *Stridon*, a City in the Confines of *Dalmatia* in the antient *Pannonia*, as he himſelf informs us in his Catalogue of famous Writers. The Nativity of ſo illuſtrious a Perſon in this Place has render'd it remarkable in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, though it was otherwiſe but a mean and obſcure Town. Chronologers have much differ'd in aſſigning the Time of his Birth: Dr. *Cave*, in his *Hiſtoria Literaria*, places it in the Year of our Lord 329; but that Account which *Dupin* and other learned Men conclude to agree beſt with his own Writings, is, that he was born about the Year 340.

The Name of his Father was *Euſebius*, a Name which carries in it the Notation of Piety, and fitly becomes him who was the happy Inſtrument of generating ſuch a Son, who according to the Signification of his Name *Jerom*, or *Hierome*, was ſolemnly conſecrated to God. His Father was de-

ſcended from a good Family, and ſeems to have had a competent Eſtate, and to have lived in conſiderable Reputation at the Time of his Son's Birth. Of his Mother's Name we find no Mention, but he often ſpeaks of his Aunt by the Mother's Side, call'd *Caſtorina*, who devoted herſelf to a Life of perpetual Virginity. He alſo often ſpeaks of his Siſter, who always continued a Virgin; but eſpecially of his Brother *Paulinianus*, who was many Years younger than himſelf.

His Father took great Care of his Education while he was at home, and inſtructed him not only in Piety, but alſo in the firſt Principles of humane Literature, and afterwards ſent him to *Rome* that he might there compleat his Studies. Here the famous Grammarian *Donatus*, who wrote Commentaries on *Virgil* and *Terence*, was his Tutor, under whom he made a wonderful Progreſs in Philological Learning. Particularly in this City he became perfect Maſter of the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and made ſuch an Advancement in Oratory, that, as himſelf aſſures us, he for ſome Time publickly pleaded at the Bar.

At *Rome* alſo he was more throughly inſtructed in the Doctrines of *Chriſtianity*, and was thereupon baptized; or, as he himſelf phraſes it, he *took on him the Robe of Chriſtianity*. This is probably thought to have been about the Time when *Julian* the Apoſtate, who had expreſſed great Malignity againſt the *Chriſtian* Church, was ſuddenly cut off by the Stroke of Divine Providence. He tells us, he heard a noted *Heathen*, who is ſuppoſed to be *Donatus*, his fore-mention'd Maſter, upon the Occaſion of that ſevere Blow, unworthily reflect on the God of the *Chriſtians*, that

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he was a God of great Fury and Rage, however they repreſented him as a God of extraordinary Patience and Long-ſuffering.

Being now arrived at Man's Eſtate, and very deſirous of improving his Studies, eſpecially in the holy Scriptures, he reſolved upon Travelling, as a moſt likely Means to further this his Deſign. Hereupon he firſt took a Journey into *France*, and other Provinces of the *Weſtern* Empire, then under the Government of *Valens*, in which Parts were at that Time ſeveral Men of illuſtrious Note, under whom Learning greatly flouriſhed. In this Expedition he was always accompanied by *Bonoſus*, who had been his School-fellow, and was now his intimate Friend, and the conſtant Aſſociate of his Travels. Having diligently ſearch'd all the Libraries, and collected the moſt uſeful Obſervations he could remark in them, he went thence to *Aquileia* in *Italy*, where he became acquainted with *Heliodorus*, who was afterwards his Companion into the *Eaſt*. Here alſo he familiarly converſed with *Ruffinus*, a Presbyter of that City, with whom he now contracted a very intimate Friendſhip, though afterwards they became profeſſed Adverſaries to each other.

After this he probably went into his own Country, and from thence returned to *Rome*, where he erected a very curious Library, reſolving for the future to betake himſelf wholly to a ſtudious and retired Life. But Experience ſoon convinced him, that neither his own Country nor *Rome* would afford him an Habitation ſuitable to that kind of Solitude which he aim'd at, and therefore he reſolved to withdraw himſelf into ſome remote Country. In purſuance of this Reſolution he left his

his Country, Kindred and Eſtate, carrying only his Library and a Sum of Money to defray his neceſſary Charges, and departed from *Italy* with *Heliodorus*, *Evagrius*, *Innocentius* and *Hylas* his Companions, to go into the *Eaſt*. When he came to *Antioch*, he fell ſick of a dangerous Diſtemper, but was recover'd therefrom by the Care and at the Expence of *Evagrius*, who was a rich Man, and his peculiar Friend. *Evagrius* being a Citizen of *Antioch* continued there, but the other three went with him into the Place of his Retirement, in the Deſarts of *Syria*.

But *Heliodorus* ſeems ſoon to have grown weary of this loneſome State and ſolitary Life, and therefore to have left him and return'd into his own Country, to enjoy a greater Freedom in the World. *Jerom* quickly followed him with a Letter to importune his Return; wherein he tells him, he would find ſome Lines thereof blotted and blur'd with the Tears which he pour'd forth becauſe of his Abſence. Then he goes on to expoſtulate with him after the following Manner: *Remember*, ſays he, *that in your Baptiſm you liſted your ſelf a Soldier of* Jeſus Chriſt, *and thereon took an Oath of Fidelity to relinquiſh Father and Mother, and whatever was dear to you for his Service. Though therefore your little Nephew ſhould hang about your Neck, though your Mother ſhould tear your Hair, and rending her Garments ſhould lay open the Boſom that bare you, to oblige you to ſtay; and though your Father ſhould lay himſelf down on the Threſhold to ſtop you, yet ſtep over your Father, and follow the Standard of the Croſs with dry Eyes, 'tis great Mercy to be cruel on ſuch Occaſions.——I know you will ſay the Scripture commands us to obey our Parents, and I grant*

grant it to be true; but then conſider, whoſoever loves them more than Chriſt *loſes his own Soul.*

He alſo wrote from theſe Deſarts of *Syria* his Epiſtle to Pope *Damaſus*, wherein he deſires his Advice in reference to the Diſputes agitated at that Time in the *Eaſt*, which were occaſioned by the Ambiguity of the Word *Hypoſtaſis*. *Notwithſtanding*, ſays he, *the Deciſion of the Council of* Nice, *and the Decrees of that of* Alexandria, *they ſtill ask of me, who am a* Roman, *a Confeſſion of Faith, and require me to acknowledge three* Hypoſtaſes. *'Tis an* Arian *Biſhop and the* Montaniſts *who require this of me.*——*We ask*, ſays he, *what they mean by the Word* Hypoſtaſis? They reply, it ſignifies *a ſubſiſting Perſon.* We tell them, *If that be the Meaning of the Word, we agree to the Senſe intended by it; but ſtill they are unſatisfied with our profeſſing the ſame Senſe, unleſs we will alſo uſe the ſame Terms with them. We fear ſome Poiſon ſhould lurk under theſe Words, ſince we openly declare, that if any one owns not Three ſubſiſting Perſons, let him be* Anathema; *but becauſe we uſe not the Words they require, we are cenſured as Hereticks.* He concludes with declaring himſelf ready to ſay, *There are three Hypoſtaſes*, provided this Pope would authorize him ſo to ſpeak; tho' he afterwards ſignifies, that he judges this Way of ſpeaking not to be approved, becauſe for the moſt Part the Term *Hypoſtaſis* is equivalent with the Term *Subſtance*.

Here St. *Jerom* continued ſeveral Years in the Exerciſe of Piety and Devotion, and in cloſe and laborious Study, wherein he learned the Rudiments of the *Hebrew* Tongue, and began to write Commentaries on the holy Scriptures. But *Heliodorus*

dorus having left him, and *Innocent* and *Hylas* his other Companions being now dead, and he himſelf taken very ſick, he was at length forced to quit his Retirement, and therefore leaving the Deſart he returned to *Antioch*. In this City the Church was ſadly divided by the Factions of *Meletius*, *Paulinus*, and *Vitalis*, who all aſſum'd the Epiſcopal Seat thereof. St. *Jerom* being a Son of the *Roman* Church, ſcrupled not to own him whom ſhe acknowledged for the lawful Biſhop of *Antioch*. Having therefore written a Letter to Pope *Damaſus* on this Occaſion, and received an Anſwer in Favour of *Paulinus*, he imbraced his Party, and was by him ordained a Presbyter. *A. D.* 374.

He conſented to this Ordination only upon this Condition, that he ſhould not be obliged ſo to attend the Functions of the Miniſtry, as might neceſſitate him to quit that Life of Solitude in which he had engaged himſelf. Accordingly he would not ſuffer his Name to be regiſtred, nor would he fix his Habitation in *Antioch*, but had his chief Reſidence at *Bethlehem*. And ſome Years after he went thence alſo, and took a Journey to *Conſtantinople*, where he converſed with *Gregory Nazianzen*, of whom he often makes honourable Mention as his Maſter, and acknowledges he learned of him to expound the Scriptures.

While he continued in that City he received an Epiſtle from *Paulinus*, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Nola*, by which he deſires his Advice concerning his Behaviour in a Monaſtick Life, to which he propoſed to betake himſelf. St. *Jerom* in his Anſwer, having firſt given great Commendations of that State, exhorts him to apply himſelf to the

the reading of the holy Scriptures, telling him, that nothing would be more learned, ſweet and acceptable, than his Writings, if grounded upon that Foundation. He then takes Occaſion to deſcribe the Stile and Character of the *Latin* Eccleſiaſtical Writers: *Tertullian*, ſays he, *is ſententious, but his Elocution is harſh. St.* Cyprian's *Stile is ſmooth, but his Writings are difficult to be underſtood.* Lactantius *is like a River of* Ciceronian *Eloquence, but I wiſh he had as well confirm'd our Doctrine, as he has overthrown that of our Enemies.* Arnobius's *Stile is uneven, without Method or Order. St.* Hilary's *is lofty and ſwelling, but his Writings are often ſo intricate, that they can't be underſtood by Men of ordinary Capacities. But if you,* as he concludes, *who have a great Wit and a wonderful Eloquence, will add to theſe the Study and Underſtanding of the Scriptures, I ſhall quickly ſee you the firſt of our Authors.*

Having continued ſome Time at *Conſtantinople*, and therein enjoy'd the Benefit of *Nazianzen*'s Society, he had a Call thence to *Rome* about the Affairs of the Church at *Antioch*. Here he met with *Paulinus*, whom he owned as Biſhop of the laſt mentioned City, having eſpouſed his Cauſe againſt the Biſhops of the *Eaſt*, as did likewiſe *Epiphanius*, Biſhop of *Salamis* in *Cyprus*, who were all three now ſummon'd to *Rome* upon that Occaſion. Pope *Damaſus* now taking Notice of St. *Jerom*'s excellent Abilities, concluded him a fit Perſon to reſolve the moſt important Difficulties, which were often brought thither from other Parts of the World, and therefore he detain'd him at *Rome* for that Purpoſe. Having engaged himſelf in this arduous Imployment at the Command of

that Pope, he perform'd it to the general Satisfaction of all Perſons concern'd; and likewiſe he here found ſome Leiſure to employ himſelf in writing ſeveral Books.

Not long after his coming to *Rome* he compos'd his Treatiſe *of the perpetual Virginity of our Lord's Mother*, againſt *Helvidius*, who had publiſh'd a Book wherein he attempted to prove from Scripture, and the antient Writers, *That after the Birth of* Chriſt *the Virgin* Mary *had Children by her Huſband* Joſeph. To confirm this, he argued from its being ſaid, *She was found with Child* before *ſhe and* Joſeph *came together*; whence he infer'd they came together afterwards: But St. *Jerom* ſhews the Invalidity of this Conſequence by inſtancing in ſimilar Expreſſions, as, ſuppoſe it be ſaid, *A Man dies* before *he is converted*, none will imagine it thence follows, that he was converted *after* his Death. *Helvidius* farther argued from *Chriſt*'s being called her *firſt-born* Son; but *Jerom* ſhews, that *this Title is given in Scripture to that Child which opens the Womb, though there be no other follows it.* And to this Objection, that it is ſaid, Joſeph *knew her not* till *ſhe had brought forth* Jeſus, he anſwers by giving many Inſtances, ſhewing that this Phraſe does in no wiſe neceſſarily imply his knowing her afterwards.

Here alſo was committed to him the Conduct of ſeveral eminent Ladies, who gave themſelves up to a ſingle State and a Life of Devotion, by whoſe Means he got ſeveral Friends, and was much eſteem'd; but ſeverely reproving the Irregularities of the Clergy, and the Vices of the People, he wanted not Enemies alſo who endeavoured to render his Behaviour among them ſuſpected. Upon this

this Occaſion he ſeems to have written his Diſcourſe to *Euſtochium*, concerning *Virginity*, wherein he treats of the Excellency of Virginity, the Difficulty of preſerving it, and the Danger in ur'd by loſing the ſame; laying down Rules to be obſerved by a Virgin in order to keep herſelf pure. He enjoins her to forbear Wine, dainty Fare, Pleaſures, and ſuperfluous Ornaments; recommending to her Solitude reading the holy Scriptures, Prayer, renouncing the Things of this World, Faſting, Humility, and other *Chriſtian* Virtues. He inveighs againſt ſome Clergymen, who kept devoted Siſters in their Houſes, and under a Pretence of ſpiritual Conſolation entertain'd a carnal Commerce with them. To diſſuade *Euſtochium* from reading profane Books, he tells her, *That being once too eager in revolving* Cicero, Plautus, &c. *he was taken with a violent Fever, and fell into an Agony, in which he was caught up by the Spirit to the Tribunal of* Jeſus Chriſt, *where having been ſeverely ſcourged for too much reading ſuch profane Authors, he was charged to read them no more.* He aſſures her in a ſolemn Manner, *that this Story was no Dream*; though it muſt be confeſſed when *Ruffinus* afterwards upbraided him, that notwithſtanding this he had not given over reading ſuch Authors, he ridicules him *for taking a Dream to be a real Truth.*

St. *Jerom* had now continued three Years at *Rome*, being detain'd there by the Authority and Influence of *Damaſus*, though he had long earneſtly deſired to return to his beloved Solitude, to which he was the more excited, through the Reflections that were made on him by ſome *Origeniſts* of that City. From theſe Conſiderations Pope

Damaſus was no ſooner dead, but he laid hold of the Opportunity, took Shipping, and return'd for *Bethlehem*, with a great Number of Perſons that attended him, and particularly his younger Brother *Paulinianus*. In this Voyage they put in at *Cyprus*, where he converſed with *Epiphanius*, and went thence to *Antioch*, where he was courteouſly received by *Paulinus*. From *Antioch* he went to *Jeruſalem*, and thence to *Egypt*, where he enjoy'd the Converſation of *Didymas*, Catechiſt of *Alexandria*, who, though he had been blind from five Years of Age, was a Man of great Learning, and had been ſometime Tutor to the great *Nazianzen*. Afterwards he viſited the famous Monaſteries of *Nitria*, but finding the Monks there much addicted to *Origen*'s Opinions, to which he had a great Averſion, he returned to *Bethlehem*. Here he took up his Reſidence in a little Cell, whither the devout Ladies *Paula*, *Euſtochium*, and *Melania*, ſoon came; and the Number of thoſe that embraced a ſolitary Life increaſing, the firſt of thoſe three Ladies built a Church and four Monaſteries there, one for Men and three for Women.

In this Place St. *Jerom* enjoy'd that Tranquillity he had ſo much long'd for, and therefore went on with his Studies, and here compoſed moſt of his Works on the holy Scriptures: Here he alſo wrote his Invective againſt one who would have Deacons prefer'd before Presbyters; to ſhew the Unreaſonableneſs of which he produces ſeveral Paſſages of Scripture, wherein *Presbyters* are called *Biſhops*, and ſignifies, that it was only on prudential Conſiderations, and to prevent Schiſms, that one Presbyter came to be prefer'd above others, and being

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ſet in a higher State, was diſtinguiſhed from them by the Title of *Biſhop*. *The Name* (ſays he) *of* Presbyter, *or* Elder, *denotes Age*; *and that of* Biſhop *denotes Dignity*; *wherefore in the Epiſtle to* Timothy *we read of the Ordination of Biſhops and Deacons, but not of Presbyters, becauſe they are comprehended under the Name of Biſhops. Finally, that a Presbyter is above a Deacon is evident, in that a Deacon may be made a Presbyter*; *but on the other Hand, a Presbyter may not be made a Deacon.*

In his Solitude he alſo compoſed his Treatiſe againſt *Jovinian*, wherein he attempts farther to defend the Excellency of Virginity above all other States of Life. *Jovinian* it ſeems, had publiſh'd a ſmall Diſcourſe at *Rome*, wherein he affirms, *That Widows and married Women are no leſs to be eſteemed than Virgins, provided they had the ſame Virtues*; and to confirm the ſame, he therein brought many Inſtances from Scripture to ſhew, that the greater Number of the more eminent Saints, and moſt excellent Perſons of all Ages were married. *Jerom* vehemently pleads againſt this as a very groſs Error; and in the ſame Treatiſe he ſeverely inveighs againſt ſecond Marriages, and affirms, *That the Apoſtles left their Wives after their Call to the Apoſtleſhip, and that St.* John *being called before he was married, always continued in Celibacy.* But when theſe Books were publiſh'd at *Rome*, many were greatly offended at his Reflections on the State of Matrimony, and our Author was neceſſitated to apologize for himſelf therein.

About the ſame Time he compiled his *Catalogue of illuſtrious Writers*, which gives us a Breviate of the

the Lives and Writings of Eccleſiaſtical Authors from our Saviour to St. *Jerom*'s Time. This Work was ſo eſteemed, that it was ſoon tranſlated into *Greek* by *Sophronius*, a learned Man, contemporary with St. *Jerom*, who compoſed it in the *Latin* Tongue at the Requeſt of *Flavius Dexter*, a Man of great Dignity, in Imitation of *Suetonius* and others, who had wrote the Lives of Emperors, Philoſophers, and other famous Men among the *Pagans*. He acknowledges himſelf much indebted, in framing this Work, to the hiſtorical Writings of *Euſebius*, and excuſes his not mentioning ſeveral of the Authors of his own Time, which he declares was not with any Deſign of concealing their Works, but for want of Opportunity of being ſufficiently informed about them. Finally, to ſhew the Uſefulneſs of this Treatiſe, he tells us it ſerves to confound *Celſus*, *Porphyry*, *Julian*, and the other ſworn Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Church, who were wont to reproach the ſame as having no Philoſophers, Orators, or learned Men in it; whereas by this Catalogue it appears, that ſeveral of the great Defenders of *Chriſtianity* hrve been Men of the moſt eminent Note for Learning as well as Piety.

The following Year he wrote a Letter to *Nepotian*, Nephew to *Heliodorus*, his old Friend and Companion, wherein he directs him how to perform the Office of the Miniſtry, to which it ſeems he was now called. *A Clergyman*, ſays he, *that ſerves* Chriſt's *Church, ought firſt to conſider what his Name ſignifies, and then labour to anſwer the Importance of it.* The Greek *Word* Cleros, *or* Clerk, *ſignifies a* Lot *or* Portion, *either becauſe he is peculiarly conſecrated to God as* his Portion, *or* he-

becauſe he has peculiarly choſen God for his own Portion. *I therefore* (going on) *admoniſh and charge you, let not worldly Intereſt engage you in* Chriſt's *Service, and ſeek not to heap up greater Riches in the Eccleſiaſtical State, than you were capable of doing while you were in the World, like ſome who grow* vaſtly rich *by ſerving* Jeſus Chriſt, *though he himſelf was* exceeding poor. He adds, *that a Biſhop ought to do what he preaches, and that a Preacher ſhould rather ſeek to extract the* Tears, *than to gain the* Applauſe *of his Auditors.* He concludes, *that his Preaching ſhould neither be flattering nor ſatyrical, and that he ſhould chiefly endeavour to expound the Myſteries of our Religion, and the Morals of the Goſpel with Plainneſs and Gravity.*

Much about the ſame Time St. *Jerom* tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latin*, a Letter of *Epiphanius*, in Defence of the Ordination of *Paulinianus*, younger Brother to the former; wherein, among other Things, he condemns the following Errors, which he charges upon *Origen*, and ranks them under the enſuing Heads.

1. That the Lord *Jeſus* does not ſee his Father, and that the Holy Ghoſt ſees not the Son.

2. That Mens Souls were ſent from Heaven to Earth, and ſhut up in Bodies as in Priſons, for their Sins.

3. That the Devils ſhall at laſt repent, and be advanced to Heaven.

4. That *Adam* and *Eve* had no Fleſh before they ſinned, and that the Skins with which they are ſaid to be covered, were their Bodies.

5. That Men ſhall not riſe again with Fleſh and Bones.

6. That

6. That the earthly Paradiſe is to be underſtood allegorically.

7. That the Waters ſaid in Scripture to be above the Firmament ſignify Angels; and that thoſe ſaid to be under the Earth are the Devils.

8 That by Sin Man loſt the Image of God: Meaning ſure the *natural*, as well as the *moral* Image of God.

Nepotian dying ſoon after the Reception of the above-mentioned Letter, St. *Jerom* ſent another to his Uncle *Heliodorus*, to comfort him for the Death of his Nephew. Therein, with much legance, he produces many Inſtances from amongſt the *Heathens*, as Examples of deſpiſing Death, and ſhews how much greater Cauſe *Chriſtians* have to be advanced above the Fear of it. Then he ſets forth the Virtues of *Nepotian*, together with the Miſeries and Misfortunes of the preſent Life; and thence concludes, that his Friend had great Cauſe to ſupport and comfort himſelf, in Conſideration that his Nephew was now enter'd into the Poſſeſſion of eternal Happineſs. This Letter alſo contains an excellent Portraiture of the Uncertainty of Life. *We die daily*, ſays he, *we alter continually, and yet we live, ſuch is our Folly, as if we were to continue eternally. The Time I ſpend in dictating, writing, reading over again, and correcting, is ſo much Time towards the ſhortning my Life; and the only Thing that turns to Account in all we do, is the Love we have to* Jeſus Chriſt. *Charity never comes to an End, but lives for ever in the Heart, by which our Brother* Nepotian *is ſtill united to us, and preſent with us, notwithſtanding his Death.*

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The following Year (*A. D.* 394.) he wrote an Epiſtle to one *Ruſticus*, a *Weſtern* Monk, containing Rules to be obſerved in the Monaſtick Life; which begins with the following remarkable Sentence: *None is more happy than a* Chriſtian, *having the Promiſe of the Kingdom of Heaven: None is more abliged to fight, being in continual Danger of his Life*, viz. that of his Soul: *Nor is any ſtronger, ſeeing he is able to overcome the Devil.* He then exhorts *Ruſticus* to perſevere zealouſly in the Profeſſion he had embraced, injoining him to be reſpectful to his Mother, yet without being too cloſely tied to her, and to be ſure to avoid Converſation with all other Women. Then St. *Jerom* recommends to him the Virtues and Exerciſes of a true Monk, as particularly, working with his Hands, Reading, and Meditations on the holy Scriptures, Prayer, *&c.* He cautions him to take heed of being haſty in entring into holy Orders, and that he aſſum'd not to be a Maſter before he has duly become a Diſciple; telling him, he ought to learn and practiſe long before he become a Teacher: And concludes with this Advice [*Nudum Chriſtum nudus ſequere*] *Strip your ſelf of all Things, that you may follow* Chriſt only.

About the ſame Time *Jerom* vindicates himſelf in a Letter to *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, from ſome Reproaches caſt on him by *John* of *Jeruſalem*, for having tranſlated the Works of *Origen*. He declares he had herein done no more than imitated the famous St. *Hilary* the Confeſſor, and had with him made a Diſtinction between what was good and uſeful in that Author, and what was hurtful and dangerous; having ever highly eſteem'd

Origen for his Ability in expounding the Scriptures, though he had always condemn'd him for his Errors. Then he declares, that he owns a wide Difference between the Writings of the Apoſtles and thoſe of other Eccleſiaſtical Writers, ſince the former wrote nothing but what was true, whereas the latter were ſometimes deceived. At laſt St. *Jerom* profeſſes his Readineſs to be reconciled to *John* of *Jeruſalem*, provided he would put on a charitable Spirit; *We know* (ſays he) *what is due to the Biſhops of* Jeſus Chriſt, *but let them be contented with due Honour and and Reſpect, and conſider they are Fathers and not Maſters.*

The enſuing Year St. *Jerom* wrote a Letter to *Læta* a Lady, who had a young Daughter nam'd *Paula*, that was deſign'd for a religious Life by her Grandmother *Paula*, one of the Matrons under his Conduct. The Deſign of the Epiſtle is to direct her Mother in the right Education of her, wherein ſeveral Things ſeem worthy of a peculiar Remark. " Let not that Virgin (ſays he) whoſe " Soul is deſign'd for a Temple of God, hearken " to, learn, or diſcourſe of any Thing but what " tends to excite the holy Flames of divine Love " therein. Let her never hear filthy Talk, or " learn any profane Songs, but accuſtom her Voice " betimes to the ſinging of Pſalms. She ſhould " be excited to take Delight in Study and La- " bour, either by Promiſes of Rewards, or pro- " voked by Examples. Let her not learn that in " her Infancy which ſhe muſt forget afterwards— " Let her Clothes be modeſt, ſuitable to the State " of Religion; let not her Ears be bored, nor her " Face uſed to Painting; ſhe ſhould not have her " Hair dy'd fair, nor her Garments adorn'd with " Gold,

" Gold, Pearls or Jewels, unleſs you deſign her " for Hell-fire——When ſhe grows older, let her " follow her Parents to Church, but never go out " to attend any of the Pomps of the World." He concludes by adviſing that ſhe be accuſtomed to read all the canonical Books both of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, and that ſhe be ſent as ſoon as conveniently ſhe may to the Monaſtery of *Bethlehem*.

Some Years after this a Difference aroſe between this Father and St. *Auguſtin*, who had, it ſeems, found Fault with what he had written in his Expoſition of the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, wherein he ſays St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* pretended to differ, though they were agreed. St. *Auguſtin* look'd upon this to be a Matter of ill Conſequence, becauſe if we admit an officious Lie in any Part of the holy Scripture, it may give Men Occaſion to doubt of all, and therefore adviſes him to retract that Paſſage. But *Jerom* vindicates himſelf in his Opinion, partly by the Authority of *Origen*, and other antient Authors; and then argues, That it appears from the Divine Hiſtory, that St. *Peter* could not but know that *Chriſtians* were freed from the Yoke of the Law, and that St. *Paul* had himſelf done at other Times what he here condemns in St. *Peter*; and therefore concludes, that both theſe Apoſtles being of the ſame Judgment, had agreed on this Diſpute, only that they might thereby inſtruct both *Jews* and *Gentiles*. St. *Auguſtin* not underſtanding the *Hebrew* Language, could not think there was ſo great Difference between the Original of the *Old Teſtament* and the LXX as there really is in ſeveral Places, and therefore blames St. *Jerom* for departing from the ſame

in his Tranſlation of the Bible. "Either (ſays he) "thoſe Paſſages are clear or obſcure: If they are "obſcure, you may be miſtaken as well as the "LXX; if they are clear, 'tis incredible that "thoſe learned Tranſlators ſhould not underſtand "them." This *Jerom* anſwers by Retortion: "You cannot be ignorant (ſays he) that others "have expounded the *Pſalms* before you, how "then durſt you undertake to give a new Expo-"ſition of them? for you either believed the "Places you expounded after a different Manner "were clear or obſcure; if they were clear, 'tis "probable, according to your own Argument, "thoſe learned Men rightly underſtood them; "and if they are obſcure, you may miſtake the "Senſe as well as they." Such Altercations as theſe were for ſome Time between theſe two great Men, but their Differences were at length amicably agreed.

We judge it worth while to take Notice of the Account St. *Jerom* gives of the Subject of his Studies, and of his Judgment concerning the Liberty particular Churches ſhould enjoy without being impoſed on by others, in an Epiſtle ſent about two Years after to one *Lucinius* a *Spaniard*. Therein he adviſes him, ſeeing he had, with his Wife's Conſent, imbraced a Monaſtick Life, to proſecute the Deſign he had taken up of coming to *Jeruſalem*. He then informs him, that he had not tranſlated *Joſephus*'s Books, nor the Writings of St. *Papias* or St. *Polycarp* (as it ſeems the other thought he had) but only ſome Treatiſes of *Origen* and *Didymus*. He alſo acquaints him, he had corrected the Verſion of the LXX, and reſtored the *Greek* of the *New Teſtament*; and that he

he had ſent him Part of the Canonical Books which he reviſed, and render'd exactly anſwerable to the Truth of the *Hebrew* Text, having alſo delivered Copies of his other Works to the Perſons he had ſent to him. Laſtly, in Anſwer to a Caſe propoſed to him by *Lucinius*, he declares his Judgment, that *Eccleſiaſtical Traditions, not contrary to the Faith, ought to be obſerved after the ſame Manner wherein we received them from our Anceſtors; and that the Cuſtom of one Church is not to be aboliſhed becauſe of a contrary Uſage in another, but that every Country ſhould, in ſuch Matters, follow its own Cuſtom.*

Rome being in the Year 410 taken and ravaged by the *Goths*, as a Conſequence of it, *Demetrias* a Virgin of eminent Quality, for whom St. *Jerom* had a particular Reſpect, was retired into *Africk*, where ſhe had imbraced a religious Life. He therefore the following Year ſaluted her in that her Retirement with an Epiſtle, wherein he recommends to her Imitation the Example of her Grandmother *Proba*, and likewiſe adviſes her to maintain her Virginity by reading the Scriptures, by renouncing the Pomps of the World, by the Exerciſes of Repentance, which he ſtiles [*Secunda poſt naufragium tabula*] *a ſecond Plank after Shipwreck*, by moderate Faſting, by the Exerciſes of Humility, Charity, *&c.* as alſo by conſtant Prayers, and working with her own Hands. He admoniſhes Virgins not to be elated with the Thoughts of the Perfection of their State; but ſeeing *God reſiſts the Proud, and gives Grace to the Lowly*, to humble themſelves under his Divine Hand. He then has a remarkable Obſervation concerning Grace: *What* (ſays he) *is of Grace, is*

a free Gift, and not beſtow'd as a Recompence of Works; and therefore the Apoſtle teaches, That the Good a Man does is not to be attributed to his Will or Labour, but to the Mercy of God. Finally, he concludes with this excellent Sentence [*Velle & non velle noſtrum eſt, ipſumque quod noſtrum eſt, ſine Dei miſeratione noſtrum non eſt*] *To will or not to will, is in our own Power, but what depends upon our ſelves does not ſo without the merciful Aſſiſtance of God.*

About this Time the Opinions of *Pelagius* began to make a great Noiſe in the World; we ſhall therefore, firſt, give ſome brief Account of the Man, and then ſome Hints concerning his Sentiments, as we find them oppoſed by St. *Jerom*. *Pelagius* was a Monk of *Bangor*, born in *Britain*; ſome ſay he was a *Scotſman*, but Dr. *Cave* in his *Hiſtoria Literaria* is poſitive that he was a *Welchman*, and that his Name was *Morgan* [q. d. *Marigena*] becauſe born near the Sea, whence he was by the *Greek* Writers called *Pelagius*. He was a Diſciple of *Ruffinus*, from whom he received *Origen*'s Principles, and began to publiſh at *Rome* the Hereſy with which he was charged, about the Beginning of the Fifth Century. When the *Goths* invaded *Italy*, he went into *Sicily*, and thence, about this Time, he came into *Africa*. *Jerom* in his Preface to his Dialogues againſt the *Pelagians*, ſpeaks of him as an ignorant and contemptible Fellow, but *Auguſtin*, and other of the Antients, characterize him as a Man of good Parts and eminent Piety.

The Reader muſt not expect here a compleat Hiſtory of *Pelagianiſm*, we ſhall only keep to the Account *Jerom* gives thereof in his Letter to *Cteſiphon*.

phon. The firſt Thing he therein charges on *Pelagius*, is his teaching, *That Men might attain to an* Apathy, *or* Freedom from Paſſion; *and that being got thus far, they might here live free from all Sin.* The next Error is concerning the Grace of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Neceſſity whereof this Father charges him with denying; and that he affirmed, *That Mens Salvation depend on the Power of their Free-will.* St. *Jerom* as well as St. *Auguſtin* oppoſes this Error, from the grand Neceſſity of Prayer. "If (ſays he) the Grace of *Jeſus Chriſt* "depends on our Wills, if we want only a Free-"will, and no other Help is required, to what "Purpoſe ſhould Prayer be made to God? Where-"fore do we call on him, and endeavour to pre-"vail with him for Succour to obtain that which "is in our own Power? He adds, that we have "nothing but what is the Gift of God; that it is "indeed Man's Part to run and to will, but he "has need of God's Aſſiſtance to do it; that 'tis "not enough that God ſhould once give us his "Grace, we have need that he ſhould do it con-"ſtantly: And yet, as he concludes, this Grace "does not deſtroy Free-will, neither does it fol-"low from theſe Principles, that 'tis impoſſible "to keep God's Commandments."

As to St. *Jerom*'s critical Labours on the Bible, we cannot fix them to any certain Year, they being moſt probably the Imployment of his whole Life, except certain Intervals after he devoted himſelf to Study: We ſhall however attempt to give ſome general Account of them. At firſt he only corrected the *Greek* Verſion of the LXX, and amended the common Edition by the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, in which he mark'd thoſe Things wherein the

the *Septuagint* differ'd from the *Hebrew* Text, either by Defect or Redundancy. This was his firſt Work on the Scripture, which he began while he was young, and during his Abode at *Rome*, before he enter'd into his Solitude. But afterwards having attain'd to a more perfect Knowledge of the *Hebrew* Tongue, and judging it would be greatly ſerviceable to the Church if he ſhould put forth an intire Tranſlation from the Original, he ſet upon that Work, and publiſhed a new *Latin* Verſion of all the Books owned by the *Jews* as Canonical, as likewiſe of the Apocryphal Books of *Judith* and *Tobit*, together with Prefaces rendring the Reaſons of his Labours therein.

This new Tranſlation of St. *Jerom* found at firſt but a bad Entertainment, and Men being much prepoſſeſs'd in Favour of the LXX, eſteemed this his Enterprize as a raſh and dangerous Innovation. Among others St. *Auguſtin* himſelf diſlik'd it, as we have already hinted, and ſent him Word, he had done much better if he had contented himſelf with the *Septuagint*, rather than have fram'd a new Verſion, which would certainly cauſe ſome Scandal and Trouble in the Church. *Ruffinus* and others of St. *Jerom*'s Enemies proceeded farther, and charged him with perverting the Scriptures, and deſpiſing the Authory of the Apoſtles, by rejecting the Tranſlation of the LXX, which they had made uſe of, and introducing another borrowed in ſome ſort from the *Jews*. Theſe Reflections hinder'd not this Father from going on with, and vindicating his new Tranſlations. In moſt of his Prefaces thereto he complains of the Injuſtice and Ingratitude of his Accuſers, in reckoning that a Crime in him, which, as he pleads, ought

ought to be accounted a good Service to the Church. Sometimes he declares he did not attempt his new Verſion to condemn the *Septuagint*, which he in great Part commends and approves, and therefore tranſlated the ſame in his Youth. At other Times he ſays he was obliged to make a new Tranſlation, becauſe the LXX had been corrupted; and indeed for the moſt Part he freely owns, that the Reaſon why he compoſed his new Verſion, was the Want of Exactneſs which he found in the LXX, and its great Diſſonancy from the *Hebrew* Text, which he believed ought to be depended on as the true Original, and therefore almoſt on every Mention of it, he ſtiles it the *Hebrew Verity*.

His Commentaries on the Scripture are generally written in a very different Stile from his other Works; theſe latter are often adorn'd with the ſparkling and beautiful Flowers of Rhetorick, which are baniſh'd in his Writings on the Scriptures, and the Text explain'd with great Clearneſs and Simplicity, as he ſays himſelf in ſeveral Places: Particularly in his Queſtions to *Damaſus* he thus ſpeaks; *He that treats of the holy Scripture ſhould neither borrow* Ariſtotle's *ſubtile Reaſonings, nor make uſe of* Tully's *Eloquence, or the Embelliſhment of* Quintilian, *nor tranſport his Reader with Declamations. His Diſcourſe ſhould be plain and familiar, nor is any Niceneſs of Compoſure neceſſary thereto; 'tis ſufficient if he duly expounds the Things treated of, and diſcover the Senſe of Scripture, clearing the ſame from its Obſcurities.*

In ſuch kind of toilſome Studies and Labours St. *Jerom* ſpent his Time and exhauſted his Strength; till at length, having obtain'd a mighty

Fame by his eminent Learning, he received his *Quietus* in his Monaſtery at *Bethlehem*, the Place where he had lived ſo long in Solitude. *Proſper* tells us in his *Chronicon*, that he died when *Theodoſius* was the ninth Time Conſul, and *Conſtantius* the third Time, which was in the Year 420; and that his *Exit* happen'd at the ninety-firſt Year of his Age, according to which he muſt have been born in the Year 329. But it is argued with great Probability by the learned *Dupin*, that his Birth was not till about the Year 340, and conſequently at the Time of his Death he muſt be aged about eighty Years.

St. *Jerom*, *Eraſmus* being Judge, far excelled all other *Chriſtian* Writers, and the moſt eminent Fathers that preceded him, in Learning and Eloquence; and the ſame Character is given of him by *Dupin*. He was a great Linguiſt, and eminently skill'd in Humanity and Philological Learning; and he was no leſs verſed in Profane and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory and Philoſophy. In a Word, *Eraſmus* not only equals him with *Cicero*, but tells us, when he compares the latter with the former, he ſeems to diſcover ſome Sort of Defectneſs in the Eloquence of that Prince of Orators.

It muſt indeed after all be granted, as the learned Dr. *Cave* obſerves in his *Hiſtoria Literaria*, that he was of too fiery a Temper, overmuch indulged his Paſſions, and was exceſſively ſatyrical in his way of writing againſt any that provoked him. Another great Fault in him was, that under the Notion of magnifying Virginity, he ſpeaks too lightingly of the honourrble State of Matrimony. He mentions ſecond Marriages as little better than Fornication, comparing thoſe that

that contracted them to the unclean Beaſts in *Noah*'s Ark; and bluſh'd not to parallel a Widow marrying again with the *Dog returning to his Vomit, and the Sow newly waſh'd to her wallowing in the Mire.* In ſhort, we doubt not to conclude with a learned Writer, that though *Jerom* may be eſteem'd a faithful Witneſs of Matters of Fact, relating to his Time, wherein he was not perſonally concern'd, yet one can hardly look upon him as a Perſon on whoſe Authority Points of Doctrine, or Matters of Diſcipline, can be ſafely eſtabliſhed.

The LIFE of St. *AUGUSTIN*, Biſhop of *Hippo*.

WHEN *Conſtantius* the Emperor had call'd a Synod at *Milan* againſt St. *Athanaſius*, by which he was depoſed, and ſeveral other Biſhops baniſhed with him for refuſing to ſubſcribe the *Arian* Confeſſion, even in that Time of the Church's Extremity, St. *Auguſtin*, or *Auſtin*, was brought forth to be eminently ſerviceable therein. He was born *November* the 13th, 355. at *Tagaſte*, which now indeed is but a mean Village, but was then a conſiderable City and Biſhoprick of *Numidia* in *Africa*; but that which chiefly render'd it famous among Eccleſiaſtical Writers, was its being the Place of the Nativity of this illuſtrious Perſon.

His Father's Name was *Patricius*, who was a Man of eminent Rank, and one of the publick Magiſtrates of the City, though his Eſtate was not anſwerable to his Quality, or to the Greatneſs and Generoſity of his Mind. He was much addicted to ſenſual Pleaſures, and alſo very cholerick, as this his Son intimates in his Confeſſions. His Mother's Name was *Monica*, who was not only a *Chriſtian*, but very eminent and remarkable for her Piety, and eſpecially for her incomparable Patience under the continual Provocations of a Husband, who not only defiled her Bed, but conſtantly robb'd her of her Quiet, till a little before his Death, when he embraced the *Chriſtian* Religion, and was baptized.

We ſhall not enlarge, as St. *Auſtin* himſelf does, on the Follies of his Childhood, his Paſſions againſt thoſe that oppoſed his Humours, the petty Thefts he committed in his Father's Houſe, that he might have ſomewhat to give to his childiſh Companions. He alſo tells us, that he wanted not Ability to attain Learning, but that ſuch was his Love to Play, that he hated his Books, and eſpecially the learning of thoſe Things that were moſt uſeful; which Things we paſs over, as being, generally ſpeaking, common to him with all other Children.

Auſtin was by his Father ſent to School at *Madaurus*, a neighbouring Town, where his Aptneſs to learn made him both envy'd by his Schoolfellows, and admired by his Maſters. He indeed found much Difficulty in attaining the *Greek* Tongue, and therefore had a great Averſion againſt it; whereas he learned the *Latin* with great Pleaſure, having been taught the ſame without Grammar

Grammar Rules, by mere uſe, while he was diſcourſing with his Nurſes and others in his Childhood.

Having made a conſiderable Progreſs in Grammar Learning at *Madaurus*, his Father reſolved to ſend him to *Carthage*, the Metropolis of that Province, to perfect him therein. The great Aim his Father had was, that he might by becoming a good Orator be fitted to acquire Riches and Honours in the World; for being ignorant of *Chriſtianity*, he took no Care of his Advancement in Piety and Virtue as he advanced in his Age. But upon Computation, he found the Expences of ſending him to that School would be more than his preſent Subſtance could afford, and therefore kept him at home a whole Year without any Imployment; which Idleneſs, as he laments in his Confeſſions, proved an Occaſion to increaſe his vicious Inclinations.

The Vice to which he was moſt naturally, and therefore moſt ſtrongly inclined, was an unchaſt Inclination to Women; to prevent the Exorbitancy of which by a lawful Marriage, was no Part of his Father's Care. His religious Mother indeed often and ſeriouſly admoniſhed him to avoid Fornication, and eſpecially to abhor the Thoughts of being ever guilty of Adultery.

The next Year he arrived at *Carthage*, where he was encompaſſed about with Temptations to unchaſt Love, and that Fire was here increaſed by the Addition of Fuel thereto: And about this Time he had a Son by a Concubine, to whom he never was married, though he tells us they were always conſtant to each other. This his Sin, he aſſures us, preſently became his Puniſhment, by the

the Fears and Jealouſies, the Quarrels and Contentions that aroſe between them, which ſpoiled the Pleaſures he expected in his Enjoyment of her. Here he alſo frequented the Theatres and publick Play-houſes, wherein, as he acknowleges, he met with the Image of his Miſery, and withal Incitements to his Luſt, being heightned by the Intrigues and Amours therein repreſented

However, he made a more than Ordinary Progreſs in Learning, and attained the Categories of *Ariſtotle*, as he tells us, without the Help of a Maſter; and not only ſo, but he learn'd the Principles of all the Sciences after the ſame Manner: Yet all this could not ſatisfy his Curioſity, he had ſtill an eager Deſire of Knowledge, to which the *Manichees* pretended they would lead him by rational Demonſtrations, without inſlaving his Judgment to rely upon the Authority of bare Teſtimony, as they charged the Church with doing. By theſe Pretences to Truth, together with ſpecious Shews of Sanctity, he was inſnar'd into this Sect, though, as he afterwards declares, they fill'd his Mind only with vain Fancies, inſtead of ſolid Truths.

Nothing can be more ridiculous than the vain Imaginations of thoſe Hereticks, who not being able to comprehend the Original of Evil, affirm'd, *That as God is the Sovereign Good, ſo there was alſo an immenſe and neceſſary Principle of Evil, from which proceeded all Bodies, not excepting thoſe of Men.* They alſo affirm'd, that *there were two Souls in every Man, one a bad one, which proceeded from the Evil Principle, and the other good, which they taught to be a Part of God; and that the Conflict in Man between the Mind and Concupiſcence,*

or

or Luſt, proceed from theſe contrary Souls. This Sect deny'd the Authority of the *Old Teſtament*, &c. and conſiſted of two Sorts; the lower Sort they called *Auditors*, and ſuch as were more advanced in their Errors they ſtiled the *Elect*, out of whom they choſe their Paſtors. *Auſtin* was one of the former only, and not of the latter.

When he had compleated his Studies, he return'd home to *Tagaſte*, where, notwithſtanding the tender Love his Mother bare him, yet from the Abhorrence of his Hereſy ſhe would not receive him into her Houſe, hoping this Severity might be a Means to recover him. But ſhe muſt yet wait ſeveral Years for that good Hour, and then obtain it by many importunate Prayers and Tears, which ſhe could not but put forth in Abundance, while ſhe ſaw her beloved Son an Enemy to that God whom ſhe loved far more than her Son, or herſelf. But at length, as ſhe was overwhelm'd with Sorrow, ſhe had a Dream which gave her ſuch Confidence of his Recovery, that ſhe thereupon admitted him to eat at her Table. She was farther encouraged in this Hope by a certain holy Biſhop, whom ſhe importunately deſired to diſcourſe her Son, which he at preſent refuſed, telling her, that his Mind was now ſo ſwell'd with Conceit that he was unfit for Inſtruction, having often obtain'd Advantages in diſputing with ſuch Catholicks, as were more pious than learned. But the afflicted *Monica* continuing her Importunity with Tears, the good Prelate at length diſmiſs'd her with ſaying, *Go your way and continue your Prayers, for it is impoſſible that a Child of ſo many Tears ſhould periſh!* Which ſhe received as an Oracle from God.

Auſtin

Auſtin returning to *Carthage*, publickly taught Rhetorick, and having open'd his Shool, it quickly became famous, and more frequented than any other in the whole City. *Alipius* his Fellow-Citizen, who had been his Scholar, he now choſe for his Confident, freely unboſoming his Mind to him; who afterwards became Biſhop of *Tagaſte*, and living to a great Age, was of eminent Note in the Church of God.

Though he was ſtill a *Manichee* by Profeſſion, he now began to have many Doubts in his Mind concerning their Opinions, and being now grown weary of *Carthage*, becauſe of the great Diſorders of the Scholars, and hearing that a better Diſcipline was kept in the Schools at *Rome*, he reſolved to take a Journey thither; where he alſo thought his Learning would be more highly eſteemed and rewarded. Soon after his Arrival here he was ſeized by a violent Fever, in which he deſpaired of Life, and not only feared a temporal, but alſo an eternal Death. *For whither*, ſays he, *had I gone, if I had then died, but into thoſe Flames and Torments which I deſerved? having then no Faith in* Chriſt, *and conſequently no Intereſt in his Merits.* But it pleaſed God to raiſe him up from this dangerous Sickneſs, which he gratefully attributes to the importunate Prayers of his Mother *Monica* for the Converſion of his Soul, though ſhe knew nothing of the preſent Danger of his Body.

While he profeſs'd Rhetorick in this Imperial City, his School was frequented by the greateſt Wits, who never went from him without either Wonder at his Learning, which was alſo recommended by the Sweetneſs of his natural Temper, or elſe Envy at the great Honour he obtain'd by his

his Diſputations. But finding the Scholars here, though more orderly than thoſe of *Carthage*, yet unjuſt in frequently defrauding him of the Rewards of his Labour, he grew weary of *Rome* alſo. And it now happening that Deputies were ſent thither from *Milan*, where *Valentinian* kept his Court, to require one fit to be a Profeſſor of Rhetorick in that City; thereupon *Auguſtin* made ſuit to be the Man. Accordingly being recommended by the Chief of his Sect, and alſo giving a Specimen of his Abilities before *Symmachus* the Governor of *Rome*, who was a proper Judge of his Fitneſs, he was choſen and ſent by him for the Diſcharge of that Province. He was received at *Milan* with great Applauſe, the moſt ingenious Perſons being ſoon convinced that he deſerved the high Opinion they had entertained concerning him. St. *Ambroſe*, who was Biſhop of that City, and no leſs renowned for his Eloquence than for his Piety, alſo gave him great Marks of his Reſpect. And in like manner *Auſtin* was very deſirous of being acquainted with him, not as with a Teacher of Truth, which he expected not to meet with among the Catholicks, but only as a Man of Learning, and one that was favourable to him, as he himſelf acknowledges in his Confeſſions.

After this he frequently and diligently attended St. *Ambroſe*'s Miniſtry, not ſo much indeed from any Deſire of profiting by his Diſcourſes, as to try whether his Eloquence anſwer'd the Fame he had heard concerning him. But though he aim'd only at pleaſing his Ears, yet the Doctrine of that Biſhop, like a diſtilling Rain, by Degrees made Impreſſions on his Heart, and cauſed the Seeds of Virtue to fructify and ſpring forth therein. He

now began to think there was good Argument and Reaſon in that Father's Diſcourſes, and that the Catholick Faith might poſſibly be defended againſt the Objections of the *Manichees*, which he had hitherto imagined to be impoſſible.

St. *Ambroſe* explain'd and ſhew'd the excellent Uſe of ſome Paſſages of the *Old Teſtament*, which was a peculiar Means of opening his Eyes, and convincing him of the groſs Errors of that peſtilent Sect, who derided and caſt Contempt on the Writings of the Law and the Prophets. But tho' he thought the *Manichæan* Objections ſufficiently anſwered, he was not yet throughly convinced of the Goodneſs of the Catholick Cauſe, but remain'd in Suſpence; and nothing ſo much obſtructed his imbracing the Orthodox Faith, as the Difficulty he found in conceiving God as a pure Spirit, without any corporeal Extenſion; which was the groſs Imagination he had hitherto entertain'd concerning him. However, he at length came to a Reſolution to abandon that Sect, which now ſeem'd to him to have leſs Certainty than thoſe of the *Heathen* Philoſophers, and to become a Catechumen in the Church, till he could arrive at a more full Satisfaction.

He began now to be throughly convinced that we ought not to attribute Sin to a neceſſary Cauſe, as proceeding from an eternal evil Principle, as the *Manichees* did, but that it is wholly owing to the Abuſe of our own Freedom, and to be aſcrib'd to our own evil Choice. He concluded, that God, who is Goodneſs itſelf, could not create us with evil Inclinations: And when he was diſpoſed to think it might come from the Devil, he then found no leſs Difficulty to reſolve how the Devil himſelf

himſelf became Evil, and was greatly confounded in thoſe Inquiries, till he conſider'd that all evil Inclinations muſt proceed from the ſinful Corruption of Nature both in Angels and Men.

It happen'd about this Time, that one *Firminius* came to deſire his Opinion upon his Nativity, and that he would give his Judgment according to the Rules of Judicial Aſtrology concerning the future Condition of his Life. *Auſtin* told him he would not refuſe, but withal ſignify'd he was much inclin'd to think that thoſe Predictions from the Stars concerning the free Actions of Men, were altogether vain and groundleſs. Then *Firminius* gave him an Account of two Perſons born at the ſame Moment in his Father's Houſe, one of whom lived in great Wealth and Honour, and the other continued in a State of Poverty and Slavery. From this Inſtance *Auguſtin* wiſely infer'd there could be no Certainty in that Art, and ever after diſlik'd it as much as before he had admir'd it.

He now applied himſelf to the reading of ſome Books of the *Platoniſts*, tranſlated from the *Greek* into the *Latin* Tongue, which, he tells us, gave him farther Light into the Knowledge of God's Excellencies and glorious Perfections; and that he found in thoſe Writings, though not in expreſs Words, yet in Subſtance what St. *John* ſays, *In the Beginning was the Word*, &c. though he could not indeed find therein any Intimation of what follows, *And the Word was made Fleſh*, or any Account of the Incarnation; and no Wonder, ſeeing this Abaſement of the Son of God is known only by Divine Revelation. He yet look'd on *Jeſus Chriſt* only as a Man of extraordinary Holineſs, who by a peculiar Privilege was born of a Virgin,

and by his eminent Virtues and Contempt of the World merited his being made the Head of *Chriſtians*, and having the ſupreme Authority over them; but he had no right Conception concerning his Divine Nature.

St. *Auſtin* now began with much Delight to read the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, to which he was doubtleſs guided by the ſecret Direction of the Divine Spirit; and no Wonder theſe proved an excellent Means to promote his Converſion, which was effected, like that of the Apoſtle, by a very ſingular Conduct of God's Grace. Here he found the Teſtimonies of the *Old Teſtament* admirably illuſtrated and applied; here he obſerved not only the Glories of Heaven ſet forth, but the ſure Way of obtaining an Intereſt in them clearly diſcovered. Here he learned that which he had long felt, *that he had a Law in his Members warring againſt the Law in his Mind*, and that nothing could *deliver him from this Body of Death* but the Grace of *Jeſus Chriſt*. In a Word, he ſoon perceived a wide Difference between the Doctrines of him who ſtil'd himſelf the laſt of the Apoſtles, and of thoſe proud Philoſophers who eſteem'd themſelves the greateſt of Men.

He was now convinced of the Goodneſs and Excellency of *Criſt*'s Ways, but ſtill prejudiced with ſuch an Apprehenſion of the inſuperable Difficulties thereof, as kept him from a reſolute Entrance thereinto. In this Difficulty God put it into his Mind to adreſs himſelf to *Simplician* a Presbyter of *Milan*, of eminent Learning and Piety, who had been St. *Ambroſe*'s Tutor, and was ſtill eſteemed by him as his Father. This good Man received him with Joy, and treated him with a paternal Ten-

Tenderneſs; he patiently heard him recite the Errors of his Youth, and when he told him what Advantage he had found by reading ſome Books of the *Platoniſts* that were turn'd into *Latin* by *Victorinus*, a famous Rhetorician in *Rome*, he bleſſed God, and aſſured him, that thoſe Writings contain'd many Things agreeable to *Chriſtianity*.

Then *Simplician* related to him how that learned Rhetorician, who had tranſlated and explain'd many of the Philoſophers, had been Tutor to ſo many Senators, and had his Statue erected at *Rome*, was at length by his Means converted to *Chriſtianity*, in the following Manner: Having read the Scripture, he after ſome Time came to *Simplician*, and ſecretly told him, he was now become a *Chriſtian*; but the good Man replied, *I ſhall not believe you, nor account you a* Chriſtian *indeed, unleſs I ſee you a viſible Member in* Chriſt's *Church*; which at firſt he ſlighted, being unwilling, by a publick Profeſſion of *Chriſtianity*, to incur the Diſpleaſure of his great Friends. But afterwards upon reading and conſidering *Chriſt*'s Words, *that he would deny them before his Angels, who refuſed to confeſs him before Men*, he yielded himſelf to be baptized, and ſo publickly enter'd into the *Chriſtian* Church, to the great Joy of many of its ſincere Members, though he was thereby forced to relinquiſh his Profeſſion of Rhetorick, through the Perſecution of *Julian* the Apoſtate.

This Narration excited a great Deſire in St. *Auſtin* to imitate that illuſtrious Perſon, both in his Converſion, and in quitting his Profeſſion of Rhetorick, which was now become burdenſome to him. But alas! he quickly found himſelf as it were chain'd to the Earth by his vicious Inclinations,

nations, which through long Cuſtom had brought him under a kind of miſerable Neceſſity of continuing in the Ways of Sin, as himſelf mournfully complain'd. He made ſome Efforts to diſintangle himſelf from them, but confeſs'd his Endeavours proved weak and fruitleſs; and when he heard theſe Words, *Awake thou that ſleepeſt and ariſe from the Dead, and* Chriſt *ſhall give thee Light*, he could not prevail on himſelf to give any other Anſwer but that of the Sluggard, *Preſently, preſently, but let me alone a little while longer:* Yet, as he mournfully tells us, this *preſently* was long a coming, and this *little while* of a long Continuance.

As St. *Auſtin* was once in the Company of his Friend *Alipius*, one *Potitianus* his Countryman, being a *Chriſtian*, and an eminent Courtier, came to give him a Viſit. And as they were diſcourſing, he took up a Book that lay on the Table, and finding it to be St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, he was very glad, telling them, he rather expected it to be *Cicero* or *Virgil*, as being more ſuitable to his Profeſſion. After this he gave them a brief Relation of the Life of St. *Anthony*, and how remarkably two eminent Gentlemen were by reading the ſame converted, and brought to relinquiſh all the Vanities of the World, and intirely to devote themſelves to God. This Diſcourſe of *Potitianus* had a powerful Influence on the Mind of St. *Auſtin*, for therein, as in a Glaſs, he now ſaw his Filthineſs and Deformity, which cauſed him to loath and abhor himſelf. No ſooner was *Potitianus* withdrawn, but he thus applies himſelf to *Alipius*, *What do we in thus ſuffering the Unlearned to ſeize Heaven by Force, while we with all our Knowledge lazily*

lazily wallow in our Filthineſs? Alipius was aſtoniſh'd not ſo much at his Words, as at the pathetical Manner of his expreſſing the ſame, and the ſtrange Alteration of his Countenance while he uttered them: He therefore made no Reply, but follow'd him into the Garden, to obſerve the Iſſue of this Commotion, which can't be better repreſented than by St. *Auſtin* himſelf.

I now, ſays he, *was enraged at my ſelf, that I did not courageouſly reſolve on what my Reaſon convinced me to be ſo good and neceſſary to be done: I would, and I would not; I was as it were divided between my ſelf and my ſelf; I ſhook my Chain by which I was fetter'd, but could not be releaſed from it. God redoubled his Stripes on my Heart, and preſs'd upon me by the double Motive of Fear and Shame; but ſenſual Pleaſures, which by a curſed Habit were become after a ſort natural, furiouſly oppoſed that Reſolution, by which I was like for ever to be ſeparated from them. What* (for thus he repreſents them ſpeaking within him) *will you bid an eternal Adieu to us? Will you never hereafter taſte thoſe Delights which you have ſo long enjoy'd, and wherein you have had ſo great Satisfaction?* The Tempeſt thus increaſing every Moment in his Spirits, and Tears flowing forth abundantly from his Eyes, he was forced to withdraw himſelf from *Alipius*, who beheld him with great Amazement. Then placing himſelf under a Fig-tree at ſome Diſtance, he gave Vent to his Complaints, and with a Voice interrupted by a thouſand Sighs, he ſaid, *Lord, how long! wilt thou be angry for ever? How long ſhall I ſay* [cras, cras] *to-morrow, to-morrow? Why not preſently? why ſhall not this Hour put an End to my Filthineſs?*

While

While he was thus diſcourſing by himſelf, he ſuddenly heard a Voice that ſeemed like the Voice of a Child, often ſinging forth and repeating theſe Words, [*Tolle lege, Tolle lege*] *Take up and read, Take up and read.* Then he ſeriouſly ponder'd in his Mind, whether ever he had heard Children in their Play ſpeak after that Manner; and not being able to recollect any Thing like it, he concluded it was an Admonition from Heaven to read ſuch a Portion of the Divine Oracles as ſhould firſt offer itſelf to him. In this Thought he was the more confirmed by remembring that St. *Anthony* was converted to a Life of Retirement from the World juſt after the ſame Manner. In this Perſuaſion he aroſe, and went to the Place where *Alipius* remain'd, becauſe there he had left St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles; and opening the Book, he ſilently read the following Words, which he firſt caſt his Eyes on: *Not in Rioting and Drunkenneſs, not in Chambering and Wantonneſs, not in Strife and Envy; but put ye on the Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *and make not Proviſion for the Fleſh to fulfil the Luſts thereof.* He proceeded no further, nor was there any Need he ſhould; for, as he expreſſes it, theſe Words as ſo many Rays of Light immediately diſſipated all the Doubts and Darkneſs that had clouded his Mind, and his Will was now confirmed in a fix'd Reſolution to abandon for ever all thoſe ſecular Deſigns which had hitherto held him in Chains.

Having put a Mark on the Place, he told *Alipius* the Effect that was produced in him by reading that Paſſage, to whom nothing could be more welcome News; who immediately thereupon read the following Words, *Him that is weak in the Faith receive ye,* and applied them to himſelf, promiſing

miſing to obſerve this Rule in his future Conduct; which, as St. *Auſtin* remarks, he could the more eaſily perform, in that ſuch a Deportment ſuited the natural Sweetneſs of his Diſpoſition, wherein, as he confeſſes, *Alipius* much exceeded him.

St. *Auſtin* now reſolved to retain nothing that might in the leaſt extinguiſh that holy Fire which was kinkled in his Soul, and therefore determin'd wholly to quit his Profeſſion of Rhetorick; *That*, as he expreſſes it, *he might not hereafter teach young Men to make the Contentions of the Bar the Subject of their Meditation, inſtead of the Divine Law and the Goſpel of Peace, and ſo furniſh them with Weapons for their Madneſs.* But though this was his Reſolution, he thought it was moſt convenient to continue his Profeſſion till the approaching Vacation of the Vintage, that he might not open Peoples Mouths by relinquiſhing his School all of a ſudden. He had alſo, by too much ſpending himſelf in that Imployment, contracted a great Weakneſs in his Lungs, and Hoarſneſs in his Voice, which had formerly been a great Trouble to him, but he now rejoiced therein, becauſe it adminiſter'd a juſt Occaſion of leaving that Buſineſs with leſs Notice, which was become ſo burdenſome to him.

Verecundus, one of his peculiar Friends, obſerving that he much deſired a Place of Retirement to prepare himſelf for Baptiſm, offer'd him his Country-Houſe for that Purpoſe; though *Verecundus* himſelf was not yet a *Chriſtian*, having reſolved, whenever he embraced *Chriſtianity*, to leave his Wife, wholly to abandon the World, and devote himſelf to a Life of Retirement; which made her, though ſhe was a *Chriſtian*, uſe her utmoſt Endeavours to obſtruct his becoming ſo upon thoſe

Terms. *Auguſtin* was accompanied in this Retirement by his Mother *Monica*, his natural Son *Adeodatus*, his Friend *Alipius*, and ſeveral others. Here he wholly imploy'd himſelf in Prayer and Study, which Exerciſes he found admirably conducing to each other; ſo that as his Prayers were a kind of Study, his Study became a kind of Prayer by the Devotion of his Mind therein.

At this Time he was violently afflicted with the Tooth-ach, which hourly increaſed, and at length grew ſo inſupportable that he was not able to ſpeak; whereupon he wrote his Mind, and earneſtly deſired thoſe that that were with him by Prayer to apply themſelves to God for him. And he aſſures us, they had no ſooner fallen on their Knees, and begun their Addreſſes to Heaven, but the Anguiſh was abated, and at the End of their Prayers the Pain totally vaniſh'd. This extraordinary Appearance of God wonderfully amazed him, greatly confirmed him in his Faith, and eſtabliſh'd his Hope, that God would graciouſly waſh away the Guilt of all his Sins in the Laver of Baptiſm, wherein he was ſhortly to be immerſed.

In this his Retirement he compiled three Books againſt the Academicks, to confute their Opinion, *That all Things are uncertain, and that we have no Ground to affirm any Thing whatſoever.* He alſo, on Occaſion of keeping his Birth day, compoſed a Treatiſe, to ſhew *wherein a happy Life conſiſts*, which he dedicated to one *Manlius*, a learned and pious Man at *Milan*, whom he commended in that lofty Manner, that he ſaw Cauſe to accuſe himſelf of Exceſs therein, when he came to write his Retractions. Here likewiſe he compiled a Tract *concerning Order*, ſhewing, that *all Things fell out accord-*

according to the Order and Diſpoſe of Divine Providence; as alſo his two Books of Soliloquies.

While he was thus imploying himſelf in his Solitude, *God*, as he tells us, *by his Grace brought down the Pride of his Spirit, and laid low the lofty Mountains of his vain Thoughts, by bringing him daily to a greater Senſe of that State of Miſery and Bondage from which he was delivered* He read and ſung the Pſalms of *David* with great Devotion, the Words of the Prophet therein being, as he declares, like fiery Darts, which firſt gave healthful Wounds to his Soul, and then communicated a Divine Sweetneſs and healing Virtue thereunto. He particularly found great Profit and Comfort in reciting the fourth Pſalm, of which he has given us a pious Paraphraſe in his Confeſſions, and could not but cenſure the *Manichees* as miſerable People, who deprived themſelves of the Advantage of thoſe Divine Hymns.

At length the long'd-for Day of his Baptiſm came, which was adminiſter'd by the Hands of St. *Ambroſe*, who greatly rejoiced to be an Inſtrumen of begetting a Son to *Jeſus Chriſt*, whom he foreſaw would be ſo eminently uſeful in his Church. *Alipius* was baptized at the ſame Time with him, which faſtned the Bands of their Friendſhip more cloſely; and *Verecundus* and *Nebridius*, two other of his Intimates, were baptized ſoon after. But above all, St. *Auſtin* rejoiced to ſee his Son *Adeodatus*, whom he had by his Concubine, to be now begotten to a Life of Holineſs; as he had before begotten him in Wickedneſs. On this Occaſion he humbly acknowledges he had no Part in the Production of him, but his own Sin. and thankfully admires the Divine Goodneſs, both in the emi-

nent Endowments of Nature with which God had furniſhed him, and eſpecially in the illuſtrious Work of God's Grace now wrought in him.

When St. *Auſtin* was baptized, he frequented the Church at *Milan* with much Devotion; and his Soul was greatly affected and inflamed with an holy Fire by the alternate ſinging of Pſalms, which was there lately begun by *Ambroſe*, to alleviate the Minds of the People under the Perſecution at that Time ſet on Foot by *Juſtina* the Empreſs, for promoting the Cauſe of *Arianiſm*. It was alſo about this Time (*A. D.* 388.) that he ſaw the Bodies of St. *Protaſius* and St. *Gervaſius*, which had been preſerved many Years without being corrupted, as he himſelf tells us; and adds, that by touching of them many great Miracles were wrought, of which Mention has been already made in the Life of St. *Ambroſe*.

St. *Auſtin* now deſired to devote himſelf to a Life of Solitude, and therefore, in order to it, reſolved to return to his own Country, and accordingly went on his Way thither from *Milan* to *Rome*, together with his Mother and ſeveral of his Friends, where they continued from the Month of *April* to the *September* following. At this Time he publiſhed his two Books, one, *Of the Manners of the Church*; and the other, *Of the Manners of the* Manichees. In the former, *he reduces all* Chriſtian *Morality to the Love of God, and ſhews, that all the Virtues are but different Ways of expreſſing that Love.* In the other, *he confutes the Errors of the* Manichees *about the Original of Good and Evil, and diſcovers how vaſtly their preten ed Virtue was different from a true* Chriſtian *Sanctity.* This Treatiſe is eſteem'd by learned

learned Men one of the moſt accurate and eloquent of this Father's Writings Here alſo he compoſed his Dialogue, intituled, *De Quantitate Animæ*, to prove, *that altho' the Soul may be great in Reſpect of its Spiritual Excellencies and Perfections, yet it is in no wiſe capable of a Corporeal Quantity or Extenſion.* He alſo began his three Book, *Of Free-will*, in this City, though he finiſhed them not till he came into *Africa*; the principal Deſign of which is to ſhew, *that the Human Will is the only Cauſe of Sin*; in Oppoſition to ſuch as either *attribute the ſame to God*, or elſe ſuch as, to avoid that Abſurdity, affirmed, *that Sin flows from an eternal and immutable evil Principle.*

In the Month of *September*, St. *Auſtin* being wearied with the Hurries of the City, went from *Rome* to *Oſtia*, there to imbark for his own Country. While they waited in this Place for the Ship's ſailing, his Mother *Monica* was ſeized with a violent Diſtemper, which ſoon tranſlated her from Earth to Heaven. In her Sickneſs ſhe was little ſolicitous about her Recovery, but therein diſcourſed her Son concerning the Joys of Heaven, and the future Rewards of Bleſſedneſs, with ſuch a Serenity and Preſence of Mind, ſuch an aſſured Faith and Confidence, that, as he informs us, his Soul was thereby greatly raviſhed. Having declared, *ſhe regarded not where they buried her*, ſhe thus addreſs'd herſelf to him: *This only I require of you, that wherever you are you make Mention of me at the Lord's Altar*: And accordingly, St. *Auſtin* tells us, *after he had repreſſed the Tears flowing from natural Affection, he poured forth Tears of a different Nature in praying for her Soul, from an Apprehenſion*, as he tells us, *of the Danger to which*

which every one is obnoxious that dies in Adam. *For though,* as he adds, *his Mother had lived in general to the Divine Glory, yet he durſt not ſay ſhe had never ſpoken an idle Word or committed any irregular Action ſince her Regeneration in holy Baptiſm.*

After the Funeral of his Mother he went on board, and at length happily arrived in *Africa*, where he continued ſome Time at *Carthage*; but not liking the Noiſe and Diſturbance of that Place, he went thence to *Tagaſte*, and after ſome Time he retired thence alſo to a Country-houſe which belonged to him, as not having found himſelf in that Town ſufficiently ſequeſtered from the Buſineſs and Hurries of the World. Here he applied himſelf wholly to Prayer and Study, but was more converſant in the former than in the latter, *being*, as he ſignifies, *much more deſirous to purify his Heart from the Corruptions of Vice by Devotion, than to furniſh his Head with Knowledge and Underſtanding by Contemplation.* Yet here he compoſed ſome Treatiſes, as ſix Dialogues *concerning Muſick*, two Books on *Geneſis* againſt the *Manichees*, a Treatiſe entitled, *concerning the Maſter*, to ſhew, *that God is our only ſupreme Teacher.* About this Time his Son *Adeodatus*, whom he had formerly admir'd for his extraordinary Parts, but now eſpecially lov'd for his eminent and early Piety, was tranſlated to a better Life, being about ſixteen or ſeventeen Years of Age.

When St. *Auſtin* had continued about three Years in his Retirement, a Man of good Quality and eminent Virtue that reſided at *Hippo*, earneſtly deſired to enjoy ſome Converſe with him, giving him Hope that he might perſuade him wholly to abandon the World. Hereupon preferring the Good

Good of his Neighbour before his own Repoſe, he willingly quitted his Solitude for a Time, that by Converſation with him he might be inſtrumental to promote his Happineſs. And though he did not preſently reap the deſired Fruit of his Labours, yet God providentially bringing him hither, carried on a more excellent Deſign, *viz.* his being here advanced to the ſacred Miniſtry, that he might be more generally ſerviceable to the Souls of Men. The Church of *Hippo* now wanted a Presbyter, and thought none ſo worthy to be choſen to that Office as St. *Auſtin*, and therefore they ſuddenly fix'd upon him, who did not in the leaſt ſuſpect any ſuch Deſign, and in a forcible Way brought him to the Biſhop, importunately demanding that he might be forthwith ordained to that Function.

Being thus ſtrangely ſurprized, he poured forth Abundance of Tears, which one ſuppoſing to proceed from his not being choſen a Biſhop, he came to him, and to encourage him, told him, *that the Office of a Presbyter was the very next Step to that of the Epiſcopacy.* But the true Reaſon, as he aſſured them, of his weeping was, *the great Senſe he had of the mighty Importance of the Work to which he was called, and the Apprehenſion of his own Unfitneſs for it.* He conſidered the Irregularities of his Life before Baptiſm, the great Sanctity of the miniſterial Work, the Difficulty that attends the Office of a Prieſt, and the dangerous Conſequence of being negligent in the Performance thereof. But though he was thus unwillingly brought to it, *Valerius* the Biſhop was joyful and exceeding thankful to God for ſending ſo great a Man to aſſiſt him in the moſt difficult Part of his Office,

Office, *viz.* preaching the Word. For he being a *Greek* by Birth, could not with Facility ſpeak *Latin*, which was in a manner the vulgar Language of *Africa*, and was therefore uncapable of preaching with that Profit to the People as he earneſtly deſired. Upon this Conſideration he committed that Charge to St. *Auſtin*, and cauſed him to preach before him, which had not been the Cuſtom in *Africa*, however he ſcrupled not to diſpenſe with it for the greater Advantage of the People. St. *Auſtin* earneſtly endeavoured to be excuſed from this arduous Work, but by all his Entreaties he could obtain no more than only a little Time of Delay, that he might render the Scriptures more familiar to him than they had hitherto been.

Being at length actually enter'd upon the Diſcharge of this publick Office, he contented not himſelf to teach the Church by Preaching, but alſo applied himſelf to edify and confirm the ſame by his Writings, and now publiſhed two Books againſt the *Manichees*, one *concerning the Advantage of Believing*, and the other againſt their forementioned Notion *of two Souls in the ſame Man*. He was alſo now prevail'd on to hold a publick Diſpute with *Fortunatus*, a Presbyter of the *Manichean* Sect, who was much eſteemed for his Learning, and by his Eloquence gain'd many of the vulgar People to embrace their Errors. In this Diſputation the *Manichee* was expoſed to great Shame and Confuſion, and therefore ſoon after left the City of *Hippo*, which proved a great Mortification to thoſe of his own Party, and no leſs Encouragement to the Orthodox.

By this and the like Means the Fame of St. *Auſtin* became ſo great, though he was yet but a Presbyter,

Presbyter, that when all the Biſhops of *Africa* were not long after met in a Synod at *Hippo*, they engaged him to diſcourſe before them *of the Chriſtian Faith*, which he did to their great Admiration, and afterwards form'd his Diſcourſes into a Treatiſe, intitled, *De Fide & Simbolo*. He now alſo wrote his Volumes on *Chriſt*'s Sermons upon the Mount, and an Expoſition on ſeveral Paſſages out of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, which had been propoſed to him for his Reſolution. In this Expoſition, as he acknowledges in his *Retractions*, he dropped ſome unwary Expreſſions, whereby the Weak might be made to believe, *that the Beginning of Faith comes from Man, and not from the Grace of* Chriſt Jeſus.

Valerius the old Biſhop perceiving the Fame of St *Auſtin* to fly all over *Africa*, fear'd, as he had Reaſon to do, that ſome other Church would chuſe him for their Biſhop, and ſo he and his Church ſhould be deprived of his excellent Labours. He therefore earneſtly deſired that he might then be ordained Biſhop of *Hippo*, not only to ſucceed him when dead, but alſo to be his Partner in the Office while alive. To obtain this he wrote to *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage*, and Primate of *Africa*, who at length gave his Conſent thereunto. After this he ſignified the ſame to ſeveral Biſhops, and propoſed it to his own Clergy, who generally highly approved the Motion; and after much Difficulty *Auſtin* himſelf was prevail'd on to give his Conſent thereto, whereupon he was immediately advanced to that Station, in the Year 395.

This new Dignity did but create him new Labours; as he was the chief Oppoſer of the *Do-*

natiſts, ſo they had a peculiar Pique againſt him, and, as 'tis ſaid, had often done him a Miſchief, had he not been preſerved by the peculiar Providence of God. The *Donatiſts*, as St. *Auſtin* himſelf repreſents them, taught that *there is no Salvation out of the Catholick Church, nor any Baptiſm valid but what is adminiſtred therein.* They deſcribed the *Catholick Church* to be, not that which is ſpread *all over the World*, but that which keeps *all the Commands* of God; and under a Pretence of its Deviation therefrom, they charged the Church as being a grand Apoſtacy, and therefore ſeparated from the ſame, and rebaptized thoſe that had been baptized therein. The Orthodox, and eſpecially St. *Auſtin*, uſed many Endeavours to reduce them to the Communion of the Church, and in order to it a Council was aſſembled at *Carthage*, at the Beginning of the Fifth Cetury. To encourage the Clergy of that Sect to come in, it was agreed by *Aurelius* and the other Biſhops of the Council, that they ſhould retain thoſe Dignities they had formerly received in the Time of their Separation. They alſo wrote to the other Prelates, and particularly to Pope *Anaſtaſius*, to convince them of the Neceſſity of their yielding in Point of Diſcipline, in order to gain them. By this Accommodation ſome of thoſe Biſhops were prevail'd on to return to the Catholich Church and continue therein, who demean'd themſelves with much Piety and Sanctity.

After the Return of the Deputies ſent to Pope *Anaſtaſius*, *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage* called another Council at *Milevis*, in the Year 402, wherein St. *Auſtin* ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to prevail on the *Donatiſts* to unite themſelves to the Church.

They

They offer'd the Schiſmatical Biſhops to hold a friendly Conference with them, and to ſtudy all poſſible Means of eſtabliſhing Peace between them and the Church. But when they could not prevail on them by fair Means, they had Recourſe to the Imperial Power, ſending Deputies to the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, by whom they complain'd of the Violence of thoſe Schiſmaticks, and deſired the Civil Power might be exerciſed againſt them, and that they might be conſtrain'd by temporal Puniſhments, ſeeing they would not ſtand in Awe of ſpiritual and eternal ones.

Honorius the Emperor having received a grievous Complaint of the Cruelty of the *Donatiſts* on the Arrival of the Deputies of the Council, made a ſevere Law againſt them, by which they were render'd uncapable of being Witneſſes, or receiving Legacies, and divers other Penalties were inflicted on them. The rigorous Execution of this Law brought many of them to Church, by which *Auſtin* confeſs'd himſelf convinced of his former Error, *viz. That nothing but the ſpiritual Weapons of God's Word ſhould be uſed againſt Hereticks or Schiſmaticks in order to convert them.* To ſignify this his Conviction, he afterwards wrote a Letter to *Vincentius* a *Donatiſt* Biſhop, wherein, among other Things, he ſays, *Not to reſtrain them by Fear, would be to ſhew Enmity inſtead of Friendſhip:* And aſſerts, *that uſing Force, is but as if one ſeeing a Man in a diſtracted Fit about to throw himſelf down a ſteep Precipice, ſhould catch hold of him by the Hair, or bind him, to prevent it; which could not be eſteemed Cruelty, but Compaſſion.*

But it ſeems thoſe Severities did not put an End to theſe Schiſmaticks; for ſome Years after this

we find St. *Auſtin* endeavouring that a free Conference and Diſputation might be held between ſome of the Biſhops on both Sides. This he complains they declin'd, which he attributes to a Diſtruſt of their Cauſe; whereas they, on the other Hand, pretended themſelves willing to diſcourſe before virtuous and good Men, but not to expoſe themſelves before ſcandalous and profane Sinners. St. *Auſtin* then wrote a Letter in the Name of the Clergy of *Hippo*, to *Januarius* a *Donatiſt* Biſhop, complaining of the Violence of ſome of that Party as exceeding that of the *Barbariaus*, though, as he adds, at the ſame Time they cry out of the Perſecution exerciſed againſt them, and then he further moves for a Conference. When he ſaw this prevailed not, he was for ſending an Expreſs to the Emperor to interpoſe his Authority, and to force them to ſuch a Diſputation.

Deputies were accordingly after this ſent to the Emperor at *Ravenna*; and though the taking of *Rome* by the *Goths* had then cauſed a great Conſternation in his Court, yet he ſent *Marcellinus* his Secretary, to procure a Diſpute between the Catholicks and the *Donatiſts*, and to preſide therein. Thereupon the Diſpute was begun the following Year, wherein *Auſtin* was the principal Manager on the Part of the Catholicks. Our deſign'd Brevity will not ſuffer us to give any particular Account of the Arguments on each Side; however, the Iſſue was, that *Marcellinus* gave it againſt the *Donatiſts*, and inſtigated all ſorts of Perſons to oppoſe their Aſſemblies; he moreover deprived them of their Churches, and inflicted ſeveral other Penalties upon them.

After

After this St. *Auguſtin* wrote many Letters and Treatiſes in Confutation of the *Donatiſts*, the *Manichees*, and the *Arians*, of which we may not give any particular Account. Much leſs will our intended Brevity permit us to give a diſtinct hiſtorical Relation of the many Conferences and Writings of this Father againſt *Pelagius* and his Followers; nor is it indeed an eaſy Matter to know what may be truly ſaid of the Branches of this Hereſy, ſeeing we have little concerning it but what is derived from thoſe who were the zealous and violent Oppoſers thereof. Yet we ſhall in ſhort mention ſome of the main Articles of Difference between them and the Catholicks, as they were debated in the Council of *Carthage*, wherein *Celeſtius*, an eminent Defender of *Pelagianiſm*, was condemned.

Here *Pelagius* was charged with aſſerting, *That* Adam *was created a mortal Man, and that he would have died though he had not ſinned.* But, on the contrary, St. *Auſtin* and the Orthodox *taught, that Death, both Temporal and Eternal, together with all the Diſeaſes and Torments which precede the Death of the Body, are only the Effects of Sin, and conſequently* Adam *had never died if he had not ſinn'd.*

Again, *Pelagius* and his Followers are ſaid to teach, *That* Adam's *Sin injured not all Mankind, but himſelf only; and that conſequently, there was no need of Infants being baptized in order to deliver them from eternal Death.* On the other ſide, *Auſtin* and his Followers aſſerted, *That though there was Reaſon to believe that Infants dying without Baptiſm would be expoſed to a more eaſy Damnation than actual Sinners; yet that all Infants were, by ori-*

original Sin, obnoxious to eternal Puniſhment, and therefore had need to be baptized for the Remiſſion of Sins.

Pelagius and his Diſciples are farther charg'd with aſſerting, *That ſinful Men could by the Strength of Nature, without any internal Grace, love God and keep his Commandments, and reſiſt all Temptations to the contrary.* On the other hand, *Auſtin* and thoſe that adhered to him taught, *That an inward Grace and Aſſiſtance of the divine Spirit was neceſſary to bring Men to love God,* &c. *and to enable them to vanquiſh the Temptations againſt it; which they aſſerted to be apparent from our being taught to pray,* Lead us not into Temptation, *and from the other Injunctions requiring us to ſupplicate Heaven for divine Aids.*

As to *Election, Pelagius* ſeems to have believed two ſorts, one to *Grace,* and the other to *Glory. Election to Grace,* he counts God's determining to call ſome to the Knowledge of the Goſpel, and thereby making the Way to Salvation more eaſy to them. But *Election to Glory* he ſeems to have counted God's eternal Purpoſe of finally ſaving thoſe whom he foreſaw would perſevere in a faithful Uſe of the Grace beſtow'd on them. This latter Election he taught was *conditional,* but the former altogether *free,* and without any Condition. St. *Auſtin* ſeems to make no Difference between theſe two, and therefore held, *that all that enjoy the Means neceſſary to Salvation do infallibly attain it; and that the Reaſon why the ſame outward Means of Grace are effectual in one and not in another, only proceeds from the abſolute Decree of God:* And, as the Conſequence of this, *that all thoſe, and only thoſe are ſaved, to whom God determin'd to*

give

give the Grace of Converſion and Perſeverance, with an abſolute Decree to ſave them. So that St. *Auſtin* and his Followers diſtinguiſhed between thoſe that are elected and thoſe that are only juſtified and converted, often teaching, *that many even of thoſe that truly believe, are baptized, regenerated and juſtified, do totally and finally fall from that State of Grace; whereas all the Elect perſevere, and are eternally ſaved, and that the only Reaſon why theſe perſevere, is the abſolute Decree of God to ſave them eternally.* So that the Doctrine of the abſolute Impoſſibility of wholly falling from a State of regenerating and juſtifying Grace, ſeems altogether unknown in that Age.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that the Sentiments of the more antient Fathers, both of rhe *Greek* and *Latin* Church, differ'd from thoſe of St. *Auſtin*, as well as from thoſe of *Pelagius* in this Controverſy, particularly in that they generally aſſerted, *That Election to Glory was made upon God's Foreſight of Faith and Perſeverance therein.* Yea, many of the Fathers that lived in his Time, though with him they zealouſly oppoſed *Pelagius* and his Followers, yet they alſo rejected this Father's Opinion of an abſolute and irreſpective Election to Glory, as is confirmed from numerous Teſtimonies by *Voſſius* in his *Hiſtoria Pelagiana.* It ſhall ſuffice here to give you the Words of *Proſper*, the renowned Follower of St. *Auſtin* in *France*, in his Epiſtle to this Father: *Many*, ſays he, *of the Servants of* Chriſt *in* Marſeilles *judge the Opinion for which you have been diſputing*, viz. That the Converſion and Perſeverance of the Elect depends on God's abſolute Decree, *to be contrary to the Judgment of the Fathers, and to the Senſe of the* Chriſtian *Church.*

Thus

Thus St. *Auſtin* was conſtantly imploy'd in conflicting with Hereticks, and in the other Parts of his Epiſcopal Work, as particularly in almoſt daily preaching and expounding the Scriptures, till through Age and indefatigable Labours his bodily Strength was greatly decay'd; and even then the Vigor of his Spirit encreaſed, whence the Productions of the laſt Years of his Life are noted by learned Men to be the beſt of his Works. When he arrived to the ſeventy-ſecond Year of his Age, he had a great Deſire to review his Writings, which were numerous, and diſperſed into very remote Places of the World; not that he might glory in them, but in order to correct them, to which he was induced by an humble Senſe of the Miſtakes he had made in the compoſing them.

Hereupon he wrote his *Book of Retractions*, in the Year 426, in the Beginning of which he declares himſelf excited thereto from a Regard thoſe Words of the Apoſtle, *If we judge our ſelves we ſhall not be judged*; being ſenſible that in the Multitude of Things written by him, as *Solomon* ſaid, there *wanted not Sin* or Error. In the latter Part of his Life he likewiſe finiſhed his fifteen Books *concerning the Holy Trinity*, and that elaborate Work *of the City of God*, wherein he aſſerts the Truth and Excellency of *Chriſtianity*, and defends the ſame againſt its *Pagan* Oppoſers.

His compoſing theſe Books, and eſpecially that general and ſtrict Review he reſolved to take of his Works, required much Leiſure, to obtain which he made Choice of one *Eradius* to be his Aſſiſtant in the Epiſcopal Office, and preſented him to the Church of *Hippo*, who received him with great Approbation, and Thankfulneſs both

to

to God and their Biſhop. But he would not immediately ordain him, though the People earneſtly deſired it, becauſe for two Biſhops to be at once in the ſame Church was contrary to the Decrees of the *Nicene* Council. He therefore told his People, *he was altogether unwilling to be guilty of that Evil in reſpect of his Succeſſor, which had been committed in reference to himſelf.* And now as the Time approached when this ſhining Light muſt be extinguiſhed, and as the laying down of his earthly Tabernacle drew on, ſo his Meditations and Diſcourſes of Death were more frequent than formerly. He often with Delight mentioned that Saying of St. *Ambroſe*, when importun'd to pray for the longer Continuance of his Life: *I have not ſo demean'd my ſelf as to be aſhamed to live longer, nor am I afraid to die, becauſe I have a gracious and merciful Lord.* Upon which Words St. *Auſtin* makes this Remark, *He could with Boldneſs plead his Integrity before Men, but when he conſider'd the Judgment of God, his Dependance was only upon the Divine Mercy, and not his own Merits.*

The remaining Part of St. *Auſtin*'s Life was filled up with great outward Troubles and Afflictions, which happen'd to him on the following Occaſion. He had an intimate Correſpondence with one *Boniface*, a Perſon of great Dignity and Authority in the Imperial Army, who having buried his firſt Wife, made a ſolemn Vow, in the Preſence of this Father and others, *to ſpend the reſt of his Days in a ſingle State, and devote himſelf to a Life of Retirement.* Of the former Part of this Vow St. *Auſtin* highly approved, but the latter Part he diſſuaded him from, becauſe of the great

Service he might do to the Church of God in his publick Station. Yet after this he not only married another Wife, but one that was an *Arian*, and held a Correſpondency with the Biſhops of that Faction; and beſides he fell into a ſcandalous and debauch'd Life, for which this Father, by a Letter, faithfully rebuked him, and exhorted him to a ſincere Repentance, but his pious Endeavours proved unſucceſsful upon him. Sometime after this *Boniface* was accuſed of deſigning a Revolt in *Africa* from the Imperial Authority, and a great Force was thereupon ſent by the Emperor againſt him. Things ſtanding thus, and finding himſelf unable to defend his Poſt againſt ſo great Oppoſition, he fled into *Spain*, and prevailed on *Genſericus* King of the *Vandals* and *Goths*, to enter *Africa* with a great Army, and this was the Beginning of thoſe dreadful Wars and Calamities which made ſuch deplorable Havock in that Country.

As this Deluge of barbarous Enemies committed all Manner of Outrages on the People in general, ſo being of the *Arian* Faction, they raiſed a moſt cruel and violent Perſecution againſt the Church in particular, and eſpecially againſt the principal Leaders thereof. While the Enemy was on their March, and carried all before them, *Honoratus*, Biſhop of *Thabenna*, conſulted St. *Auſtin* by Letter, *Whether, upon ſuch an Incurſion of Enemies, it were not lawful, yea neceſſary, for the Clergy to abandon their Churches?* To this Inquiry the Father returns a negative Anſwer in an Epiſtle to him, ſome Expreſſions of which here follow. *Why*, ſays he, *do Men think they may, without Diſtinction, obſerve that Direction of flying from*

from one City to another, and don't alſo tremble at what they read concerning the Hireling, who ſees the Wolf coming and flies, becauſe he cares not for the Sheep? Then only, as he goes on, *may the Miniſters of the Goſpel fly from a preſſing Perſecution, when either there ſtays no Flock of* Chriſt *behind to whom they may miniſter, or when the ſame Miniſtry may be perform'd by others who have not the like Occaſion of Flight.*

When the Enemy had made diſmal Spoil and Devaſtations in other Places, they at length cloſely beſieged *Hippo*, and therein *Boniface*, who had now made his Peace with the Emperor, and would gladly have got rid of that Army which he had call'd in, but could neither allure them with Money, nor conſtrain them by Force, to relinquiſh the Country. But above all others St. *Auſtin* had a mournful Senſe of the Miſeries of that Time, while he more deeply conſider'd not only the outward Calamities of the People, but alſo the Ruin of a Multitude of Souls that was like to enſue thereupon, often and importunately praying (as *Poſſidius* the Writer of his Life informs us) that if it pleaſed not God to deliver the City from being taken and deſtroy'd by the Enemy, he would receive him to himſelf, that he might not be the ſorrowful Spectator of ſo great a Miſchief.

God ſo far heard his Requeſt, as to remove him from the Evil to come; for whereas the Siege continued about fourteen Months, he fell ſick in the third of a Fever, and at the firſt Approach of the Diſtemper was fully aſſured it would end in his deſired Diſſolution. And, as he had often taught, *That the beſt and moſt ſpotleſs* Chriſtians, *whether of the Clergy or Laity, ſhould not go out of this*

World without a ſolemn and particular Repentance; ſo now he exerciſed an humble Contrition of Soul, and bore all the Evils that befel him with a deep Senſe that they were far leſs than his Iniquities had deſerved. He had the penitential Pſalms of *David* always before him, and would not ſuffer any to come at him in the laſt ten Days of his Life, except at ſuch Times when the Phyſicians came to viſit him, but ſpent all his Hours in Prayer and in humbling himſelf before God. And now, tho' the Strength of his Body daily and hourly declin'd, yet his Senſes and intellectual Faculties continued ſound to the laſt: And thus he died the Death of the Righteous, which is uſually *peaceable before Men*, and always *precious in the Sight of the Lord*. He quietly reſign'd his Spirit into that Hand from which he had received it, on *Auguſt* the 28th, 430. after he had lived 76 Years, and ſpent almoſt forty of them in the Labours of the Miniſtry.

He made no Will, nor indeed had he any worldly Goods to diſpoſe of; but the Memorial of his excellent Example, and his numerous and admirable Works are a precious Legacy to the Church of *Chriſt*, which were eminently preſerved by a ſingular Providence of God from the Flames which were kindled by the Adverſaries at their taking the City. His funeral Exequies were perform'd with all the Solemnities that the Troubles and Diſturbances of the Time would permit, and his Funeral was attended with the univerſal Lamentations of all ſorts of Perſons. The Clergy greatly bewailed the Loſs of him as their *Maſter*; the Poor as their *tender Guardian*, and all the People as their *careful Father*. His Remains lay quietly

quietly in the City of *Hippo* till about fifty-ſix Years after his Interment, when St. *Fulgentius*, and other Biſhops, being baniſh'd out of *Africa* by the *Goths*, carried the ſame with them into *Sardinia*.

If we ſhould undertake to give the Character of this illuſtrious Perſon at large, it would take up much more Room than we are allotted for the Narrative of his whole Life, as this takes up the greater Part of his Life in Mr. *Goddeau*, and others, who largely inſiſt upon his ſeveral Virtues.

He was, as to his natural Abilities, in the Judgment of *Eraſmus*, altogether incomparable for the Sharpneſs of his Wit, the Strength of his Judgment, and the extraordinary Capaciouſneſs of his Memory.

To deſcribe his univerſal Erudition would be (as another learned Writer phraſes it) like endeavouring to add Light to the Sun, ſeeing whoever are at all converſant with his Writings, muſt needs know that he excelled in all the better Sorts of Literature.

In St. *Auſtin* alone (ſays *Eraſmus*) center all the Excellencies of a *Chriſtian* Father, being diligent in his Preaching, powerful in his Reproofs, fervent in his Exhortations, moſt ſweet in his Conſolations, and in all Things manifeſting a true *Chriſtian* Piety and Meekneſs.

He was a great Lover of Hoſpitality, and took much Delight in the Enjoyment of his Friends, though his Entertainment was rather in Reading and profitable Diſcourſes, than in plentiful Eating and Drinking. In theſe his familiar Converſations he was a great Hater of Detraction and Backbiting,

as

as appears by the following remarkable Diſtich, which he cauſed to be inſcrib'd on his Table:

Quiſquis amat dictis abſentum rodere vitam,
Hanc menſam indignam noverit eſſe ſibi.

This Board allows no vile Detractor Place,
Whoſe Speeches load the Abſent with Diſgrace.

And when any of his Gueſts, notwithſtanding this and divers verbal Admonitions, which he fail'd not to give on all ſuch Occaſions, were not reſtrain'd from Detraction, though the Guilty were his moſt familiar Friends and Fellow-Biſhops, he frequently ſhew'd his Diſlike thereunto, by ſuddenly riſing from the Table, and withdrawing himſelf from them into his Chamber.

For a Concluſion we ſhall only remark, that his extraordinary Humility put a Glory on all his other Excellences, whence he abhor'd every Thing that look'd like Flattery. Thus, for Inſtance, when his Friend *Audax*, beſides other lofty Encomiums, ſtiled him the *Oracle of the Law*, he returns this modeſt Anſwer: *How*, ſays he, *am I the Oracle of the Law, who am ignorant of much more than I know concerning its profound Secrets? Yea*, as he adds, *I underſtand but a few Things even in the holy Scripture, compared with the many whereof I am ſtill ignorant.* And in his Epiſtle to *Dioſcorus*; *As*, ſays he, *the Orator being ask'd which was the firſt, ſecond, and third Precept of Eloquence, anſwer'd to each Inquiry*, Pronunciation; *ſo, as often as you ask me the Precepts of* Chriſtianity, *I would anſwer*, Humility: *For*, as he

he further adds, *unleſs Humility both go before, accompany, and follow after all that we do, Pride will ſnatch away the whole Benefit thereof.* He very often candidly confeſſes his Ignorance as to many Queſtions propounded to him, *viz.* concerning *the Origin of Mens Souls, the Nature and Order of Angels,* &c.

He particularly acknowledges that he found an inſuperable Difficulty in reconciling *the Doctrine of Grace* in God, *and Free-will* in Man; notwithſtanding which he ſtedfaſtly believed both, ſaying, in his Epiſtle to *Valentinus* [*Si non eſt Dei Gratia, quomodo ſalvat Mundum? & ſi non eſt Liberum Arbitrium, quomodo judicat Mundum?*] *Were it not for the Grace of God, how would he ſave the World? and were there not a Free-will in Man, how could he judge the World?* And indeed he always obſerved this as his conſtant Maxim, *never to deny that in any Doctrine which is plain, becauſe he could not comprehend ſomething therein which is obſcure.*

His Modeſty and Humility alſo appeared in his outward Habit; for though he was a Biſhop, he refuſed to wear any Thing beyond what was common to the inferior Clergy. *For,* ſays he, *ſuppoſing there were given me a rich Mitre or Cap, it might perhaps become a Biſhop to wear it, but it would not become* Auſtin, *who is a poor Man, and meanly deſcended.* He therefore deſired all his Friends, that if they made him any Preſent, it might only be of ſuch Things as were fit for him to communicate to his Brethren that were in Want, and inferior to him; *for thoſe Things only I willingly accept which I receive for the Community; but if any one give a better, 'tis my Cuſtom to ſell it,*

it, that ſo if the Garment can't, yet the Price may be common, and the Value thereof be given to the Poor.

Finally, his great Humility eminently ſhined forth in the Submiſſiveneſs of his Temper; a remarkable Inſtance of which we have in his Carriage towards St. *Jerom*, though he had been not a little provok'd by his keen and ſatyrical way of writing; yet notwithſtanding this, in an Epiſtle to him, he earneſtly begs Pardon in whatſoever he had offended him, and importunately ſues for a Reconciliation with him; thus concluding, *I intreat you again and again, freely to correct me wherein ſoever you perceive I have need of it; for though, according to the Titles now uſed in the Church, the Office of a* Biſhop *is greater than that of a* Presbyter, *yet in many Things* Auguſtin *is inferior to* Jerom.

Thus we have given you ſome brief Hints of thoſe Things that are more largely related by *Poſſidius* and others, concerning the eminent Virtues of this Father, which render him moſt worthy of the Imitation of all *Chriſtians*, and particularly of the Clergy.

FINIS.